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Universal
History

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GEORGE *R.*

GEORGE *the Second, by the Grace of God, King of* Great Britain, France, *and* Ireland, *Defender of the Faith,* &c. *To all to whom these Presents shall come, Greeting:*

*Whereas* Thomas Osborne, Andrew Millar, *and* John Osborn, *of Our City of* London, *Booksellers, have, by their Petition, humbly represented unto Us, that they have spent many Years, and expended several Thousand Pounds in buying and procuring of Books, and employing a Number of learned Gentlemen in the Compiling, Writing, and Publishing*

AN UNIVERSAL HISTORY, FROM THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF TIME TO THE PRESENT;

Collected from the best Authors both Antient and Modern; as also in drawing of Maps, making of Chronological and other Tables, for the better illustrating the same:

*A Work hitherto attempted in vain by other Nations; which the Petitioners, with the utmost Submission, apprehend may be of great Service to the Publick, as it will reduce a* very extensive *but* very useful *Science to a* regular System or Digest, *at an easy Rate to the Purchaser, and thereby much encourage and promote a necessary Branch of Learning:*

*And as they the said Undertakers are desirous of reaping the Fruits of their Labour, and of enjoying the full Profit and Benefit that may arise from Printing, Publishing and Vending the same, without any other Person interfering in their just Property; which they cannot prevent, without applying to Us for Our Royal Licence and Protection:*

*Therefore they have humbly prayed Us to grant them Our Royal Licence and Protection for the sole Printing, Publishing and Vending the said Work, in as ample Manner and Form as has been done in Cases of the same Nature.*

*We, being willing to give all due Encouragement to such a useful Work, are graciously pleased to condescend to their Request: And do therefore, by these Presents, so far as may be agreeable to the Statute in that Behalf made and provided, grant unto the said* Thomas Osborne, Andrew Millar, *and* John Osborn, *their Executors, Administrators, and Assigns,*

OUR ROYAL PRIVILEGE AND LICENCE

*for the sole Printing, Publishing and Vending the said Work for and during the Term of Fourteen Years, strictly forbidding and prohibiting all Our Subjects within Our Kingdoms and Dominions to Reprint or* ABRIDGE *the same, either in the like, or any other Volume or Volumes whatsoever, or to import, buy, vend, utter, or distribute any Copies thereof reprinted beyond the Seas, during the aforesaid Term of Fourteen Years, without the Consent or Approbation of the said* Thomas Osborne, Andrew Millar, *and* John Osborn, *their Heirs, Executors, Administrators, and Assigns, under their Hands and Seals first had and obtained, as they and every of them offending therein will answer the contrary at their Peril.*

*Whereof the Commissioners, and other Officers of Our Customs, the Master, Wardens, and Company of* Stationers *of Our City of* London, *and all other Our Officers and Ministers, whom it may concern, are to take Notice, that due Obedience be given to Our Pleasure herein signified.*

*Given at Our Court at* St. James's, *&c.*

By His MAJESTY's Command,

Holles Newcastle.

AN

# Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest ACCOUNT of TIME.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS;

AND

Illustrated with MAPS, CUTS, NOTES, &c.

WITH

A GENERAL INDEX to the Whole.

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Ἱστορίας ἀρχαίας ἐξέρχεσθαι μὴ κατανόειν· ἐν αὐταῖς γὰρ εὑρήσεις ἀκόπως, ἅπερ ἕτεροι συνῆξαν ἐγκόπως.

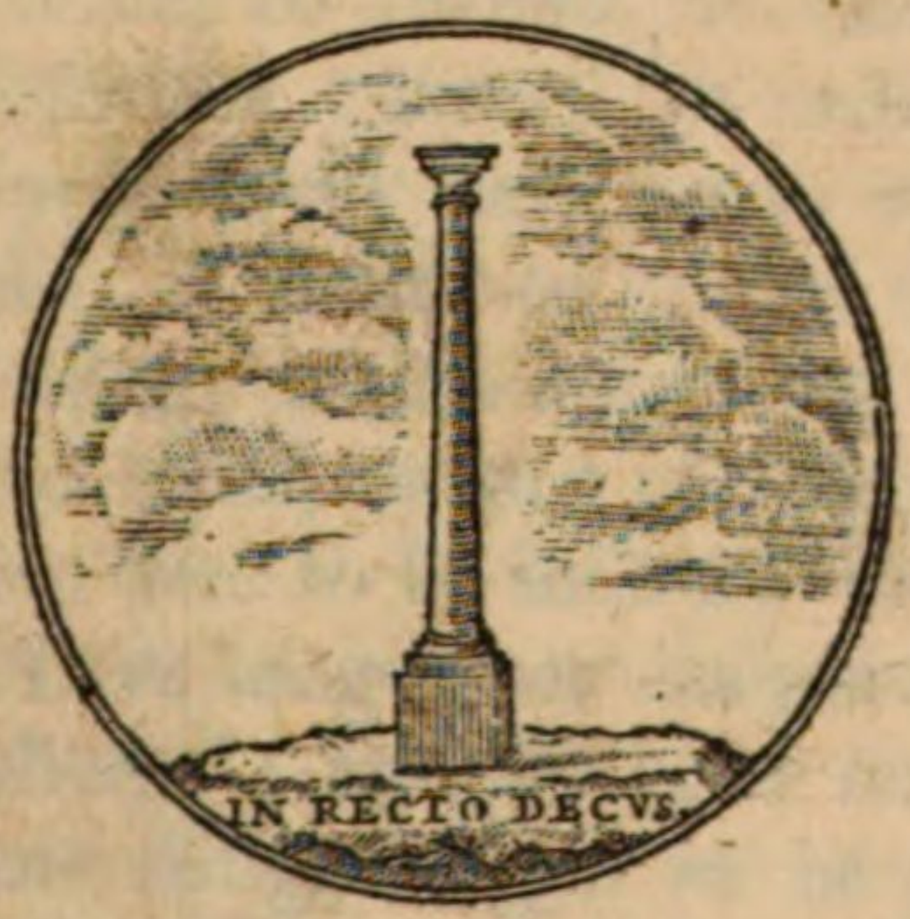
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VOL. I.

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LONDON:

Printed for T. OSBORNE, in *Gray's-Inn*; A. MILLAR, in the *Strand*; and J. OSBORN, in *Pater-noster Row*.

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# PREFACE

## TO

## The preſent EDITION.

THE uncommon approbation, which our performance has met with, both at home and abroad, having encouraged us to think, that not only the preſent, but future ages, may reap ſome benefit from our labours, and thereupon inſpired us with a deſire of rendering our work ſtill more uſeful, and, ſo far as in us lies, in every reſpect complete; we long ſince agreed, that, immediately upon the cloſe of the *Antient Hiſtory*, and previous to our entering upon the *Modern*, each of us ſhould reviſe his own part with the utmoſt care and deliberation, and that the whole ſhould be reviſed, re-examined, and criticized, in common concert, in order to rectify every miſtake, ſupply every deficiency, retrench every ſuperfluity, and, in ſhort, to enrich the *Second Edition* with every thing, which either our own retroſpection had ſuggeſted to us, or our correſpondents communicated, but too late to be inſerted in the *Firſt*. This is what we have long ſince deſigned, as we have declared elſewhere *; and we have now the ſatisfaction of ſeeing our deſign begun to be put in execution, notwithſtanding the great and unexpected obſtructions it has met with from ſome baſe interlopers in a neighbouring kingdom, who, by propagating, at a reduced

* See the preface to the ſeventh volume, p. vi.

price, no fewer than three ſpurious editions of this expenſive work, had almoſt diſcouraged the Proprietors from venturing upon a ſecond impreſſion; which, had their ſcruples taken effect, would have deprived us of the honour and credit, which we promiſed ourſelves from the improvements we had prepared, and the public of the benefit they might reap from them. The learned gentlemen, who have done us the honour to tranſlate our work into foreign languages, have not only rectify'd ſome miſtakes, that had eſcaped us, but enriched the whole with ſome curious remarks of their own, which we ſhall adopt in this *Edition*, and gratefully acknowlege. Had the undertakers of the pirated editions followed their example; had they employed men of abilities, or perſons any-ways capable of improving our labours; the undertaking would, with reſpect to the public, and to us, tho' not to the Proprietors, have admitted of a defence. But the hurry they were in to rob the lawful owners of their property, and the emulation that aroſe among them, who ſhould be foremoſt in, and gain moſt by, this unwarrantable invaſion, has not even allowed them time to obſerve or rectify, in their copies, the typographical miſtakes they found in ours. For theſe too they have reprinted, with the addition of others, we may ſay, without number, of their own, and ſome very material ones, which make us ſpeak what we never meant, and ſometimes contradict the very authors we quote, and profeſs to follow. Theſe are the only additions we owe to them, the only additions we could have expected from men of their characters. The *editors*, as they ſtile themſelves, that is, the publiſhers of one of the pirated editions in *octavo*, declared in their *Specimen*, *That their ſole view in ſuch an undertaking was, to reſcue the moſt valuable Hiſtory that*

*ever was penned, from the mangling hands of Book-ſellers**, meaning the publiſhers of the two other *pirated editions*. This declaration, and their aſſuring the public at the ſame time, that they were *no Book-ſellers*, but a *Society of Gentlemen*, did not only allay the concern we were under, in finding our work ſo barbarouſly mangled, but gave us ſome hopes of ſeeing it improved in our own, as well as in foreign languages. But their performance ſoon convinced us, that both we and the public had been groſly impoſed upon, that improvements of no kind were to be expected from that quarter, and that the pretended *Society of Gentlemen* had nothing in view but to ſupplant and undermine their fellow-pirates, by expoſing the typographical errors they had obſerved in their copies, and rectifying them in their own; or rather, exchanging them for others of the ſame kind. And this they ſtile *an attempt to reſcue the moſt valuable Hiſtory that ever was penned from the mangling hands of Bookſellers*. It is not, therefore, to be doubted, but the improvements, which encouraged the Proprietors, as ſoon they were communicated to them, to undertake the preſent *Edition*, notwithſtanding the three pirated ones already abroad, will, in like manner, induce every one, deſirous of purchaſing ſo valuable a work, to prefer it to thoſe ſpurious and incorrect copies.

But to acquaint the reader in particular with ſome of the alterations, corrections, and additions, which, with the approbation of our correſpondents, eſpecially of the learned members of our two celebrated univerſities, we have judged proper to be made in this *New Edition*, we propoſe to inſert the following articles, which were omitted in the *Folio*.

* See *A Specimen of a Review of the* Univerſal Hiſtory, &c. publiſhed in *Dublin*, p. 3.

I. A ſe-

I. A ſeparate and diſtinct hiſtory of the *Etruſcans*, one of the moſt renowned and celebrated nations of *Italy*, with a geographical deſcription of their country, an account of their manners, religion, arts, ſciences, &c. and a curious diſſertation on their language.

II. The hiſtory of the *Umbrians*, *Sabines*, *Latins*, *Volſci*, *Æqui*, &c. with the like account of their manners, religion, arts, language, &c.

III. A particular and diſtinct account of *Xenophon*'s ſo much celebrated retreat, with a geographical deſcription of the countries and places thro' which he marched.

IV. The hiſtory of the antient *Indians*, *Chineſe*, *Tartars*, &c. where the reader will ſee, at one view, all that is to be met with in antient writers, concerning the *Indian* empires, kingdoms, and ſtates.

V. The moſt probable conjectures concerning the firſt peopling of *America*.

VI. The hiſtory of the diſperſion of the *Jews* to the preſent time.

VII. A diſſertation on the prophecy concerning the *Arabs*.

VIII. The geography of ſome particular countries, done with more accuracy and minuteneſs, namely, of *Paleſtine*, *Egypt*, *Phœnice*, *Syria*, *Aſſyria*, *Babylonia*, which our correſpondents have thought ſomewhat deficient in the former edition. And that nothing might be wanting, that could any-ways contribute to the improvement of the work, we have cauſed new maps to be engraved by a skilful hand, where we have thought them neceſſary.

IX. Many curious remarks, with which thoſe gentlemen, who have tranſlated our work into foreign languages, have enriched it, after conſulting the ableſt judges of their reſpective nations, as they declare, and will ſufficiently appear from the remarks themſelves.

To

To make room for theſe valuable additions and improvements, we propoſe carefully to avoid all repetitions; to mark all along the chronology, accurately corrected, in the margin; which will render the chronological tables unneceſſary, as they were inſerted chiefly to ſupply that defect; and, laſtly, to make one *complete index* ſerve for the whole. The repetitions in the former edition have afforded great cauſe of complaint, which, we muſt own, is no leſs juſt, than general. The wars, and other tranſactions between two nations, are often related at length in the hiſtory of both, which has more than any thing elſe contributed to the ſwelling of the work to a far greater bulk than we had propoſed. This could not then be well avoided, ſome of us living at a great diſtance from the reſt, and no one being charged with the care of inſpecting the whole. To prevent the like inconvenience in this Edition, we have agreed, that each of us ſhall reviſe, re-examine, and correct his own part: but that one perſon, for the ſake of uniformity, ſhall have the ſuperviſal of the whole; that the references ſhall be particularly attended to; and moreover, that the following rule be ſtrictly obſerved by all; *viz.* that the wars, and other tranſactions between two nations, be related at length in the hiſtory of that country, which was the ſcene of action, and, in the hiſtory of the other, only hinted at; with proper references, ſo far as the thread of the hiſtory may require, or may be judged neceſſary to acquaint the reader with, or remind him of, the ſtate of both nations, and the poſture of their affairs at that particular juncture.

As to chronology, or the computation of time, in this Edition we have, upon the matureſt deliberation, adopted that, which is founded, according to the great primate

mate of *Ireland*'s ſyſtem, on the *Hebrew* whole numbers, as better known, more univerſally received, and liable, at leaſt, to no greater difficulties, than either the *Samaritan* or *Septuagint*; for to ſome they are all alike liable. To this alteration in point of chronology we have agreed the more readily, as the *Samaritan* calculation was not, even at firſt, preferred to the *Hebrew* with common conſent. It cannot be expected we ſhould, in a work of this nature, enter into a detail of the objections that are urged againſt, or of the arguments that are offered for, each of the three above-mentioned ſyſtems by their reſpective patrons, or of the ſyſtems, almoſt without number, that have been formed from them. With diſſertations of this kind learned men have filled large volumes; and to them we chooſe rather to refer our readers, than to inſert here, or in the work itſelf, what might be copied from them on a ſubject, which very few readers would reliſh. We ſhall only obſerve here in general terms, that archbiſhop *Uſher*'s chronology is univerſally acknowleged to be the moſt exact, the moſt perfect and complete performance of the kind, that has ever yet appeared. The learned Dr. *Prideaux* owns, that, after conſulting other chronologers with a great deal of pains and application, he found, in the end, that it was only loſs of time to conſult them *. We therefore agree with him in taking that eminent chronologer for our guide, looking upon his chronology as the ſureſt and ſafeſt clue to conduct our ſteps through all the intricate labyrinths of antient times. However, we have exhibited, in the general preface to the work, the various ſyſtems of other chronologers; ſo that the exceſs or

* Prideaux Connect. in his preface to vol. i. part i. p. 25. octavo, 1720.

defect

defect of each, with reſpect to the other, being known, the reader may, with very little trouble, reduce that, which we have adopted, to any other, which he may think preferable to it. We have marked the chronology all along, in the margin, with the greateſt exactneſs; *viz.* the years of the world, and thoſe before *Chriſt* till the flood; and thence, for the reaſons alleged in our general preface, the years after the flood, and thoſe before *Chriſt*; the creation of the world, the deluge, and the birth of *Chriſt*, being our three epochs. The world was created, according to our computation, 4004 years before *Chriſt*, and the deluge happened in the year of the world 1656, before *Chriſt* 2348 years. Where we have not been able to aſcertain, at leaſt, with ſome degree of probability, the date of events, we have taken notice of this uncertainty either in the text, or the notes, but marked no year in the margin, leſt we ſhould impoſe groundleſs conjectures on our readers, or opinions which we ourſelves have not thought proper to adopt. As by this alteration in point of chronology the many anachroniſms have been corrected, which had crept into the former edition, ſuch an alteration may deſervedly be looked upon as one of the chief improvements of the work.

We ſhall only add here, with reſpect to this *New Edition*, that we have not been ſo intent upon other more material improvements as to neglect that of the ſtyle, which the reader, by comparing the two Editions, will ſoon find conſiderably reformed in ſome parts, and more uniform throughout the whole.

We cannot cloſe this addreſs, without publicly acknowleging the obligations we owe to ſome of the learned members of our two illuſtrious Univerſities, and to thoſe ingenious Gentlemen, who have tranſlated

our

our work into foreign languages. To the former we are indebted for many uſeful hints, which they were pleaſed to communicate to us, as ſoon as we acquainted them with the deſign, which we are now executing; to the latter, for the judicious remarks, valuable additions, and neceſſary alterations (for, that we had made ſome ſlips, we candidly own), with which they had ſtrove, as it were in emulation of each other, to enrich their ſeveral verſions, conſulting, with that view, as ſome of them aſſure us they have done in the more intricate points, the ableſt judges of their reſpective nations. Moſt of their remarks, additions, and alterations, have appeared to us, after the ſtricteſt examination, well worthy of the epithets we have beſtowed on them; and we have adopted them accordingly. It is not, therefore, to us alone that the public is indebted for this *improved*, and, as we may ſtyle it, *ſtandard Edition of the Univerſal Hiſtory*. Thus much have we thought ourſelves bound in gratitude *publicly* to declare, that we may not ſeem to conceal the obligations we owe, or to arrogate to ourſelves the credit of the whole; the one would be the height of ingratitude, the other of vanity.

Before we take leave of our readers, we muſt acquaint them, that the general Preface, which in the *Folio Edition* was prefixed to the firſt Volume, we have thought proper not to publiſh in this, till the whole is completed; for then we ſhall be better able to give the public a particular account of the alterations, additions, and corrections, which we ſhall have made in the courſe of the work, as well as of the motives that induced us to make them.

AN

AN

# Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Account of Time to the Present.

## THE INTRODUCTION,

CONTAINING

### *The Cosmogony, or Creation of the World.*

OUR design is to write a General History of mankind, from their original to our own time. An undertaking of vast extent, and which would, perhaps, be scarce practicable, were the histories of all nations now extant, and their series complete. But as many nations intirely neglected their history, at least for several ages; so the histories of many others, who kept some records of past actions, have been either totally, or in part, destroyed by wars, time, misguided zeal, and other casualties. Besides, few nations have been able to give a tolerable account of their original, or early antiquities; the first memory of persons, and facts, having been preserved by the institution of festivals, the building of cities, erecting of stones, pillars, altars, tombs, and the like monuments, from whence a true series of history could not be accurately deduced and collected, any more than from the oral tradition which accompanied them.

*The design of the work, and the difficulties which attend it.*

BUT if the want of records has, on the one hand, reduced history into a closer compass, it has, on the other, occasioned great confusion and uncertainty. For the frequent interruptions, and defects, which occur in the antiquities of

nations, drive the hiſtorian ſo often to precarious conjectures, and oblige him to have recourſe to ſo many ſhifts, to connect and ſupply them, that his labour ſeems to be increaſed by the ſcarcity of materials; and he is unable, after all, to give his reader ſatisfaction.

MANY other difficulties there are, which attend the execution of this undertaking, eſpecially as to the hiſtory of antient times: ſuch as the numbers of forged and ſpurious books; the fictions of poets, who were the firſt hiſtorians; the contradictions and partiality of authors; the different computations of time in uſe among the ſame, as well as different nations; the want of æras to compute from in ſome nations, and the multiplicity of them in others; the variety of proper names of the ſame perſon and place, and the corruption of them through ignorance, negligence, or deſign. What adds to the misfortune is, that if we except the *Jews*, not one of the hiſtories of thoſe antient nations, whom the *Grecians* called *Barbarians*, written by the natives, or extracted immediately from their records, has come to our hands; nothing remaining of them beſides ſome few fragments, preſerved here-and-there in other writers, which ſerve only to make us lament their loſs, and to ſhew the inaccuracy of the *Greek* hiſtorians, with regard to foreign nations.

WE have thought proper briefly to premiſe thus much, with regard to the ſtate of antient hiſtory, in order to intitle ourſelves to the reader's candour, in paſſing his judgment upon a performance, wherein there are ſo many difficulties to ſtruggle with. But, before we enter upon the hiſtory itſelf, we ſhall give ſome account of the coſmogony, or the production and formation of this earth; which ſeems to demand our firſt attention, as being the place from whence mankind derive their original, and the theatre whereon the ſcenes of the enſuing hiſtory are to be acted.

*God the author of the world, both as to matter and form.*

THAT the univerſe was created or produced out of nothing, by an infinitely powerful, wiſe, and good GOD, who, being ſelf-exiſtent, is the original cauſe of all things, is not only certain from revelation, but deducible, and has been clearly proved, from reaſon[a]. And tho' all atheiſts, both antient and modern, have conſtantly denied, that even infinite power can create matter, and the affirmative has been

[a] Dr. CLARKE, in his demonſtration of the being and attributes of GOD.

thought

thought to be embaraſſed with ſeveral conſiderable difficulties, as our having no idea how a nothing from all eternity can be made to exiſt, and the ſeeming contradiction in ſuppoſing the world to be created in time, becauſe then it would be ſeparated from eternity only by an indiviſible point, which cannot ſufficiently diſtinguiſh an eternal being from a temporary production [b]; yet theſe are rather difficulties ariſing from our own imperfect and finite reaſon and conception, whereby we are not able to form a diſtinct idea of creation, or eternity, than any real impoſſibility in the thing itſelf: for it is no contradiction to affirm, that ſomething, which once was not, may ſince have begun to exiſt; the true notion of creation being not a forming of ſomething out of nothing, as out of a material cauſe, but only a bringing ſomething into being, which before had no being at all, and which, without ſome cauſe, would not have exiſted; and this no man can reduce to a contradiction, any more than the formation of any thing, into a ſhape which it had not before, can be reduced to a contradiction [c]. And they who deny God's power to create matter, muſt fly to one of theſe ſuppoſitions; either that matter exiſted from eternity, as a paſſive ſubject of all the operations of GOD, and as a collateral principle; or elſe, that matter is the only ſelf-exiſtent being; either of which involves us in the moſt impious abſurdities. The firſt ſuppoſition neceſſarily implies two ſelf-exiſtent principles, which is a direct contradiction; and the other, that it is impoſſible to conceive matter not to be, or to be in any reſpect otherwiſe than it now is, without a contradiction; than which nothing is more eaſy: for, whether we conſider the form of the world, with the diſpoſition and motion of its parts, or whether we conſider the matter of it, as ſuch, without reſpect to its preſent form; every thing in it, both the whole, and every one of its parts, their ſituation and motion, the form, and alſo the matter, are the moſt arbitrary and dependent things, and the fartheſt removed from neceſſity, that can poſſibly be imagined [d].

As for thoſe who deny the actual exiſtence of matter and motion (if there be any who do ſo in earneſt), it might be ſufficient to ſay, that there is in effect no difference in re-

*The arguments uſed to prove the non-exiſtence of matter, of ſmall force.*

[b] Mr. BAYLE, dans les nouvelles de la rep. des lettres, tom. IV. p. 1301. [c] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 83, 84. See alſo Dr. NICHOLLS's conference with a theiſt, vol. i. part 1. p. 26. [d] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 23, &c.

ſpect to us, whether they be actually exiſtent, or no more than appearances; for if GOD immediately communicates all ſenſible perceptions to our mind, as he muſt do if there be no ſuch thing as ſenſible ſubſtance, he is ſtill the author of thoſe appearances, which have the ſame conſequences and effects, to our conception, as if they were real: not to urge the indecency of ſuſpecting GOD to have made the world a mere ſcene of deluſion. The impoſſibility of extenſion is attempted to be proved from the inextricable difficulties which follow, if matter be infinitely diviſible, as it neceſſarily muſt, and is eaſily demonſtrated [e]. And if there be no extenſion, the unavoidable conſequence is, that there can be no motion; which is alſo argued from the perplexing objections raiſed on the ſuppoſition of a vacuum; and yet a vacuum muſt be admitted, or elſe no motion can be conceived [f]. But theſe difficulties, though unanſwerable, as great maſters of reaſon have confeſſed, evince no more, than that human underſtanding is finite and imperfect; and being only raiſed from our want of having an adequate idea either of extenſion or ſpace [g], they ought not to be eſteemed real difficulties [h].

*The ſeveral opinions concerning the origin of the world.*

THE ſeveral opinions, which have been held by the antients, or moderns, as to the origin of the univerſe, may be comprehended under one or other of the following three; *viz.*

I. THAT the world is eternal, both as to matter and form; and had neither any origin, nor will be ſubject to any corruption [i].

II. THAT the matter of the world is eternal; but not the form. Or,

III. THAT the world had a beginning, and will ſuffer a diſſolution, being of its own nature periſhable.

*The opinion of thoſe who held it eternal, both in matter and form.*

AND to begin with the firſt of theſe opinions: None of the antients openly maintain'd it, except ſome Pſeudo-Pythagoreans, and *Ariſtotle* [k]; to whom we may add ſeveral of *Plato*'s followers. But few, if any of them, intended thereby to aſſert, as ſome moderns have done, that the material

[e] Vide BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Zenon, remarq. G. [f] Vid. ibid. rem. F, I. [g] Vid. ibid. rem. I. and LOCKE on human underſtanding, b. 2. c. 13. [h] Vid. CLARKE's demonſtration of the being and attributes of GOD, p. 11, 12. [i] DIODOR. SIC. l. i. p. 6. [k] BURNET's archæol. l. ii. cap. 1.

world was GOD, or the original, ſelf-exiſting, and independent Being, in oppoſition to the belief of a ſupreme all-governing Mind; but either barely that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, which is all *Ocellus Lucanus* proves; or elſe that the world is an eternal and neceſſary effect, flowing from the immutable energy of the divine nature, which ſeems to have been *Ariſtotle*'s opinion; or elſe that the world is an eternal voluntary emanation from the all-wiſe and ſupreme Cauſe, which was the opinion of many Platoniſts [l].

OCELLUS LUCANUS, whoſe antiquity and authority have been oppoſed to thoſe of *Moſes* [m], though he lived not long before *Plato*, was one of the moſt antient aſſerters of the world's eternity; wherein he deviated from the true doctrine of his maſter *Pythagoras*. We have a ſhort treatiſe under his name, concerning the nature of the univerſe, wherein he affirms it to be utterly incapable either of generation or corruption, of beginning or end [n]; that it is of itſelf eternal, and perfect, and permanent for ever [o]; and that the frame and parts of the world muſt needs be eternal, as well as the ſubſtance and matter of the whole [p], and mankind alſo [q]. But his arguments for this opinion are either very abſurd and ridiculous; as when he attempts to prove, that the world muſt needs be eternal, without beginning or end, becauſe both its figure and motion are circular, and therefore without beginning or ending [r]; or elſe they are ſuch arguments as tend to prove, that ſomething muſt needs be eternal, becauſe it is impoſſible for every thing to ariſe out of nothing, or to fall into nothing; as when he ſays, that the world muſt have been eternal, becauſe it is a contradiction for the univerſe to have had a beginning; ſince, if it had a beginning, it muſt have been cauſed by ſome other thing, and then it is not the univerſe [s]: to which one argument all he ſays in his whole book is plainly reducible. And to ſay the truth, he himſelf ſeems perſuaded, that however eternal and neceſſary every thing in the world be imagined to be, yet even that neceſſity muſt flow from an eternal and intelligent mind, the neceſſary perfections of whoſe nature are the cauſe of that harmony which keeps the univerſe toge-

*The opinion of* Ocellus Lucanus.

[l] Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſup. p. 32. [m] Vid. oracles of reaſon, p. 215. [n] OCELL. LUCAN. de univ. p. 506. inter opuſc. mythol. edit. per T. Gale, 1688. [o] Ib. 510. [p] Ib. 528. [q] Ib. 530. [r] Ib. 514. Vid. alſo oracles of reaſon, ubi ſup. [s] OCELL. ibid. 506. 508.

ther, and prevents its falling into diſorder [t]. He allows God to have given men faculties, organs of ſenſe, and appetites, not for the ſake of pleaſure, but fitted for final cauſes [u]; and expreſly aſſerts, that the ever active being governs, and the ever paſſive is governed; that the one is firſt in power, the other poſterior; that the one is divine, rational, and intelligent, and the other generated, irrational, and liable to change [x].

*Of* Ariſtotle. ARISTOTLE alſo held this opinion, as is ſufficiently known; and, if he may be believed, was the firſt, at leaſt of the *Greeks*, who aſſerted it; for he ſays, that, before his time, the temporary production of the world was univerſally entertained, though it was a queſtion whether it ſhould ever periſh or no [y]. His doctrine was, that not only the matter of the heavens and earth was ingenerate and eternal; but that even mankind and all the ſpecies of animals, male and female, have ſubſiſted from everlaſting by a perpetual courſe of generation, without any original beginning or production; and that the earth hath for ever been adorned with trees, plants, flowers, minerals, and other productions, as we now ſee it to be [z]. But how this is reconcileable with what he elſewhere delivers of the natural gravity and levity of different elements, ſeems hard to ſhew: for if thoſe elements were ever in their natural places and diſpoſitions, according to their reſpective gravity, which nothing but ſome external violence could have hindered; it follows neceſſarily, that the earth once was in a very different form from what it now is, and could not poſſibly be inhabited from eternity [a]. The great reaſon, which induced *Ariſtotle* to aſſert the world to be eternal [b], was, becauſe he thought ſuch an effect muſt needs eternally proceed from ſuch an eternal cauſe as the divine Mind, which, being all act and energy, could not reſt in a ſtate of inactivity. He acknowleges, that the firſt principle is neither fire, earth, nor water, nor any thing which is the object of ſenſe; but that a ſpiritual ſubſtance is

[t] OCELL. de legibus fragm. ibid. p. 537. [u] Idem de univ. 531. Vid. Dr. CLARKE's demonſtration, &c. p. 33, &c. [x] OCELL. de legibus fragm. ubi ſup. p. 538. [y] ARISTOT. de cœlo, lib. i. cap. 10. [z] Ibid. cap. 12. Vid. PHILON. Jud. de incorruptibilitate mundi, p. 940. BURNET's archæol. l. i. p. 180. CUDWORTH's intellectual ſyſtem, p. 250. [a] Vid. BURNET's archæol. l. i. p. 181. and his theory of the earth, v. i. p. 51. [b] Several other reaſons were given by his followers, nearly agreeing with thoſe of OCELLUS, which may be read in PHILO Jud. ubi ſup. p. 943, &c.

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the cauſe of the univerſe, and the ſource of all the order and beauty, as well as of the motions and forms, which we ſo much admire in it [c]. And he expreſly deſcribes GOD to be an intelligent Being [d], incorporeal, the firſt mover of all things, himſelf immoveable [e], eternal, indiviſible, and void of all quantity [f]; and affirms, that if there were nothing but matter in the world, there would be no original cauſe, but an infinite progreſſion of cauſes [g]; which is abſurd [h]. So that the true notion of this great philoſopher was, that though the world had no temporary generation, yet it was produced from one ſupreme Deity, after ſome other manner [i].

THESE ſentiments of *Ariſtotle*, as to the eternity of the world, have been embraced by many of his followers, and, among the reſt, by ſeveral learned *Mohammedans*, who were thence named *Dahrians*, or *Eternaliſts*. Of this opinion *al Farâbi*, *al Kendi*, *Ebn Roſhd*, and *Ebn Sina* (which two laſt we uſually call *Averroes* and *Avicenna*), were ſuſpected; and therefore their philoſophy was publicly, and even in the pulpit, inveighed againſt by the more orthodox, and themſelves branded with the invidious appellations of atheiſts and infidels [k].

THOUGH *Plato*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter, did himſelf plainly acknowlege the world to be made by GOD, yet having uſed ſome expreſſions, as if he thought the time of its formation to be indefinite; as when he ſays, that the world muſt needs be an eternal reſemblance of the eternal idea [l]; his followers, or the greateſt part of them, who adhered to *Ariſtotle*'s opinion in this matter, took advantage of theſe expreſſions, and explained them ſo, as if by the creation of the world was not to be underſtood a creation in time, but only in order of nature, cauſality, and dependence [m]: that is, that the will of GOD, and his power of acting, being neceſſarily as eternal as his eſſence, the effects of that will and power muſt be ſuppoſed coeval to the will and power themſelves; in the ſame manner as light would eter- *Of* Plato's *followers.*

[c] ARISTOT. metaph. l. i. cap. 2, 3. [d] Νοῦς. [e] DIOGENES LAERT. in vita ARISTOT. p. 286. ed. Amſt. 1692. [f] In phyſ. l. vii. c. 1. &c. [g] In metaph. [h] Vid. CLARKE's demonſtration, &c. p. 35. and alſo CUDWORTH, p. 253. [i] SIMPLIC. in Ariſtot. phyſ. l. viii. & l. i. c. 1. [k] Vid. D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orientale, p. 303. & elench. ſcriptorum præfix. epiſt. Hai Ebn Yokdhan. [l] PLATO in Timæo, & apud Cicer. de univ. [m] PLOTINUS en. III. l. ii c. 1. & en. II. l. ix. c. 3.

nally proceed from the sun [n], or a shadow from the interposed body, or an impression from an impoſed seal, if the respective causes of these effects were supposed eternal [o]. Existence from eternity, and being caused or produced by another, were not therefore by these philosophers apprehended to be contradictory or inconsistent. And as they were led into this opinion, no otherwise than from the sole consideration of the Deity; *viz.* its benevolent will, and generative power [p]; so they allowed, that the world, notwithstanding its being from eternity, might in some sense be said to be made, as being produced from another cause, and not self-originated. And the generation of the inferior gods, and world, in this sense, *Proclus* himself, that grand champion for the world's eternity, plainly acknowleges, when he says, that they called it the generations of the gods; meaning thereby, not any temporary production, but their ineffable procession from a superior first cause [q].

THE later Platonists were so fond of this notion of the world's eternity, that, being on the one hand unwilling to abandon it, and on the other desirous to save appearances, they endeavoured, by forced constructions, to wrest their master's words, especially his *Timæus*, to their purpose; and, as has been long since observed, turned themselves every way, using all manner of violence to the text, as conceiving they ought, by all possible means, to conceal and deny the generation of the world, and of its soul, as if it were some horrid thing, and not to be spoken of [r]. It is well known, that Platonism was very early introduced into the church; and even this dogm favourably received by some, and *Origen* in particular [s], and as zealously opposed by others. It may however be worth observing, that this doctrine of the world's co-eternity with GOD was, in the sixth century, suffered to be publicly taught in *Alexandria* by *Ammonius*, the scholar of *Proclus* [t], and not without success.

[n] Idem, en. V. l. viii. c. 12. SALLUST. de diis & mundo, cap. 7. PROCLUS in Timæum, l ii. p. 111. [o] Dr. CLARKE's demonstration, &c. p. 37. See also the authors there cited, & PHILO Jud. de incorruptibilitate mundi. [p] PROCL. in Tim. p. 116. [q] PROCL. in Tim. p. 85. Vid. etiam SALLUST. c. 13. CUDWORTH, p. 253. [r] PLUTARCH. de psychog. Plat. p. 1013. [s] Vid. METHODIUM de creatis, apud Photium, p 932. [t] ZACHARIAS Mitylenensis, in biblioth. patrum, vol. ii. p. 331. ed. Paris, 1644.

To the arguments made uſe of by the Platoniſts for the eternity of the world, drawn from the nature and attributes of GOD, it has been anſwered; that though GOD be eſſentially and neceſſarily good, yet the communications of his goodneſs are the effects of his will, and not merely of his nature. For GOD, being a free agent, could have refrained from making the world, or could have made it otherwiſe; and therefore thoſe, who make the expreſſions of the divine bounty neceſſary, in order to ſettle the world's eternity, and that he might always have an object whereon to exerciſe his goodneſs, take as much from his ſelf-ſufficiency, as they would ſeem to flatter his goodneſs. For GOD cannot be himſelf without his goodneſs; and therefore, if his goodneſs cannot be without ſome creature to ſhew and diſplay itſelf upon, GOD cannot be perfect, or happy, without his creatures; becauſe theſe are the neceſſary iſſues of his goodneſs, and conſequently the being of the creature becomes neceſſary to the being of GOD, which is the higheſt derogation imaginable from the abſolute perfection of the divine nature [u]. All which is very true, and we do not ſee what reply a Platoniſt could make, if it were the real doctrine of the ſect, that the world was an involuntary effect of his mere nature. But they plainly taught otherwiſe, and expreſly declared, that one of the reaſons why they maintained the world not to be a temporary production, was, the conſideration of his *beneficent will* [x], as well as his productive power; both which being ſuppoſed, the effect may neceſſarily follow, without any derogation from GOD's abſolute perfections. It is not therefore without due conſideration, that very able diſputants have acknowleged, that the time when the world was created, or whether its creation was, properly, ſpeaking, in time, is not ſo eaſy to demonſtrate ſtrictly by bare reaſon, but the proof of it can be taken only from revelation; and therefore they, who, wanting that light, have denied the world to have had a beginning, are ſomewhat excuſable [y].

*An Answer to the Platonic argument for the world's eternity considered.*

BUT, on a nicer diſcuſſion, this controverſy about the eternity of the world will appear to be, in a great meaſure, a diſ-

*This controverſy ſet in a clearer light.*

[u] Vid. Biſhop STILLINGFLEET's origines ſacræ, p. 275, &c.

[x] Ἀγαθοειδὴς βούλησις. PROCL. in Timæum, p. 116. which Words Dr. CUDWORTH has tranſlated, ſomewhat freely, *eſſential goodneſs*. Intell. ſyſtem, p. 253.

[y] Dr. CLARKE's demonſtr. &c. p. 39. & POIRET, cogitationes rationales de Deo, anima, & mundo, lib. iii. c. 16. num. 9. p. 439. ed. 1685.

a diſpute about words only. All Chriſtians in general (except thoſe who believe the eternity of matter, and therefore deſerve not that name) agree, that GOD alone hath always exiſted; but ſeveral maintain, that he might have actually created the world, as ſoon as he formed the decree of producing it; whence they conclude, that the world might have exiſted eternally, ſince there is no doubt, but that the decree to produce it is eternal. On the other hand, ſeveral maintain, that it is impoſſible for a creature to be eternal[z]. But, when they come to argue, the ſtrength of each party lies rather in making objections, than ſolving them. This diſpute, which is rendered ſo tedious and perplexing, would end preſently, if they would but explain themſelves clearly on each ſide, and forego the equivocal acceptation of *eternity*; and then the queſtion ſhould be thus ſtated: *Is it poſſible, that* GOD *and his creatures may have always exiſted together?* The negative would not ſo readily be taken; for the expreſſion of the eternity of the world, that expreſſion, I ſay, which ſhocks ſo many people, would not ſtrike the mind. To remove this ſtumbling-block ſtill more effectually, it ſhould be declared, that a creature which ſhould have always co-exiſted with GOD would not be eternal, for this reaſon; becauſe the duration of creatures is ſucceſſive, and that eternity is a ſimple duration, which eſſentially excludes both paſt and future. By this eſſential diſtinction between the duration of GOD and that of creatures, the whole conteſt almoſt would ceaſe, and each ſide find their account. It would be granted to thoſe who deny the poſſibility of the creature's being eternal, that they are in the right; and it would not be denied to be poſſible, that GOD and his creatures might have always exiſted together; ſince it is certain, that the cauſe includes not in its idea a priority of time, with reſpect to its effect, and that this is more nicely true as to an almighty cauſe, which needs only will to produce actually whatever it pleaſes. Again, they who ſay, that the creatures have not always co-exiſted with GOD, muſt grant, that GOD exiſted before they did. There was then a *before*, when GOD exiſted alone; therefore it is not true, that GOD's duration is an indiviſible point; whence it follows, that time preceded the exiſtence of creatures: which conſequences drive thoſe, who argue in this manner, to contradict themſelves; for if the duration of GOD be indiviſible,

[z] Vid. JOH. PHILOPON. contra Proclum, p. 4. & CUDWORTH. p. 887.

without

without paſt or future, time and creatures muſt have begun together; and if ſo, how can it be ſaid, that GOD exiſted before the exiſtence of his creatures [a]?

THE two ſeemingly inſuperable arguments then for the eternity of the world are drawn from the eternity of GOD's decree for its creation, and the indiviſibility of the real duration of GOD: which yet have been anſwered in this manner; It is ſuppoſed, that, among the poſſible beings which GOD knew before he made the decrees of creation, one was a ſucceſſive duration, which hath neither beginning nor end, and whoſe parts are as diſtinct from one another, as thoſe of poſſible extenſion, which GOD likewiſe knew before his decrees, as infinite according to the three dimenſions. He has left in the ſtate of poſſible things one part of this infinite duration, and has decreed the exiſtence of the other. He choſe ſuch moment as he pleaſed, in this ideal duration, for the firſt which ſhould exiſt, and annexed thereto the act by which he decreed the creation of the world: ſo that the eternity of that act does not prove the eternity of the world; nor does the indiviſibility of GOD's real duration prove the world had no beginning [b].

BUT, after all, the diſtinction of the ſchoolmen between the manner of the duration of GOD, and that of his creatures, whereon the preceding argumentation is built, tho' it has been generally received by the beſt pagan, as well as chriſtian philoſophers, and is at leaſt as old as *Parmenides* [c], has yet been rejected, and oppoſed by many men of great learning and judgment, as inconſiſtent and unintelligible; it being very hard to conceive eternity to be an inſtant, or how that can be together, or at once, which muſt neceſſarily be imagined to be co-exiſtent to ſucceſſions [d]. And whatever force the above-mentioned arguments may be ſuppoſed to carry for the eternity of the world, underſtanding thereby the univerſe, with its ſeveral changes and viciſſitudes; they are far from proving, that the diſpoſition of the ſolar ſyſtem, much leſs the form of the earth, has been for ever the ſame as we now ſee it: the imagining of which

[a] BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Zabarella, Jaques, rem. H. See alſo epiſt. Abi Jaafer Ebn Tofail de Hai Ebn Jokdhân. edit. à Pococc. p. 105, 106. and Mr. Ockley's Engliſh tranſlation, p. 83. [b] BAYLE, ubi ſupra. [c] See CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſtem, p. 388. [d] GASSEND. phyſic. l. i. Archbiſhop TILLOTSON, vol. vii. ſerm. 13. See alſo Dr. CLARKE's demonſtr. &c. p. 45. and CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſtem, p. 644.

ſeems

ſeems to have been the great error of the old Eternaliſts, and has been ſtrongly oppoſed by ſeveral arguments, as well from reaſon, as human teſtimony, ſeparate from the evidence of divine revelation, as will be ſeen hereafter.

*The opinion of thoſe who held the univerſe to be God.*

SOME modern aſſerters of the world's eternity have gone on very different principles from theſe antients, and ventured to affirm the material univerſe to be ſelf-exiſtent, and the ſupreme deity itſelf. This is the doctrine of *Spinoza*, the firſt, as is ſuppoſed, who reduced atheiſm into a ſyſtem, by regular deductions, after the method of the mathematicians. But as the fundamental opinion, whereon he erected that ſyſtem, was not new, it may be proper, before we ſpeak of him, to ſay ſomething of thoſe who led him the way, though he has departed from them in ſome reſpects.

*The opinion of* Xenophanes, *and his followers;*

THAT the univerſe is but one ſubſtance, and that GOD and the world are but one and the ſame thing, hath been an opinion of ſome ſtanding, and is ſuppoſed to have been firſt taught by *Xenophanes*, the founder of the ſect afterwards called the *Eleatic*. He is ſaid to have held not only the eternity and immutability of the world [e], but alſo, that whatever exiſted was one being; that there was neither any generation nor corruption; that this one being was immoveable, and remained always the ſame [f], and was the true GOD [g]; which doctrine was not only defended by his ſucceſſors, *Parmenides*, *Meliſſus*, and *Zeno* of *Elea*, but by *Stilpo*, and the *Megaric* philoſophers alſo. And to obviate the objection, which might be brought againſt the unchangeable nature of the univerſe, from the continual alterations made therein, by new generations and corruptions, they maintained, that whatever changes it ſeemed to ſuffer, were no more than illuſions of our ſenſes, and mere appearances. Which laſt retreat they are eaſily beaten from: for ſince they cannot deny, but there are changes in the world, in appearance at leaſt, it even thence follows, that nature is not immutable, but muſt neceſſarily be changed in the ſubject which produces or receives our ſenſations; and thoſe ſenſations, being paſſions, imply both an efficient cauſe,

[e] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. de præparat. evang. l. i. cap. 8. & l. xv. cap. 35. [f] ARISTOCLES de philoſoph. apud eund. lib. xiv. cap. 17. Vid. etiam ARISTOT. de Xenophane, Zenone, & Gorgia, in initio; & CICER. in Lucullo. [g] CICER. quæſt. acad. lib. ii. Vid. etiam SEXTUM EMPIRIC. in Pyrrhon. hypotyp. l. i.

and

and a paſſive principle, which overthrows at once their pretended unity of all things [h].

NEVERTHELESS this opinion of *Xenophanes* and his followers, that all things are one, which ſeems ſo impious and abſurd, has been ſo explained by ſeveral learned men [i], and themſelves defended, as if, by the univerſe or *all*, they meant not the material principle of which all things are compoſed, but that one ſimple principle, from whence all things had their original, that is, the true GOD, whom they expreſly affirm to be incorporeal [k], and therefore could not poſſibly be, in their opinion, the material world. But the writings of theſe philoſophers being not without obſcurity, ſome of the antients, who were leſs acquainted with metaphyſical ſpeculations, underſtood them phyſically; as if they had aſſerted the whole corporeal world to be all but one thing, and that immoveable; thereby deſtroying, together with the diverſity of things, all motion, mutation, and action; which was plainly to make them not to have been philoſophers, but madmen. *Simplicius* [l], a man well acquainted with the opinions of antient philoſophers, aſſures us, that *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides* herein wrote not as naturaliſts, but as metaphyſicians, not concerning a phyſical element, or principle, but concerning the true being, or the divine tranſcendency; adding, that tho' ſome of thoſe antient philoſophers did not diſtinguiſh natural things from ſupernatural, yet the *Pythagoreans*, and *Xenophanes*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all handle theſe two diſtinctly, however, by reaſon of their obſcurity, it was not perceived by many; for which cauſe they have been moſt of them miſrepreſented, not only by pagans, but alſo by chriſtians [m]. And in fact, when theſe *Eleatics* come to treat of natural things, they plainly acknowlege them to be compounded of different principles. *Xenophanes* ſuppoſed, that the earth conſiſted of air and fire [n], and that all things were produced out of the earth, and the ſun and ſtars out of clouds [o]: he alſo held, that there were four elements [p]. *Parmenides* made a profeſſed diſtinction between

[h] Vid. ARISTOCL. ubi ſupra. [i] LESCALOPIER, in Cicer. de nat. deor. l. i. p. 44. Art de penſer, part III. cap. 18. & CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſt. p. 377. & 383, &c. [k] CUDWORTH, p. 378. 383, &c. [l] SIMPLIC. in phyſ. Ariſtot. p. 5, 6, &c. [m] CUDWORTH, p. 383. See BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Xenophanes, remarq. L. [n] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. xv. cap. 55. [o] Idem in ſtrom. apud eund. l. i. cap. 8. [p] DIOGEN. LAERT. in vita Xenoph. p. 558.

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the doctrine concerning theological and metaphyſical things, called by him *truth*, and that concerning phyſical and corporeal things, which he called *opinion*. In the former of which doctrines he aſſerted one immoveable principle, but in the latter two moveable ones, fire and earth, or heat and cold, the firſt being the workman, and the other the matter [q]; he taught, that the earth was formed of a denſer air, which ſubſided [r], and that mankind was firſt produced out of mud [s]. Which notions concerning the origin of things he ſeems to have received from *Archelaus* the *Ionic*, whoſe auditor he is ſaid to have been. And with them *Zeno* alſo agreed, holding, that the nature of all things aroſe from a mixture of heat and cold, drineſs and moiſture; and that man was generated of the earth, being equally compounded of the aforeſaid principles, ſo that neither predominated [t].

*Of* Strato Lampſacenus.

WHETHER *Strato* of *Lampſacus* held the unity of all things or no, is a doubt; for though he made nature inanimate, and acknowleged no god but nature [u], yet it is not certain, that he taught the univerſe, or nature, to be one ſimple being. From his ridiculing the atoms of *Democritus* [x], it has been thought reaſonable to imagine, that he admitted no difference between the parts of the univerſe; but this is allowed to be no neceſſary conſequence. It may be only concluded, that his opinion approaches infinitely nearer to *Spinoziſm*, than the corpuſcular ſyſtem. There is likewiſe ſome room to believe, that he did not teach, as the atomiſts did, that the world was a new work, and produced by chance; but, as the *Spinoziſts* do, that nature produced it neceſſarily, and from all eternity [y]. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that he held that which was natural to follow that which was fortuitous [z], as if he allowed ſomething to chance, a firſt motion, or impreſſion at leaſt, which was afterwards perfected by nature, or the plaſtic life, ſuppoſed by him to be in every part of matter; making the mundane ſyſtem to depend upon a certain mixture of chance, and plaſtic or orderly

[q] SIMPLIC. ubi ſupra; & DIOG. LAERT. in vita Parmenidis, p. 560. [r] PLUTARCH. apud Euſeb. ubi ſup. l. i. cap. 8. [s] DIOG. LAERT. loco citato. CICERO in Lucullo. SIMPLIC. & THEMIST. in lib. i. phyſic. Ariſt. [t] DIOG. LAERT. in vita Zenon. p. 566. [u] CICERO de nat. deor. l. i. & quæſt. acad. l. ii. LACTANT. de ira Dei, cap. 10. [x] CICERO quæſt. acad. ubi ſupra. [y] BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Spinoza, rem. A. [z] PLUTARCH. adv. Coletem, p. 1115.

nature,

nature, both together [a]. But as his opinion is repreſented by *Lactantius* [b], he rejected all chance, which was the great difference between him and the Epicureans, and affirmed, that nature had in itſelf a generative and vital power, but had neither ſenſe nor figure; ſo that all things were, as he imagined, generated of their own accord, without the aſſiſtance of any Former, or Author.

*Of* Alexander *the epicurean, and ſome heretical chriſtians.*

BUT, whatever was the real notion of this greateſt of the Peripatetic philoſophers [c], it is certain, that *Alexander* the Epicurean, who is ſuppoſed to have been contemporary with *Plutarch* [d], maintained, that GOD is matter, or not diſtinct from it; that all things are eſſentially GOD, and that forms are imaginary accidents, which have no real exiſtence; and therefore he held all things to be ſubſtantially the ſame [e]. Some heretical Chriſtians have alſo embraced this extravagant opinion; as one *Amalric* in particular, whoſe dead body was taken up, and burnt, in the beginning of the thirteenth century [f], for having in his life-time taught, that all things were GOD, and GOD was all things, and the eſſence of all creatures; ſo that the creator and the creature were the ſame; and that GOD was therefore called the end of all things, becauſe all returned into him [g]. Which ſentiments of his were followed by his ſcholar *David* of *Dinant*, and ſeveral others [h]; the learned *Peter Abelard* having alſo been accuſed of holding the ſame opinion [i].

*Of certain ſects among the* Japoneſe *and* Mohammedans.

NOR has this notion been confined to *Europe* only, it having alſo made no ſmall progreſs in the eaſt. A conſiderable ſect among the *Japoneſe* teach, that there is but one principle of all things; that this principle is ſimple, clear, luminous, incapable of increaſe or diminution, without figure, perfect in the higheſt degree, wiſe, but void of reaſon or underſtanding, leading a life of perfect inaction, eaſe, and tranquillity; like a man, whoſe attention is ſtrongly fixed on one thing, regardleſs of all others. They hold, that this

[a] Vid. CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſtem, p. 108. and BAYLE's dict. loco citato. [b] LACTANTIUS de ira Dei, loco citato. [c] So PLUTARCH calls him in the paſſage above-quoted. [d] THOMASIUS diſſertat. xiv. ad philoſoph. ſtoic. p. 199. [e] ALBERTUS MAGNUS, in 1 phyſic. tract. 3. c. 13. [f] V. PRATEOLUM, in elencho hæreſ. voce Amalricus, p. 23. He adds, that, according to ſome authors, this heretic, and his adherents, were burnt alive. [g] THOMASIUS, loco citato, ex GERSON. tractat. de concordia metaphyſ. cum logic. [h] See the authors juſt cited, and BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Spinoza, rem. A. [i] BAYLE, ibid.

principle

principle is in all particular beings, and communicates his eſſence to them, in ſuch a manner, that they are the ſame thing with him, and are reſolved into him when they are deſtroyed [k]. The ſect called by the *Mohammedans al Zenâdika* (the ſingular of which is *Zendîk*) do alſo maintain, that whatſoever we ſee, or is in the world, is GOD [l]. And the famous *Abu Moſlem*, by whoſe conduct and ſucceſs the Khalifat was tranſlated from the family of *Omeya* to that of *Abbâs*, is ſaid to have held the ſame opinion, and that all things returned at laſt into one common principle, or GOD; which opinion ſome have ſuppoſed to be what the *Arabian* authors call the *metempſychoſis of reſolution* [m], and differs little, if any thing, from that of a later ſect, who ſprang up among the *Mohammedans* about 300 years ago, and call themſelves *Ahl al tahkîk*, or *people of certainty*: they believe, that there is no other god than the four elements, which, together with the world, and all its changes and viciſſitudes, they aſſert to be eternal; and that mankind, as well as other beings, are a compound of thoſe elements, of which they are formed, and into which they return, and are diſſipated. Of this ſect there are great numbers in the province of *Lar* in *Perſia* [n].

*The dogm of the ſoul of the world.*

THE dogm of the ſoul of the world, which is not only common at this time in the eaſt, but was ſo among the antients, and made the chief part of the Stoic ſyſtem, is at the bottom the ſame with that of *Spinoza* [o]: but as he differed from the Stoics, not only in contracting GOD's knowlege, which they allowed to be univerſal, and in denying his providence, but alſo in aſſerting the preſent diſpoſition of the world to have been neceſſary and eternal, and conſequently ſubject to no decay, contrary to their expreſs doctrine, it will be more proper to conſider that opinion under the next head. We ſhall only obſerve here, that ſome heterodox Stoics, as *Boëthius* in particular, did not only deny the world to be an animal, or intelligent being [p], ſubſtituting in the

[k] POSSEVIN. biblioth. ſelect. tom. I. lib. x. cap. 11. p. 411, &c. See alſo BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Japon. rem. D.
[l] Viaggi di PIETRO DELLA VALLE, tom. III. p. 394.
[m] EBN AL AMID, in vita Khalifæ al Manſûr. See a more preciſe account of this opinion in Mr. Sale's preliminary diſcourſe to his tranſlation of the Korân, p. 176, and 182.
[n] DELLA VALLE, tom. III. p. 392. [o] Vide BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Spinoza, rem. A. [p] DIOG. LAERT. in vita Zenonis Cit. p. 455.

room of its mind or ſoul a plaſtic nature; but alſo aſſerted the world's eternity and incorruptibility, or one conſtant and invariable courſe or tenor of things [q]. The elder *Pliny* ſeems alſo to have been of this opinion; for he declares, that the world, and that which by another name is called heaven, by whoſe circular motion all things are governed, ought to be believed to be an eternal and immenſe deity, ſuch as was neither made, nor will ever be deſtroyed [r].

SPINOSA taught, that there is no difference of ſubſtances, but that the whole, and every part of the material world, is a neceſſarily exiſtent being, and conſequently infinite [s]; that there is no other god but the univerſe [t], and that extenſion is one of his attributes [u]: that ſince it is abſolutely impoſſible for any thing to be created or produced by another, and alſo abſolutely impoſſible for GOD to have cauſed any thing to be, in any reſpect different from what it now is [x]; every thing that exiſts muſt needs be a part of the divine ſubſtance, not as a modification cauſed in it by any will or good pleaſure, or wiſdom in the whole (for he expreſly denies GOD to act by any freedom of will [y], or for the ſake of final cauſes [z]), but as of abſolute neceſſity in itſelf, with reſpect to the manner of the exiſtence of each part, no leſs than with reſpect to the ſelf-exiſtence of the whole. So that the opinion of *Spinoſa* evidently comes to this; that the univerſe, or material world, is GOD, or the ſelf-exiſtent being; and that all particular beings, corporeal extenſion, the ſun, moon, plants, animals, men, their motions, ideas, imaginations, and appetites, are all neceſſary modifications of him [a]. *The opinion of Spinoſa.*

THIS monſtrous ſyſtem, though it has met with ſome patrons, has yet been ſufficiently expoſed and confuted by even the weakeſt of its adverſaries [b], and indeed carries its antidote along with it. For *Spinoſa*, to avoid the abovementioned inſuperable objection made to the Eleatics, who held the univerſe to be immutable, falls into a worſe extremity, and attributes a continual change and corruption to *Confuted.*

[q] PHILO Jud. de incorruptibil. mundi, p. 947. Poſidonius and Panætius alſo maintained the world to be eternal, ibid. [r] PLIN. nat. hiſt. lib. ii. c. 1. [s] SPINOSA, in ethic. part. I. prop. vi, vii, and viii. [t] Ibid. prop. xiv. [u] Ibid. in ſchol. ad prop. xv. & part II. prop. ii. [x] Ibid. part I. prop. vi. & xxxiii. [y] Ibid. prop. xxxii. coroll. 1. [z] Ibid. in append. ad prop. xxxvi. [a] See Dr. CLARKE's demonſtr. &c. p. 28, &c. & BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Spinoſa, rem. DD. [b] Vid. BAYLE, ibid. rem. M, & P.

the divine nature, in reſpect of its various modifications: which doctrine ſhocks common ſenſe, it being horrible to ſuppoſe the Deity both the cauſe and ſubject of all the moral and phyſical evils, which are ſo frequent in the world; and what can be more abſurd, than to imagine matter, the vileſt of all things, the theatre of all changes, and the field of battle of contrary cauſes, to be that ſupreme, perfect being, *with whom is no variableneſs, neither ſhadow of turning*[c]? The very foundations of this hypotheſis are in a moment overturned, if we admit either a vacuum, or the diviſibility of matter, the one deſtroying the infinity, and the other the unity, of GOD[d]; and therefore the *Spinoſiſts* conſtantly deny both, ridiculouſly pretending, that there can be no diviſion of matter, unleſs one part be ſeparated from the other by empty ſpace. It ſeems alſo impoſſible, according to this ſyſtem, that the Deity can be an intelligent being: for, perception and intelligence being really a diſtinct quality, or perfection, and not a mere effect, or compoſition of unintelligent figure and motion; as has been well proved[e]; it follows, that GOD could not poſſibly be poſſeſſed even of that imperfect underſtanding allowed him by *Spinoſa*, which, however, being wholly ſeparate from any power of will or choice, is, in any reſpect, of any excellency, or indeed, to any common ſenſe, the very ſame thing as no underſtanding at all[f]. Mr. *Hobbes*, who alſo held, that there was no ſubſtance diſtinct from matter, being preſſed in his own mind with the difficulty ariſing from the impoſſibility of ſenſe or conſciouſneſs being merely the effect of figure and motion, is forced to recur to that prodigiouſly abſurd ſuppoſition of the antient Hylozoics, that all matter, as matter, is indued not only with figure, and a capacity of motion, but alſo with an actual ſenſe or perception; and wants only the organs and memory of animals, to expreſs its ſenſation[g].

*The opinion of thoſe who held the matter of the world to be eternal, but not the form.*

THE ſecond opinion, that the ſubſtance of the univerſe is eternal, tho' the form be not, was generally embraced by the antients, who, from that eſtabliſhed axiom, *That nothing can be produced from nothing*[h], concluded the creation of

[c] Jam. i. 17. See BAYLE dict. hiſt. ubi ſup. rem. N.
[d] Tho' SPINOSA allows GOD to be one, yet he aſſerts, that GOD cannot be ſaid to be one, or a ſimple being, in propriety of ſpeech, opera poſthuma, ep. l. p. 557. [e] Dr. CLARKE's demonſtr. &c. p. 61, &c. [f] Ibid. 55. [g] HOBBES phyſic. cap. xxv. ſect. 5. See Dr. CLARKE, ubi ſupra, p. 63. [h] Ex nihilo nihil.

matter

matter to be an abſolute impoſſibility; but at the ſame time thought, they had good reaſon to believe the world had not always been in its preſent ſtate and diſpoſition. They who held this opinion may be divided into two claſſes. The firſt endeavoured to account for the generation of the world, or its reduction into the preſent form, from mechanical principles only, and the activity of matter, without having recourſe to the aſſiſtance of any divine power; the other introduced an intelligent mind, as the architect and diſpoſer of all things. But, before we produce their ſeveral ſyſtems and notions, it may be proper to examine the principles, they proceed upon, more nearly.

*The abſurdity of ſuppoſing matter to be uncreated.*

THERE is no doubt, but that the creation of matter, on due weighing the arguments for and againſt it, will appear to be ſo far from impoſſible [i], that it muſt neceſſarily be admitted [k]. For, if it be abſurd to imagine matter to be the only ſubſtance, as has been ſufficiently ſhewn, it is much more ſo to ſuppoſe two, or more, eternal beings; which yet was not by the antients thought to be contradictory. But this impious poſition, that GOD is not the creator of matter, being once laid down for truth, thoſe philoſophers who made GOD the former, preſerver, and director, of the world, notwithſtanding their ſeeming orthodoxy, argued much more inconſiſtently than thoſe who denied him to have any concern with it. For, if matter was an eternal uncreated being, and diſtinct from GOD, it owed its exiſtence to its own nature only, depending on no other cauſe, either in reſpect of its eſſence, or its properties. And it is contrary to all rules of reaſon, that another being ſhould exerciſe ſo great a power over matter, as intirely to change it, and form a world out of that which had been ſelf-exiſtent from all eternity, without being a world. If GOD's right to act in this manner be founded on his ſuperior power, the ſame title would authorize all uſurpations, and confound all notions of right and wrong. If it be ſaid, that God dealt thus arbitrarily with matter out of a principle of goodneſs, on a ſuppoſition of its inſenſibility, and precedent imperfection; the anſwer which has been given is, that ſuch a work would not be ſo much an inſtance of GOD's goodneſs, as an effect of ſuperfluous diligence, in endeavouring to put in order what he had not created, as if any order or perfection could be wanting in a being which had eternally ſubſiſted of itſelf; for all acceſſions to ſuch a being muſt be

[i] See before, p. 2, and 3. [k] Vid. BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Anaxagoras, rem. G, p. 212. & art. Hierocles philoſophe, rem. A,

foreign to its nature, and conſequently a defect. God therefore muſt, in ſuch a caſe, have begun his work by an ill action, in going about to diveſt of its natural ſtate a ſubſtance, uncreated as well as himſelf, and his own ſiſter [l].

On the other hand, they who attribute the formation of the univerſe to mere matter and motion, without the intervention of a Deity, tho' they avoid the above-mentioned abſurdities, yet fall into other difficulties as inextricable, by ſuppoſing the eternal motion of matter; which they are obliged to do, if they will not contradict their own maxim, and admit motion at leaſt to be produced out of nothing. But if motion be eternal, it was either eternally cauſed by ſome eternal intelligent being, which would again introduce the Deity whom they had excluded: or it muſt be of itſelf neceſſary and ſelf-exiſtent; whence it would follow, that it muſt be a contradiction in terms to ſuppoſe any matter to be at reſt, or to ſuppoſe that there might poſſibly have been originally more or leſs motion in the univerſe, than there actually was; both which are conſequences too abſurd and ridiculous for any to admit: or elſe, without any neceſſity in its own nature, and without any external neceſſary cauſe, it muſt have exiſted from eternity by an endleſs ſucceſſive communication; which is alſo a plain contradiction; for an infinite ſucceſſion of merely dependent beings, without any original cauſe, is a ſeries of beings, which has neither neceſſity nor cauſe, nor any reaſon at all of its exiſtence, neither within itſelf, nor from without; that is, 'tis an expreſs impoſſibility. A late author [m] indeed has ventured to aſſert, and pretended to prove, that motion, meaning the *conatus* or endeavour to move, is eſſential to all matter: but how philoſophically, may appear from this one conſideration. The *conatus* to motion in any one particle of matter muſt be either a *conatus* to move ſome one determinate way at once, or to move every way at once: a *conatus* to move ſome one determinate way cannot be eſſential to any particle of matter, but muſt ariſe from ſome external cauſe; becauſe there is nothing in the pretended neceſſary nature of any particle to determine its motion neceſſarily and eſſentially one way, rather than another: and a *conatus* equally to move every way at once, is either an abſolute contradiction, or at leaſt can produce nothing in matter, but an eternal reſt of all, and every one of its parts [n].

[l] Hierocles apud Photium in biblioth. cod. cccli. p. 1380. See Bayle dict. hiſt. art. Epicure, rem. S; & art. Hierocles, ubi ſupra. [m] Mr. Toland, lett. 3. [n] See Dr. Clarke's demonſtr. p. 66, 14, and 25.

The

THE ſtate, wherein theſe philoſophers conceived matter to have eternally been before the formation of the world, is alſo liable to ſeveral objections. They generally ſuppoſed the original of the earth to have been from a chaos, or dark, confuſed, fluid, maſs, without diſtinction of elements, and made up of all variety of parts[o], but without order, or any determinate form. To this chaos they attributed a certain motion, ariſing from the action and reaction of the firſt four qualities, and the different tending of the particles of earth and water downwards, and the air and fire upwards. This motion they abſurdly enough imagined to have been irregular and diſorderly [p], till it was ſtopped or changed into a regular and natural motion, either by chance, or divine power. But *Ariſtotle* has long ago obſerved, that the ſuppoſition of ſuch an irregular motion deſtroys itſelf; for it is impoſſible, that what is infinite and eternal ſhould be moved in a diſorderly manner, but muſt neceſſarily have a regular and natural motion; whence it follows, that the production of the world would rather have been an overturning, than introducing, the true natural ſtate: for which reaſon, he ſays, *Anaxagoras* ſeemed to have been in the right, when he began his formation of the world from matter intirely at reſt [q]. So that, if we admit the motion of the chaotic particles to have been natural, and according to their ſeveral qualities and properties, the very poſſibility of matter's having continued in that ſtate from eternity is deſtroyed, becauſe we then introduce a principle which will neceſſarily ſeparate the ſeveral kinds of bodies one from the other, and that in a certain limited ſpace of time. This principle alſo renders the aſſiſtance of a Deity unneceſſary; for, if the chaos be acknowleged to have in itſelf all the internal power that is requiſite for the ſeparation of its parts, and the placing of every element in its proper ſituation, there can be no occaſion for the intervention of any external cauſe.

*Objection to the ſtate of matter before the formation of the world, according to this opinion.*

[o] Mr. BAYLE ſuppoſes Ovid took the chaos to have been intirely homogeneous, becauſe, in his fine deſcription of it, in the firſt book of his Metamorphoſes, he ſays, that there was then but one face of nature in the world: which is inconſiſtent with what he preſently adds of the diſagreeing principles of which the chaos conſiſted. But that expreſſion may rather be underſtood of the uniformity of the whole, as being equally, in every part, a promiſcuous compound of all the elements. Vid. dict. hiſt. art. Ovide, rem. G. [p] PLATO in Timæo, apud Ariſtot. de cœlo, lib. iii. cap. 2. p. 370. OVID. metam. l. i. [q] ARISTOT. de cœlo, loco citato.

To reaſon well therefore concerning the production of the world, we muſt conſider GOD as the author of matter, and as the firſt and ſole principle of motion. If we cannot raiſe our minds ſo high as to conceive a creation properly ſo called, which way ever we turn, we ſhall find ourſelves driven to aſſertions and ſuppoſitions directly contrary to reaſon, and be involved in an endleſs labyrinth of abſurdities and contradictions [r].

*Theſe philoſophers right in ſuppoſing the world had a beginning.*

BUT, however they who held this opinion were miſtaken in accounting for the origin of the world, they had great reaſon to aſſert, that it had a beginning, and was once formed out of a confuſed chaos. For though the preciſe time of this formation could not have been exactly known, without revelation; yet, even at this day, there are remaining many conſiderable, and very ſtrong rational proofs, which make it exceeding probable, that this preſent frame and conſtitution of the earth, at leaſt, has been of no very antient date. The changes which muſt neceſſarilly fall out naturally in the earth in a vaſt length of time, by petrification, the ſinking and waſhing down of mountains, the daily encroaching of the land upon the ſea, the conſumption of water by plants, and innumerable other accidents; the univerſal tradition of the moſt antient nations, both learned and barbarous; the number of men with which the earth is at preſent inhabited; the late original and invention of all uſeful arts and ſciences; the ſhortneſs of the hiſtory of the world, which reaches up but to a very few ages; the manifeſt abſurdities and contradictions of thoſe few accounts, which pretend to a greater antiquity; the impoſſibility that univerſal deluges, or other accidents, ſhould at certain long periods have oftentimes deſtroyed far the greateſt part of mankind, with the memory of all former actions and inventions, and yet never have happened to deſtroy them all; theſe, and many more arguments drawn from nature, reaſon, and obſervation, make it exceeding probable, that the formation of the earth was novel, and of no great antiquity. And it is not to be doubted, but that the doctrine of thoſe antient poets and philoſophers, who taught that the world had a beginning, was founded on ſtill more antient traditions, which were ſo many authorities to them, as their teſtimonies are at this day to us [s].

HAVING

[r] See BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Ovide, rem. G. [s] See Dr. NICHOLLS's conf. with a theiſt, vol. i. part. 1. p. 26, &c. Dr. BURNET's theory of the earth, book i. c. 4. p. 49.

HAVING obſerved thus much, it is time to take a view of the different hypotheſes, which may be ranged under this head; and we ſhall begin with thoſe, who, excluding all divine interpoſition, accounted for the formation of the univerſe, from the properties and action of matter only.

AND with this doctrine the moſt antient profane accounts we have now remaining of the original of the world, *viz.* the *Phœnician*, *Egyptian*, and *Babylonian*, have been charged; but whether juſtly or no, muſt be left to the judgment of the reader, after we ſhall have laid before him, firſt the accounts themſelves, and then the obſervations which have been made on them.

THE firſt of them is that of the *Phœnicians*, which has been tranſmitted to us by *Sanchoniatho*, one of their own writers, and was originally taken, as he aſſures us, from the coſmogony of *Taautus*, who was the ſame with the *Egyptian Thoyth*, or *Hermes*[t]. He wrote, that the firſt principle of the univerſe was a dark and ſpiritual (or windy) air, or a ſpirit of dark air, and a turbid obſcure chaos; and that theſe things were infinite, and for many ages had no bounds. But, when the ſpirit was affected with love towards its own principles, and a mixture followed, that conjunction was called *deſire*. This was the beginning of the formation of all things; but the ſpirit did not know (or acknowlege) its own production. From this conjunction of the ſpirit was begotten *môt*[u], which ſome call *mud*, others a corruption of a watry mixture; and of this came the ſeed of all creatures, and the generation of the univerſe. That there were certain animals which had no ſenſe, from which proceeded intelligent animals called *Zophaſemin*[x], that

*The* Phœnician *coſmogony.*

49. Dr. CLARKE's diſcourſe concerning the evidences of natural and revealed religion, p. 252. [t] SANCHONIATHO, apud EUSEB. de præp. ev. l. i. c. 10. [u] *Môt*. BOCHART derives this word from the Arabic *madah*, which ſignifies, as he ſays, the firſt matter of things. But as SANCHONIATHO makes the chaos, and not *môt*, to be the firſt material principle, Biſhop CUMBERLAND thinks it may better be accounted for from another Arabic word, which needs no ſuch changes, as he is forced to preſume: and that is *matha*, which ſignifies to ſteep, or macerate in water; *mawth*, the noun, denotes ſuch a confuſion, or ſolution, as is thereby made; a mucilage, as phyſicians ſpeak. CUMBERL. remarks on the coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 4. By what is afterwards ſaid of *môt*'s ſhining forth with the ſun, moon, and ſtars, it ſeems THOYTH conſidered the earth as a planet. Vid. ib. p. 18. [x] ZOPHASEMIN, צופי שמים *ſophe ſhamaim* in Hebrew. or Phœnician, ſignifies the ſpies or obſervers of heaven. Theſe

that is, *the contemplators of heaven*, being formed alike in the ſhape of an egg: immediately *môt*, with the ſun, moon, ſtars, and larger conſtellations, ſhone forth. That the air being intenſely enlightened by the violent degree of heat communicated to the ſea and earth, winds were generated, and clouds, and great deſcents and defluxions of the heavenly waters; and when they were ſeparated, and drawn from their proper place, by the heat of the ſun, and then met all again in the air, and daſhed the one againſt the other, thunders and lightnings were ingendered; and at the noiſe of the thunders the before-mentioned intelligent animals awoke, and were terrified with the ſound, and male and female moved in the earth and in the ſea [y].

*Remarks thereon.*

EUSEBIUS of *Cæſarea*, to whom we are obliged for preſerving this fragment, obſerves, that this coſmogony of the *Phœnicians* directly brings in atheiſm [z], *Sanchoniatho* having therein delivered no divinity or theology concerning the ſupreme GOD, nor concerning the inhabitants of heaven [a], or angels. Which animadverſion has been approved, and purſued, by a late very learned man [b], who, with great reaſon, looked on this account of the origin of things as a profeſſed apology for the idolatrous worſhip paid to dead men, and the ſeveral parts of the univerſe; *Thoyth*, having led his tranſcriber into the fouleſt ſink of heatheniſm, which is neglect of the ſovereign and only true GOD, in the making, and conſequently in the governing, of the world; and endeavoured to eſtabliſh the vain and fooliſh religion of the *Phœnicians* and *Egyptians*, who worſhipped the creature more than the creator [c], by pretending to give a generation of the world, without any help from GOD, and ſuppoſing, that the heathen deities, the *Zophaſemin*, which were the planets and fixed ſtars, paſſed gradually from the life of planets, which have no ſenſe (and yet ſome of them were worſhipped), through the ſtate of ſenſible animals, which were more ſolemnly ſerved, till at length they came to be perfect intelligences [d], and ſo worthy to challenge the higheſt worſhip which they gave to them, in which their ſtate-religion reſted.

animals were not the angels, as BOCHART imagines, but the celeſtial bodies, which SANCHON. ſuppoſes to be intelligent, and therefore were adored as gods. Vid. ib. p. 21. [y] SANCHON. apud Euſeb. ubi ſupra. [z] EUSEB. ibid. p. 33. [a] Idem, l. i. cap. 9. p. 31. [b] Biſhop CUMBERLAND, in his remarks on the coſmogony of Sanchoniatho. [c] Vid. Rom. i. 19, &c. [d] Νοερά.

ON

ON the other hand it has been remarked, that it is well known, *Eusebius* took all advantages possible to represent the pagans to the worst, and render their theology ridiculous and absurd [e]; and that, if the best interpretation be put on the words of *Sanchoniatho*, it is not improbable, that the *Phœnicians* supposed two principles, of which one was a turbid dark chaos, and the other a spirit [f], or an understanding prolifical goodness, forming and hatching the corporeal world into perfection [g], the eternity of which spirit seems also to be asserted by what follows, that it knew not its own generation, that is, had no original at all. But this *Phœnician* cosmogony being confessedly taken from that of *Thoyth*, and consequently agreeing in substance with the *Egyptian*, which is therefore under the same imputation of atheism, judgment may be suspended, till that be considered also.

THE account of the origin of the universe, given us by *Diodorus Siculus*, is generally supposed to be the cosmogony of the *Egyptians* [h], though *Diodorus* himself does not say so much; and is as follows: When the universe first coalesced, heaven and earth were of one form, their nature being blended together; but afterwards, as bodies separated, the world took on it the intire disposition wherein we now behold it, and the air began to have a constant motion; upon which its fiery parts flew to the upper regions, being naturally carried upward by their own levity; and hence proceeded the rapid circular motion of the sun and other stars. The muddy and turbid matter, after it had been incorporated with the humid, subsided in one place by its own weight, and, being agitated with continual internal volutations, of the watry parts the sea became formed, and of the more solid the earth, which was slimy and very soft at first; but, stiffening by the rays of the sun, the surface began to ferment, by reason of the heat; and some of the humid parts swelled, and rose by degrees into putrid pustules, covered with thin membranes. The humid matter, thus fecundated by the genial heat, by night received nutriment from the mist falling from the ambient air, and

*The* Egyptian *cosmogony.*

[e] CUDWORTH's intellect. system, p 319. [f] Πνεῦμα; which bishop CUMBERLAND translates *wind*. [g] CUDWORTH, p. 21. [h] EUSEBIUS seems to be of the same opinion, tho' he intitules the chapter, wherein he transcribes this passage from Diodorus (being the 7th of his 1st book de præp. ev.) *Of the cosmogony according to the* Greeks, in regard of their agreement in general with it, the Grecian philosophers having, as is notorious, received their physiology from the Egyptians.

by

by day grew more and more ſolid by the ſun's warmth, till at length, the incloſed brood being arrived at perfect maturity, and the membranes burnt up and burſt, all kinds of creatures were produced. Of which thoſe which had obtained the greater degree of heat, became volatiles, and flew upwards; thoſe, in which the earthy concretion prevailed, were placed in the rank of reptiles, and other terreſtrial animals; and the creatures, which chiefly conſiſted of a watry nature, repaired to a congenial element, and were called fiſh. At length the earth, continually hardening more and more by the heat of the ſun, and by the winds, could no longer produce any of the larger animals; but they began to propagate their ſeveral ſpecies by generation. And, to obviate any objection againſt the poſſibility of the earth's producing living creatures, our author inſtances in the vaſt number of mice, which are ſaid to be bred in the *Upper Egypt*, out of the putrefied mud, after the overflowing of the *Nile*[i].

*Remarks thereon.*

THIS coſmogony, as has been obſerved[k], agrees in ſubſtance with the former, but is more large (as later commentaries uſe to be) in particulars, and nice attempts to a mechanic explication of the generation of the world, without any help from GOD[l]: which conſent is an argument, that they took their notions from the ſame fountain, *Thoyth*. And *Euſebius* makes the ſame animadverſion on this latter, as he does on the former; that the name of GOD is not ſo much as mentioned therein, but a kind of fortuitous and ſpontaneous formation of the univerſe introduced[m]. To confirm which judgment, he in another place recites a paſſage of *Porphyry*, who, in his epiſtle to *Anebo*, an *Egyptian* prieſt, writes, that *Chæremon* and others thought, there was nothing prior to the viſible worlds, and began their diſcourſes with the *Egyptian* gods, which were no other than the planets and ſtars which fill the zodiac, or thoſe which riſe with them; foraſmuch as they who made the ſun the Demiurgus, or *architect of the world*, interpreted their ſtories of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*, and the reſt of their ſacred fables, altogether into the ſtars and planets, and the river *Nile*; and explained all things univerſally into natural or inanimate, and nothing into incorporeal and living ſubſtances.

[i] DIOD. SIC. lib. i. p. 7, 8. The account of the coſmogony given in a ſpurious book, attributed to *Hermes*, intituled *divine ſermons*, is purpoſely omitted, as of no authority or credit.
[k] Vid. GROTIUM de veritate rel. Chriſt. l. i. ſect. 16. in notis.
[l] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 9. [m] EUSEB. de præp ev. l. i. c. 7. p. 21.

From

From whence *Euſebius* infers, that even the ſecret theology of the *Egyptians* deified no other than the ſtars and planets, and acknowleged no incorporeal principle of the univerſe, nor any demiurgic reaſon, god, or gods, or intelligent and inviſible powers, but the viſible ſun only, referring the production of all things to the material, ſenſeleſs, and periſhable elements [n]. Herewith agrees alſo that conciſe account of the *Egyptian* philoſophy given us by *Diogenes Laertius* [o], from *Manetho* and *Hecatæus*; that matter was the firſt principle, out of which the four elements were afterwards ſeparated, and all kinds of animals perfectly formed; and that the ſun and moon were their gods, the one being called *Oſiris*, and the other *Iſis*.

FROM this imputation of acknowleging no Deity beſides ſtupid matter, the *Egyptians* have been ſtrenuouſly defended by a very able man [p], who thinks what *Euſebius* urges againſt them to be of the leſs weight, becauſe he plainly contradicts it elſewhere, by declaring, that that nation profeſſed the belief of a demiurgic reaſon, and intellectual architect of the world, whom, he tells us from the ſame *Porphyry*, they called *Cneph*, and ſymbolically repreſented in the ſhape of a man of a dark-blue complexion, holding a girdle and a ſceptre, with a royal plume on his head, and thruſting forth an egg out of his mouth, from whence proceeded another god, whom they named *Phtha*, and the *Greeks Vulcan*. The reaſon of which hieroglyphic is thus given: becauſe this intellectual being is difficult to be found out, hidden, and inviſible; and becauſe he is the giver of life, and king of all things; and becauſe he is moved in an intellectual or ſpiritual manner, which is ſignified by the feathers on his head. The egg, which proceeds from the mouth of this god, is interpreted to be the world [q]. The firſt moſt divine Being was alſo ſometimes deſcribed as a ſerpent with a hawk's head, beautiful to look on; who, if he opens his eyes, fills the univerſe with light in his firſt-born region; but, if he winks, darkneſs is made [r]. And as for that paſſage in *Porphyry*'s epiſtle, concerning *Chæremon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo*, as deſiring further information from him concerning them, *Iamblichus* has given an anſwer to it, under the perſon of *Abammo*, another *Egyptian* prieſt, who ſays, that *Chæremon*, and thoſe others who pretend to write of the firſt cauſes of the

[n] Idem ibid. l. iii. c. 4. [o] In proœmio, p. 8. [p] Dr. CUDWORTH, in his intell. ſyſtem, p. 317, &c. [q] EUSEB. de præp. ev. l. iii. c. 11. p. 115. [r] Idem ibid. l. iii. cap. 10. p. 41.

world,

world, declare only the laſt and loweſt principles, as likewiſe thoſe who treat of the planets, zodiac, and other aſtronomical matters; for the *Egyptians* did not reſolve all things into nature, but diſtinguiſhed both the life of the ſoul, and the intellectual life, from that of nature, not in the univerſe only, but in man alſo; acknowleging an intellectual mind and reaſon firſt to have exiſted of themſelves, and ſo this whole world to have been made [s]. From which teſtimony of *Iamblichus*, who was but little junior to *Porphyry*, and cotemporary with *Euſebius*, and who had made it his buſineſs to inform himſelf thoroughly of the *Egyptian* theology, it plainly appears, that the *Egyptians* did not generally ſuppoſe (as *Chæremon* pretended concerning ſome of them) a ſenſeleſs inanimate nature to be the firſt original of all things; but that as well in the world, as in ourſelves, they acknowleged ſoul ſuperior to nature, and mind or intellect ſuperior to ſoul, this being the maker of the world [t]: and many paſſages to the ſame purpoſe might be produced from the ſame writer, and from the *Hermaic* books now extant, among which though much is forged and ſpurious, yet it ſeems very probable, that they contain ſome remains and tincture of the old *Egyptian* and *Hermetic* doctrine. But we cannot omit obſerving, that it was thought to be ſo notorious and confeſſed a thing, that the *Egyptians* held the world not only to have had a beginning, but alſo to have been made by GOD, that *Simplicius*, a zealous contender for the world's eternity, affirms the *Moſaic* hiſtory of the creation of the world by GOD to have been nothing elſe but a fabulous tradition, and wholly drawn from *Egyptian* fables [u].

BUT theſe different authorities may be perhaps reconciled, by diſtinguiſhing between the religion of the *Lower Egypt*, whoſe inhabitants were groſs idolaters, and that of *Thebais*, where the worſhip of *Cneph*, the immortal and ſupreme GOD, ſo much prevailed, that they were not taxed towards the charge of maintaining the ſacred animals worſhipped by the others [x].

BEFORE we diſmiſs the *Egyptians*, it may not be amiſs to obſerve, that their prieſts alſo taught, that the earth had certain periods or revolutions, being deſtroyed alternately by water and fire, and renewed again [y].

[s] IAMBLICHUS apud CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſtem, p. 318, &c. [t] CUDWORTH, ibid. [u] SIMPLIC. in Ariſtot. phyſ. l. viii. p. 268. [x] PLUT. de Iſide & Oſirid. p. 359. See alſo CUMBERL. on the coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 12, &c. [y] PLATO in Tim. Origen. contra Celſum, l. v.

As

As to the *Chaldeans* or *Babylonians*, *Diodorus* says, they held the nature of the world to be eternal, and that it had neither any original generation, nor is subject to any future corruption; yet that the order and beautiful disposition of all things were caused by a divine providence; and that whatever are now in the heavens were not casual, or spontaneous, but perfected by the determinate and established decree of the gods [z]. But *Berosus*, who ought to challenge the greater authority, both in respect to his antiquity, and his being himself of that nation, has left us the following account of their cosmogony, taken from what *Oannes* (of whom more hereafter) wrote concerning the origin of things. There was, says he, a time when the universe was darkness and water, wherein frightful animals of compounded forms were generated: that some men were born with two wings, others with four, and two faces; some having but one body and two heads, one of a man, the other of a woman, and double privities, of the male and of the female: that of other men, some had the legs and horns of goats, some horses feet, others the hinder parts of horses, and the fore parts of men, being in the form of *Hippocentaurs*: that bulls were generated having the heads of men; and dogs with four bodies, having in their hinder parts the tails of fishes; and horses with dogs heads: that there were also men, and other animals, which had the heads and bodies of horses, but the tails of fishes; and other living creatures having the shapes of all kinds of beasts. Besides these, there were also generated fishes, and creeping things, and serpents, and many other animals very wonderful, and having the mixed shapes of one another; whose pictures are also kept in the temple of *Belus*. The governess of all these was a woman, named *Omorôca* [a], which in the *Chaldee* tongue is *Thalatth* [b], but in *Greek* signifies the sea, and with equal propriety the moon. This being the constitution of the uuiverse, *Belus* came and divided the woman in the midst, and the one half of her made the earth, and the other half

The Babylonian *cosmogony.*

[z] Diod. Sic. l. ii. p. 116. [a] In Scaliger's edition, *Omorca*. Our author having translated this name into Chaldee, it must be derived from some other language; but, as he does not tell us what that language is, we shall not offer at an etymology of it. [b] This word is so near in sound to the Greek word *thalassa*, the sea, that one would suspect it to be forged, at least much corrupted. Perhaps it may have been written for the Chaldee or Syriac *thalilûtho*, which signifies moisture, or humectation, and answers to the explication afterwards given. The sea and the moon were reckoned the two sources of moisture.

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the heaven, and the animals which were in her periſhed. But he ſays, that theſe things are delivered concerning the nature of the world in an allegorical manner. For the world being humid, and animals generated therein, the aforeſaid god took away the woman's head, and the other gods mixed her body, which fell down, with the earth, and formed men; for which reaſon they are intelligent, and partake of divine wiſdom. That *Belus*, whom they interpret *Jupiter*, cutting the darkneſs in the midſt, divided the earth and the heaven from each other, and reduced the world into order; whereupon the animals, not bearing the force of the light, became extinct: but *Belus*, ſeeing the country deſert, tho' fertile, commanded one of the gods to cut off his own head, and to mix the earth with the blood which iſſued thence, and to form men and beaſts that could endure the air: and that *Belus* perfected the ſtars, and the ſun, and the moon, and the five planets [c].

*Remarks thereon.*

FROM this paſſage we learn, that the old *Babylonians* expreſly attributed the orderly diſpoſition of the world, the perfecting the heavenly bodies, and the formation of men and animals, to their ſupreme god *Bel*; tho' they ſeem to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter. It muſt therefore be ſome theology of the later *Babylonians*, which could with juſtice be charged, as it has been, with paſſing over in ſilence the one principle of the univerſe [d]; wherein they muſt have departed from the tradition of their anceſtors, the antient *Chaldeans*, who were celebrated for their acknowlegeing one ſovereign Deity, or maker of the world, as appears from that oracle of *Apollo*, cited by *Euſebius* [e] from *Porphyry*, where the *Chaldeans* and *Hebrews* are alone declared to be poſſeſſed of the true wiſdom, as worſhipping GOD, the ſelf-begotten king, in an holy manner.

*The account of the coſmogony in the* Chaldaic *oracles.*

WE have indeed another account of the coſmogony in the *Chaldaic* or magic oracles of *Zoroaſtres*; but they have ſo little pretence to genuineneſs or antiquity, are ſo confuſed a medley of ill-digeſted notions, taken chiefly from the Platonics and Gnoſtics, very unſatisfactory as to the origin of the univerſe, and talk ſo much of unknown matter, the orders of inviſible things, myſtical numbers, jynges [f], and other unintelligible jargon, that we might be excuſed

[c] ALEXANDER POLYHIST. ex Beroſo apud SYNCELL. chronogr. p. 29. & EUSEB. chronic. Græc. Scaligeri, p. 6. [d] DAMASCIUS in fragment. MS. περὶ ἀρχῶν, apud CUMBERL. review of the coſmog. of Sanchon. p. 280. [e] EUSEB. de præp. ev. l. ix. cap. 10. [f] See BURNET, archæol. l. i. p. 21, 22.

taking

taking any notice of them; but, as a very learned man has thought it worth his while to extract the ſubſtance of what is moſt intelligible in them [g], we ſhall ſubjoin it in his own words: The *Chaldeans*, ſays he, believe, that the firſt of all things is eternal, the ſupreme GOD. That GOD, who is an intellectual light, or fire, did not ſhut up his fire within his intellectual power, but communicated it to all creatures; firſt and immediately, to the firſt mind, and to all other eternal and incorporeal beings, under which notion are comprehended a multitude of gods, angels, good dæmons, and the ſouls of men. The next emanation is the ſupramundane light, an incorporeal, infinite, luminous ſpace, in which the intellectual beings reſide. The ſupramundane light kindles the firſt corporeal world, the empyreum, or *fiery heaven*, which, being immediately beneath the incorporeal light, is the higheſt, brighteſt, and rareſt of bodies. The empyreum diffuſes itſelf through the æther, which is the next body below it, and its fire leſs refined than the empyreum: but that it is fire, the more condenſed parts thereof, the ſun and ſtars, ſufficiently evince. From the æther this fire is tranſmitted to the material and ſublunary world; for, though the matter whereof it conſiſts be not light, but darkneſs (as are alſo the material or bad dæmons), yet this vivificative fire actuates, and gives life to, all its parts, inſinuating, diffuſing itſelf, and penetrating even to the very centre, paſſing from above to the oppoſite part, through the centre of the earth.

THE old pagan poets, who greatly contributed to the depravation of theology in general, have more particularly countenanced this opinion of the world's being produced from a chaos, without the influence of GOD. For, though they make *love* to preſide, as it were, at the ranging of the confuſed matter, by which ſome would have us underſtand the Deity, or the active principle of the univerſe diſtinct from matter [h]; yet it is moſt probable they thereby meant no more than the agreement, or harmony, which enſued on the ceſſation of that inteſtine war of the elements; their *love* having his original from the chaos, as well as all the reſt of their gods, which were really no other than the heavenly bodies, elements, and other parts of nature, perſonated, and deified. For which reaſon the coſmogony of the poets was the ſame with their theogony, or generation of the gods [i]. *The opinion of the antient pagan poets.*

[g] Mr. STANLEY, in his hiſt. of the Chald. philoſ. book i. ſect. 1. c. 2. p. 8. [h] Vid. CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſtem, p. 212. [i] Vid. eund. p. 334, &c.

*And of* Orpheus *in particular.*

ORPHEUS, who was the great introducer of the rites of the heathen worſhip among the *Greeks*, being charged with having invented the very names of the gods, and declaring their generations, and their ſeveral actions, wherein he was for the moſt part followed by *Homer* [k], is yet ſaid to have been perfectly ſilent in his theology, as to any thing intellectual, as unſpeakable and unknown; and to have made one of his principles to be a dragon, having the heads both of a bull and a lion, and, in the midſt, the face of a dog, with golden wings on his ſhoulders [l]. But, notwithſtanding the extravagancy of *Orpheus*'s fancy, the generality of the *Greek* pagans, looking on the man, not as a mere poet, but an holy and profound philoſopher, ſuppoſed all his fables of the gods to be deep myſteries and allegories, which had ſome hidden and ſecret ſenſe under them, and therefore had an high veneration for him, as one divinely inſpired; inſomuch that *Celſus* would have had the Chriſtians rather take *Orpheus* for a god than CHRIST, as being a man unqueſtionably endued with an holy ſpirit, and one who alſo died a violent death [m]. And, though he were the great propagator of polytheiſm, yet it has been thought, that he acknowleged one ſupreme unmade Deity, as the original of all things, not only from the great eſteem he was in with thoſe two moſt religious philoſophic ſects, the Pythagoreans and Platoniſts, he being commonly called by them the *theologer*, but alſo becauſe they were ſuppoſed, in great meaſure, to have owed their theology and philoſophy to him, as deriving the ſame from his principles and traditions [n].

THIS favourable opinion of *Orpheus* will yet be better founded, if we allow the epitome of the *Orphic* coſmogony, made long ago by *Timotheus* the chronographer, to contain the true doctrine of that poet: for he writes, that *Orpheus* gave an account of the generation of the gods, the creation of the world, and the formation of man, profeſſing, that he delivered nothing from his own invention, but as he was informed, on inquiry, by *Phœbus*, *Titan*, or the ſun. Which account in brief is, that in the beginning the æther, or heaven, was formed by GOD; and that on each ſide of the æther was chaos and dark night, which covered whatſoever was under the æther, thereby ſignifying, that night was

[k] ATHENAGORAS. & JUSTIN. martyr, apud eund. p. 298. [l] DAMASCIUS περὶ ἀρχῶν, MS. apud Cumberl. review of the coſmogony of Sanchoniatho, p. 280. & CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra. [m] CORN. CELS. l. vii. p. 367. apud Cudworth, ibid. [n] CUDWORTH, ibid.

prior

prior. He declared alſo, that there was a certain incomprehenſible Being, which was the higheſt and moſt antient of all things, and the maker of the univerſe, both of the æther, itſelf, and of things under the æther : that the earth was inviſible, by reaſon of the darkneſs which was upon it; but the light, breaking forth thro' the æther, illuminated the whole creation ; this light, which ſo brake forth, being ſaid by him to be that higheſt of all beings before-mentioned, whoſe name, as revealed by the oracle, was *counſel*, *light*, and *the giver of life* : that theſe three names manifeſt one and the ſame power and might of that inviſible and incomprehenſible GOD, who is the maker of all things, and who bringeth that which is not, into a ſtate of exiſtence : by which power were produced all incorporeal principles, and the ſun, and the moon, and the ſtars, the earth, and the ſea, and all things therein, both viſible and inviſible. He likewiſe declared, that mankind was formed out of the earth by the ſame Deity, and received from him a rational ſoul, agreeably to what *Moſes* has recorded. *Timotheus* adds, that the ſame *Orpheus* alſo wrote, that all things were made by one godhead of three names, and that this GOD is all things [o].

IF this teſtimony be admitted, we need not appeal to the *Orphic* verſes, which are very full as to the aſſertion of a Supreme Deity. It is true, many of thoſe verſes are ſuppoſititious, and manifeſtly forged either by *Chriſtians* or *Jews* ; but all of them cannot be proved to be ſo ; ſeveral being cited by pagan authors, as written, if not by *Orpheus* himſelf, yet by perſons of great antiquity, and well acquainted with his doctrine and traditions ; and therefore, by men of good learning and judgment, thought genuine, and worthy of ſome regard [p]. However, *Orpheus*'s theology has been preferred to that of the other heathens by the Chriſtian fathers [q] ; and a late ingenious writer has ſurmiſed, that his eſtabliſhing of polytheiſm was owing rather to the neceſſity he was under of complying with the ſtupidity of the barbarous people, whom he firſt civilized, than his own approbation ; being obliged to give them, not the religion which himſelf beſt approved, but ſuch a one as they were capable of receiving [r].

[o] TIMOTH. chronogr. apud Euſeb. chron. Græc. p. 4. & CEDRÈN. p. 57. Vid. etiam SUIDAM, in voce Orpheus ; & PROCL. in Tim. l. ii. p. 117. [p] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſup. p. 295, & 300, &c. & BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 125. [q] BURNET, ibid. p. 127. [r] Idem ibid. p. 120, &c.

BUT to return to the *Orphic* coſmogony, *Syrianus* ſays, that *Orpheus* held two principles, æther and chaos[s]; to which *Simplicius* adds a third, as prior to the other two, *viz.* time, the meaſure of the fabulous generation of the gods; after which, according to *Orpheus*, the æther and chaos were produced[t]. By which it ſhould ſeem he thought the æther and chaos were coeval: but it has been obſerved, that the antients, or the later authors, who have handed their opinions down to us, do frequently confound the univerſe with this ſublunary world, and apply what relates diſtinctly to one of the two, to the other, or both promiſcuouſly; and that of the æther here mentioned, the celeſtial, or firſt fabric of things, was made; and of the chaos, the ſublunary world, or our earth, and others like it, at ſeveral diſtant intervals. Which things ought to have been ſeparately treated, as well with regard to the matter, as to the time; tho' unſkilful authors have often neglected that neceſſary diſtinction[u].

*Remarks thereon.*

IT is proper here to obſerve, that *Orpheus*, among other eaſtern learning, ſeems to have firſt introduced among the *Greeks* the doctrine of the mundane egg, which, in all probability, he learned from the *Egyptians*, who repreſented the world by that ſymbol[x], as many other antient nations did. The *Phœnicians*, as we have ſeen, made their *zophaſemin*, which were the celeſtial bodies, oviform; and worſhipped an egg, in the orgia of *Bacchus*, as an image of the world[y]. And the ſame compariſon or reſemblance was made uſe of by the *Chaldeans*, *Perſians*, *Indians*, and *Chineſe*, as will be obſerved hereafter: and this not only for its external figure, but alſo for the inward compoſition of it; the ſhell repreſenting the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth[z]; tho' others make out this reſemblance in a different manner[a]. Hence *Plutarch*[b] obſerves, that the queſtion, which was the elder, the egg or the hen, was not a trivial inquiry; but, according to the *Orphic* doctrine, comprehended the antient generation of all things: and the author of the hymns attributed to *Orpheus* makes the firſt-born god, named by the *Greeks phanes*, to be produced from

[s] SYRIAN. in Ariſt. metaph. c. 2. [t] SIMPLIC. in Ariſt. de auſcult. phyſic. l. iv. [u] BURNET, ubi ſup. p. 130. [x] See before, p. 27. [y] PLUT. in ſympoſ. l. ii. quæſt. 3. Vid. MACROB. ſat. l. vii. c. 16. [z] VARRO, apud Prob. gram. in ecl. vi. Virgil. [a] Vid. ACHILLEM TATIUM in Arati phænom. cap. 4. & BURNET. theor. ſacr. tellur. l. ii. c. 10. and theory of the earth, book i. c. 5. p. 86. [b] In ſympoſ. l. ii. quæſt. 3.

an egg [c]. This was the firſt-begotten god, mentioned by *Athenagoras* to have been hatched from the egg, as the followers of *Orpheus* taught [d].

ANOTHER opinion of the *Orphic* theologers, which muſt not be forgotten, was, that GOD was all things; but this is not to be underſtood in a groſs ſenſe, ſo as to take away all diſtinction between GOD and the creature; for they taught this doctrine chiefly on the two following accounts: firſt, Becauſe all things coming from GOD, they inferred, that therefore they were all contained in him, and conſequently were, in a certain ſenſe, himſelf. The ſecond is, Becauſe the world produced by GOD, and really exiſting without him, is not therefore quite cut off from him, nor ſubſiſts alone by itſelf as a dead thing, but is ſtill livingly united to him, eſſentially dependent on him, always ſupported, quickened, and pervaded by him: in the latter of which ſenſes, ſome Chriſtian divines alſo have made GOD to be *all*; as when they affirm the whole world to be nothing elſe but GOD expanded; and when they call the creatures, as St. *Jerom* and others often do, the rays of the Deity. But though the Scripture itſelf may ſeem to give ſome countenance to theſe expreſſions, yet they ought to be uſed with great caution, being eaſily liable to miſtake and abuſe; and the miſtake and abuſe of this one thing might poſſibly have been a chief ground of the both ſeeming and real polytheiſm, not only of the *Greek* and *European*, but alſo of the *Egyptian*, and other pagans; they concluding, that becauſe GOD was all things, and conſequently all things GOD, therefore GOD ought to be worſhipped in all things, that is, in the ſeveral parts of nature [e].

WHETHER the preceding opinions, as to the original of the world, be acquitted of the charge of atheiſm, or not, it is certain, that the philoſophy which derives all things from ſenſeleſs matter, in the way of forms and qualities, without the aſſiſtance of a GOD, was of great antiquity, and as old as any records of time among the *Greeks*; the antient phyſiologers generally making the ocean, or water, to have been the original of all things: for which reaſon the oath of the gods is ſaid to be by water, called by the poets *Styx*, which, being moſt antient, deſerved the greateſt reverence, and was conſequently moſt proper to ſwear by [f]. And hence the ocean is by *Homer* called the progenitor of

[c] Hymn. Πρωτογόν. Vid. LACTANT. de falſa rel. l. i. cap. 5. [d] ATHENAG. legat. pro Chriſt. [e] CUDWORTH. intell. ſyſt. p. 307. [f] Vid. ARISTOT. metaph. l. i. c. 3.

the gods, and ſource of all things [g]: and *Thales*, the prince of the *Ionic* philoſophers, held water to be the firſt principle, whereof all things conſiſted [h]; and they alſo ſuppoſed, that at laſt all things ſhould be diſſolved, and return into water again [i]. But it ſeems, that thoſe antients, when they made water to have been the firſt principle, did not thereby mean the elementary water, but the chaos, which was a fluid ſubſtance, as the *Greek* word ſignifies. For which reaſon *Zeno* and *Plutarch* took the chaos of *Heſiod* to have been water [k].

*The coſmogony of* Heſiod,

The theogony of this laſt-mentioned poet, which, as has been obſerved, is alſo his coſmogony, is ſomewhat confuſed, beginning twice from the chaos, and relating things rather in a poetical than philoſophical order. The ſubſtance of what he delivers is; That in the beginning the chaos firſt exiſted, then the wide-extended earth, and next love, the faireſt of the immortal gods; that the chaos produced *Erebus* and night, from the conjunction of which two proceeded *æther* and day. After which he proceeds to give an account of the ſeparation of the heaven and ſtars from the earth, the raiſing of mountains, and ſinking of caves; and of the production of the ſea, from the heaven and earth together [l].

*and* Ariſtophanes.

BUT there is a much more methodical and complete deſcription of this antient coſmogony given by *Ariſtophanes* [m], whenceſoever he had it. He writes, that firſt were chaos, black *Erebus*, and wide *Tartarus*, but neither earth, nor air, nor heaven: that night, with ſable wings, laid the firſt egg of wind in the vaſt boſom of *Erebus*; from whence, in proceſs of time, iſſued amiable love, ſhining with wings of gold, like to impetuous whirlwinds; that love, coupling with the obſcure chaos, ingendred animals and men; but that there were no gods before love mingled all things, from which mixture of things one with another

[g] HOMER. apud Plutarch. de placit. philoſ. l. i. c. 3. [h] PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſ. lib. i. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in vita Thaletis, p. 17. CICER. in Lucullo, & de nat. deor. l. i. This alſo agrees with a paſſage in Scripture, the genuine ſenſe of which (according to the judgment of the beſt interpreters) is, that the material heavens, as well as earth, were made out of water, 2 Pet. iii. 5. Vid. CUDWORTH. intell. ſyſtem, p. 21. & BURNET archæol. l. i. p. 138. and theory of the earth, book i. c. 4. p. 63, &c. [i] HOMER. il. H. PLUT. in ſtromat. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. i. c. 8. [k] ZENO apud ſcholiaſt. Apollon. Argon. 4. & PLUT. in tract. aquane an ignis ſit utilior, p. 955. [l] HESIOD. theog. verſ. 116. [m] In avib.

the

the heaven and the earth were generated, and the whole race of immortal gods.

THIS paſſage, notwithſtanding it is ludicrouſly introduced in a comedy, is conceived, not without reaſon, to have been really a piece of the old atheiſtic ſyſtem, and may be thus explained; that chaos, or matter, confuſedly moved, being the original of all things, did from thence riſe up gradually from leſſer to greater perfection; firſt, inanimate things, as the elements, heaven, earth, and ſeas; then, brute animals; afterwards, men; and, laſt of all, gods: as if not only the ſubſtance of matter, and thoſe inanimate bodies of the elements, fire, water, air, and earth, were firſt in order of nature before GOD, as being themſelves alſo gods [n], but alſo irrational animals at leaſt, if not men too. And this is the atheiſtic creation of the world, gods, and all, out of ſenſeleſs and ſtupid matter, or dark chaos, as the only original deity [o].

WHETHER *Thales*, who was a *Phœnician* by extraction, acknowleged any divine or intelligent being, as aſſiſting in the formation of the world, is a great queſtion. *Cicero* indeed tells us, that he was the firſt who ſearched after ſuch things, and affirmed GOD to be that mind, which created all things out of water [p]. And *Laertius* reports, that he uſed to ſay, GOD was the oldeſt of all things, and that the world was the workmanſhip of GOD [q]. But, on the other ſide, there are a cloud of witneſſes [r], among whom are *Cicero* and *Laertius* themſelves [s], who, with joint conſent, give *Anaxagoras*, one of his ſucceſſors, the honour of having firſt rejected all chance in the diſpoſition of the univerſe, and introduced a pure intelligent mind, to ſeparate and compoſe the ſeveral parts of it. So that all the philoſophers of the *Ionic* ſect, who preceded *Anaxagoras*, being mere materialiſts, or *hylopathian* atheiſts, *Ariſtotle* ſeems juſtly to have called *Thales* the prince or leader of that philoſophy [t]. The occaſion of his being thus

*on of* Thales.

[n] Vid. ARIST. de gener. & corrupt. l. ii. c. 6. [o] CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſtem, p. 121. [p] CICER. de nat. deor. l. i. p. 36. [q] DIOG. LAERT. in Thalet. p. 21. [r] PLATO in Phæd. p. 72. PLUT. in Pericle, p. 154. ARIST. metaph. lib. i. cap. 3. TERTULLIAN. de anima. CLEMENS Alex. ſtromat. lib. ii. p. 364. EUSEB. de præp. ev. l. iv. c. 14. p. 750. THEMIST. orat. XV. AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. viii. c. 2. PROCLUS in Timæum. SIMPLIC. in Ariſt. de phyſic. auſcult. THEODORET. de Græc. affect. ſerm. ii. p. 489.

[s] CICERO de natura deor. l. i. p. 38, 39. LAERT. in Anaxagora, p. 82. [t] More concerning this Queſtion may be read in BAYLE's dict. hiſt. art. Anaxagor. rem. D. art. Thales, rem. A. Dr. CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſtem, p. 21, 124.

differently repreſented, may poſſibly have been, becauſe he left no philoſophic writings, or monuments of his own, behind him (*Anaxagoras* being the firſt of all the philoſophic writers [u]): whence probably it came to paſs, that in after-times ſome interpreted his opinions one way, and ſome another; and that he is ſometimes repreſented as a theiſt, and ſometimes as an atheiſt [x].

*Of* Anaximander.

But if *Thales* be acquitted, yet his next ſucceſſor, *Anaximander*, can by no means be excuſed from this imputation; for he ſuppoſed a certain infinite firſt matter, which he did not define to be either air, or water, or earth, to be the ſole principle of the univerſe [y]; that the celeſtial bodies, and infinite worlds, were made of it by ſecretion, and that generation and corruption proceeded from their moving circularly together from eternity. He alſo aſſerted, that the generative principles of heat and cold being ſeparated, when this world was made, a certain ſphere of fire firſt aroſe, and encompaſſed the air which ſurrounds the earth, as the bark doth a tree: this, being afterwards broken, and divided into ſmaller ſpherical bodies, formed the ſun, moon, and ſtars [z]. He held alſo, that the firſt animals were generated in moiſture, and encompaſſed with certain thorny barks, by which they were defended; which, after further growth, becoming more dry, and cracking, they iſſued forth, but lived only a ſhort time [a]: that men were at firſt generated in the bellies of fiſhes; and, being there nouriſhed till they grew ſtrong, and were able to ſupport themſelves, they were afterwards caſt out upon dry land. And the reaſon of this ſtrange opinion, as to the original of mankind, was, becauſe other animals, ſoon after their birth, betake themſelves to their food; but man alone in his infancy needs to be nurſed up for a conſiderable time, and therefore could not be preſerved at firſt in any other manner [b].

From *Anaximander*'s making this univerſal principle of his infinite, ſome late writers, and even *Clemens Alexandrinus* [c] among the antients, have groundleſly inferred, that he

[u] Diog. Laert. in Anagagor. p. 86. Themistius (orat. xx.) ſays, Anaximander was the firſt who publiſhed a book of natural philoſophy. But Theopompus (apud Laert. in Pherecyd. p. 74.) aſſerts, Pherecydes Syrus to have firſt written of nature and the gods to the Greeks, whoſe treatiſe of the beginning of things was extant in the time of Laertius, ib. 76.
[x] Cudworth, ibid. p. 124. [y] Plut. de placitis philoſ. l. i. c. 3. Diog. Laert. in Anaximandro, p. 78. Simplic. in Ariſtot. phyſ. l. i. c. 6. [z] Plut. in ſtrom. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. i. c. 8. [a] Idem de placitis philoſ. l. v. c. 19. [b] Idem apud Euſeb. ubi ſup. & in ſympoſ. l. viii. quæſt. 8.
[c] In protrept. p. 43.

thereby

thereby meant GOD, according to the true notion of him, or an infinite mind, the efficient cauſe of the univerſe, and not ſtupid matter [d]. But it is plain, that the gods he acknowleged, owed their original alſo to that infinite matter, from which he ſuppoſed all things to be ſecreted, and into which they would return; for he held the gods to be generated, riſing and vaniſhing again in long periods of time, and that theſe gods were innumerable worlds [e].

THE phyſiology of *Anaximenes* differed but little from that of his maſter *Anaximander*; for he held air to be the firſt principle, and infinite [f]; but that the things which aroſe thereout were finite, and ſhould at laſt be reſolved into it again. He ſuppoſed, that all things were generated by a ſucceſſive condenſation and rarefaction of this air; the earth, water, and fire, being firſt produced thereout, and then the other parts of the univerſe: he held alſo, that motion was from all eternity; that the ſun gained its heat from the ſwiftneſs of its courſe; and that air held the world together in the ſame manner as the ſoul, which he took to be air alſo, did the human frame [g]. He did not, it ſeems, deny there were any gods, but was ſo far from allowing them to have formed the world, that he believed them likewiſe to have their riſe from the air [h]. *Plutarch*, after delivering the opinions of theſe two philoſophers, obſerves, that they were both of them in the wrong, in ſuppoſing the world to have been generated from matter only, without any efficient cauſe; matter of itſelf being able to produce nothing, no more than a veſſel can be made out of a maſs of ſilver, without the help of an artificer [i].

*Of* Anaximenes.

ANAXAGORAS and *Diogenes* of *Apollonia*, two ſcholars of *Anaximenes*, attempted to remedy this grand defect in the *Ionic* philoſophy, by amending their maſter's hypotheſis. The firſt, by admitting an intelligent being diſtinct from matter, as has been and will be more fully obſerved; and the other, by ſuppoſing the air, the firſt principle of the univerſe, to be indued with a divine reaſon, without which he conceived nothing could be produced from it [k]. So that this opinion differed very little from *Spinoſiſm*.

*amended by* Anaxagoras, *and* Diogenes *of* Apollonia.

[d] Vid. CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſt. p. 124. [e] CICER. de nat. deor. lib. i. [f] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaximen. p. 80. ARISTOT. de auſcult. phyſ. CICER. quæſt. acad. l. ii. [g] PLUT. in ſtrom. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. i. c. 8. & de placitis philoſoph. l. i. c. 3. [h] AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. viii. c. 2. Vid. etiam CIC. de nat. deor. l. i. & ARISTOT. l. i. de anima, c. 2. [i] PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſoph. loco citato. [k] AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. viii. c. 2.

THE manner in which this latter philoſophizes, as to the production of the world, has ſo near a conformity with the Carteſian hypotheſis, that it would be wrong to omit it: All things, ſays he, being in motion, ſome became condenſed, and others rarefied; in thoſe places where condenſation prevailed, a whirling motion, or vortex, was formed, which, by its revolution, drew in the reſt; and the lighter parts, flying upwards, formed the ſun [l].

*The atomic ſyſtem, by whom invented:*

THE next atheiſtic ſyſtem of philoſophy is the atomic, which is generally ſuppoſed to have been invented by *Democritus*, who was elder than *Ariſtotle* and *Plato*; but *Laertius* attributes it to *Leucippus* [m], who was ſomewhat ſenior to *Democritus*, though he wrote not ſo much concerning it as *Democritus* did. Others make this phyſiology much more antient: *Poſidonius* [n] avouched it for an old tradition, that the firſt inventor of it was *Moſchus* a *Phœnician*, who lived before the *Trojan* war [o], and is ſuppoſed to have been the ſame with *Mochus*, the *Phœnician* phyſiologer mentioned by *Iamblichus* [p], with whoſe ſucceſſors, prieſts and prophets, he affirms that *Pythagoras*, while he was at *Sidon*, had converſed. But as *Cicero*, though *Poſidonius*'s ſcholar, ſcruples not to queſtion his veracity in ſome things, and expreſly affirms *Leucippus*, or *Democritus*, to have been the author of this philoſophy [q], we think his authority of little weight; much leſs can we approve, as Mr. *Selden* does [r], of the conjecture of *Arcerius*, the editor of *Iamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than *Moſes*, the celebrated prophet of the *Jews*. However, it is probable from ſome other conſiderations, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the atomical phyſiology; for *Democritus* himſelf was of the *Italic* or *Pythagoric* ſucceſſion, and is reported to have taken all his philoſophy from them [s]: and the famous monads of *Pythagoras* are by ſome ſuppoſed to have been nothing elſe but corporeal atoms [t]. That *Empedocles*, who was alſo a *Pythagorean*, took the world to be compounded of minute particles, is expreſly aſſerted [u]; and will appear more plainly, when we come to give an ac-

[l] PLUTARCH. in ſtrom. apud Euſeb. de præp. evan. l. i. c. 8. [m] DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567. [n] Apud SEXT. EMPIRIC. adv. mathem. p. 367. & STRABON, lib. XVI. p. 512. [o] STRABO, ibid. [p] De vita Pythag. c. 3. [q] CICER. de fato, & de nat. deor. l. i. [r] SELDEN. de jure nat. & gent. juxta diſcipl. Hebr. lib. i. cap. 2. See alſo la vie de Pythagor. par Mr. Dacier, p. 21. [s] DIOG. LAERT. in Democr. p. 570 [t] Vid. CUDWORTH's intel. ſyſtem, p. 13. [u] PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. i. cap. 24.

count

count of his phyſiology: and the natural principles of *Ecphantus* the *Syracuſian*, another of that ſect, were indiviſible bodies, and vacuum. Nor were they the only antient philoſophers who went that way; *Xenocrates*, *Heraclides*, *Aſclepiades*, *Diodorus*, *Metrodorus Chius*, and the generality of the old phyſiologers, having alſo ſuppoſed indiviſible particles to be the firſt principles of bodies. Notwithſtanding which, *Leucippus* and *Democritus* are reputed the firſt inventors of the atomic philoſophy, either becauſe they brought it to greater perfection, or elſe, becauſe they firſt made it a complete and intire ſyſtem by itſelf, ſo as to derive the original of all things in the whole univerſe from ſenſeleſs atoms, which had figure and motion only, and ſpace; from whence it would follow, that there could be no god, not ſo much as a corporeal one: for, before them, the doctrine of atoms made not an intire philoſophy by itſelf, but was looked upon as a part, or member, of the whole philoſophic ſyſtem, and that the meaneſt and loweſt part too; it being only uſed to explain that which was purely corporeal in the world; beſides which they acknowleged ſomething elſe, which was not mere bulk and mechaniſm, but life and ſelf-activity, that is, immaterial ſubſtance; the head whereof is a Deity diſtinct from the world. So that there have been two ſorts of atomiſts; the firſt, holding incorporeal ſubſtance, uſed that phyſiology in a way of ſubordination to theology: the other, allowing no other ſubſtance but body, made ſenſeleſs atoms, without any mind or underſtanding, that is, without any GOD, to be the original of all things; which latter ſyſtem is that vulgarly known by the name of the atomic philoſophy, which was founded by *Leucippus* and *Democritus* [x], and afterwards, with ſome alteration, taught by *Epicurus*, though he would not acknowlege, that he had borrowed his hypotheſis from any [y].

*Occaſioned a ſtrict and accurate method of philoſophizing than had formerly been uſed.*

BUT, whoever firſt introduced it, this hypotheſis occaſioned a more ſtrict and accurate method of philoſophizing than had formerly been uſed. For the atomiſts, neglecting numbers, proportions, harmonies, ideas, qualities, and elementary forms, immediately proceeded to examine the bodies themſelves, and their phyſical and mechanical properties, their motion, figure, ſituation of parts, ſize, and the like; from whence they very rationally aſcertained their ſeveral powers, determined their actions, and explained their effects; though the notions they entertained of the indiviſibility of

[x] CUDWORTH, p. 16, &c.

[y] CIC. de nat. deor. l. i.

their

their atoms, their innate power of motion, inclinations to certain places, and the like, be not only without any foundation, but repugnant to reason [z].

*The doctrine of Leucippus and Democritus;*

THE doctrine of *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, as to the origin of the world, was, that the first principles were an infinite number of atoms, or indivisible particles, of different sizes and figures, which, moving fortuitously, or without design, from all eternity in infinite space, and encountering one another, became variously implicated and entangled, and produced first a confused chaos of all kinds of particles, which afterwards, by continual agitation, striking and repelling each other, disposed themselves into a vortex, or vortices, where, after many convolutions and evolutions, molitions and essays, in which all imaginable shapes and combinations were tried, they chanced at length to settle into this present form and system of things [a].

*Of Epicurus.*

THIS hypothesis, as to the formation of the principal parts of the world, agrees with that of *Epicurus*, as it is represented by *Lucretius* [b], excepting that no mention is made of those vortices, which yet were an essential part of the former. To the two properties attributed to atoms by *Democritus*, magnitude and figure, *Epicurus* added a third, weight; without which he did not conceive they could move at all [c]. And one of the inevitable consequences of the *Democritic* system being absolute fatal necessity (for, when they maintained, that the world was made by a fortuitous concourse of atoms, it was not their meaning to deny the world to have been necessarily made according to the eternal laws of motion of those atoms, but only to exclude the direction of an intelligent cause), and such necessity, in the opinion of *Epicurus*, overturning all morality, and reducing the human soul to be a mere machine; in order to account for freedom of will, besides the twofold motion of atoms allowed by those before him, perpendicular and reflexive, he introduced a third; supposing that the atoms could of themselves decline from the right line, and move obliquely, even in void space, and without any collision at all [d]; from which, as he strangely inferred, proceeded natural liberty. And this declination served also another pur-

[z] BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 167. [a] Vid. DIOG. LAERT. in Leucippo, p. 567. & in Democrit. p. 573. PLUTARCH. de placitis phil. l. i. c. 4. & PLAT. de legibus, l. x. [b] Vid. LUCRET. de rer. nat. l. v. VIRGIL. eclog. vi. PLUT. de placitis phil. l. i. c. 4. and STANLEY's history of philosophy, part xiii. p. 572, &c. [c] PLUT. ubi sup. c. 3. [d] Vid. LUCRET. l. ii. ver. 216, &c.

pose,

poſe, that is, to explain the meeting of the atoms; which, if they all moved one way, would have been impoſſible [e]. But the moſt material difference between the two hypotheſes, though not often taken notice of, was, that *Epicurus* admitted no principle at all but the atoms themſelves; whereas *Democritus* believed them to be animated [f]; a ſuppoſition not a whit more abſurd than that of their exiſtence and ſpontaneous motion, and which would yet be of great uſe in obviating ſeveral objections to the atomic ſyſtem, otherwiſe unanſwerable [g].

As to the production of animals and mankind, the Epicurean philoſophy accounted for it in this manner: It was ſuppoſed, that the new-formed earth containing in it the ſeeds of all things, the ſun, acting by its heat on the moiſter parts, raiſed ſmall bladders like little wombs, in which the embryos, at firſt imperfect, were conceived, and through which they broke their way, when arrived at maturity; and that, for their nouriſhment, nature provided bags, like ſmall breaſts, furniſhed with a milky juice. And it is pretended, that this fecundity cannot ſeem ſtrange, in that juvenile vigour of nature, if we conſider what numbers of ſmaller creatures and inſects are at this day bred in the ſame way. But at length, the ſeeds of the earth being exhauſted, ſhe, like a woman paſt child-bearing, of courſe left off this way of producing the more perfect animals; whence it is that every ſpecies is now propagated by copulation [h].

THIS atomic ſyſtem, which had been ſuperſeded by *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, who brought in ideas, forms, and qualities, inſtead of the mechanical properties of matter, was raiſed by *Epicurus* to an high degree of reputation, and continued to flouriſh after his death beyond any other philoſophy [i]; though it was juſtly decried by the other ſects, on account of the atheiſm which naturally flowed from its principles. Had *Democritus* only ſuppoſed GOD to be a mind or intelligence placed in a ſphere of fire, and the ſoul of the world [k], he would have been much more excuſeable than in teaching, as he did, that the images of objects, which on every ſide preſent themſelves to us, and

*Reflections on this ſyſtem.*

[e] Vid. BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Epicure, rem. U. [f] AUGUST. epiſt. lxvi. [g] Vid. BAYLE dict. art. Leucippe, rem. E. & art. Epicure, rem. F. As to the other differences between the doctrines of Democritus and Epicurus, conſult CICER. de finib. l. i. [h] Vid. LUCRET. ubi ſupra. [i] LACTANT. divin. inſtitut. l. iii. cap. 17. [k] PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſoph. l. iii. cap. 7.

the

the nature which ſcatters round, or emits ſuch images, and even our own knowlege and underſtanding, were to be reckoned among the gods [l]. So that what *Democritus* called GOD, had neither the unity, nor eternity, nor immutability, nor other attributes, which are eſſential to the Divine Nature; and yet an opinion very like this was not long ago advanced [m], on the ſuppoſition that our ideas are in GOD, and that they cannot be a modification of a created mind; from which it ſeems to follow, that our ideas are GOD himſelf [n]. As to *Epicurus*, he acknowleged indeed, that there were gods, and that they deſerved to be worſhipped on account of the excellence of their nature, though no benefit was to be expected from them, nor any harm to be feared [o]: for he allowed them to be neither the makers, nor the governors, of the world. And yet a very learned man has undertaken the defence of *Epicurus*, as to this latter point; and maintained, that he did not deny a divine providence [p]. He ſuppoſed the gods were immortal, and ſupremely happy, leading a life of perfect inaction and tranquillity; that they were of human form, yet had not real bodies and blood, but ſomething analogous to them [q]; and, leſt he ſhould at once deſtroy their immortality, and ſubject them to deſtruction, he taught, that they were not compoſed of atoms, like other beings [r], though ſome have, by miſtake, affirmed the contrary [s]. It is well known, that this corpuſcular philoſophy has been revived by ſome moderns, who, rejecting the eternity of the atoms, and their fortuitous motion, but following, in almoſt all other reſpects, the old hypotheſis of *Leucippus*, have made a very fine ſyſtem of it. This is what *Gaſſendi* has done, who differs from *Deſcartes*, as to the principles of bodies, in nothing but the retaining a vacuum. The ſcholaſtic divines among the *Mohammedans*, who are very orthodox as to the creation of the world by GOD, do alſo admit both atoms and a vacuum: but their atoms are different from thoſe of *Leucippus*; for they have no magnitude, and are

[l] CICER. de nat. deor. l. i. [m] F. MALBRANCHE's notion of ſeeing all things in GOD. [n] Vid. BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Democrite, rem. P. [o] Vid. CICER. de nat. deor. l. i. SENEC. de beneficiis, l. v. c. 19. & GASSEND. de vita & moribus Epicuri, l. iv. c. 3. [p] Monſ. DU RONDEL de vita & moribus Epicuri, Amſt. 1693. in 12mo. [q] CICER. ubi ſupra. DIOG. LAERT. in Epicuro, p. 634. 655. 661. PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. i. c. 7. SEXT. EMPIRIC. contra Math. p. 312. [r] CICER. ubi ſupra. LACTANT. de ira Dei, cap. 10. [s] TERTULLIAN adv. gentes, cap. 47. AUGUST. epiſt. lvi.

all

all like one another; and they ſuppoſe, as that philoſopher ought to have done, that every atom of a living body is alive, that every atom of a ſenſitive body is indued with ſenſe, and that the underſtanding reſides in an atom; tho' they differ as to the ſoul and knowlege, whether they conſiſt in a ſingle atom, or a collection of ſeveral [t].

THOSE, who, allowing the eternity of matter, introduce an intelligent mind as the diſpoſer thereof into the form the world now bears, may be again ſubdivided into two claſſes: one, who, allowing no ſubſtance but matter, ſuppoſed it to be indued with underſtanding and life, and conſequently to be GOD; and another, who held GOD and matter to be two diſtinct and independent beings.

*The opinion of thoſe, who, holding the eternity of matter, admit an intelligent mind as the diſpoſer thereof; and, 1. Of thoſe who ſuppoſed matter to be the only ſubſtance, and indued with underſtanding.*

THE firſt opinion, which, as has been ſaid, differs but little from Spinoſiſm, ſeems to have been that of *Diogenes* of *Apollonia* [u]; and was certainly maintained by *Hippaſus* of *Metapontus*, *Heraclitus*, and the Stoics.

HIPPASUS and *Heraclitus* held fire to be the firſt principle, of which all things were made, and into which, after the revolution of certain periods, they will be again reſolved; and that this fire was GOD [x], whom *Heraclitus* deſcribed to be that moſt ſubtile and moſt ſwift ſubſtance, which permeates or paſſes through the whole univerſe [y].

THE notions of *Heraclitus* ſeem to have been very confuſed, at leaſt as they are now repreſented to us; which is no wonder at all, ſince he ſo much affected obſcurity in what he wrote concerning natural philoſophy, that he was thence ſurnamed *the obſcure* [z]. He is ſaid to have denied the world to have been made either by gods or men [a]; by which it is ſuppoſed he meant, that the world was not made by any whatſoever, after ſuch a manner as an artificer makes an houſe, by machines and engines, acting from without upon the matter; but by a certain inward plaſtic nature of its own [b]. He aſſerted the fatal neceſſity of all things; but taught that they were in a perpetual flux, nothing remaining at a ſtand. His account of the formation of the world was, that the fire being extinguiſhed, the groſſeſt parts of it, coaleſcing, made the earth, which, being looſened by the fire, produced water, and, from the

*The opinion of Hippaſus, Heraclitus, and the Stoics.*

*The opinion of thoſe who ſuppoſed matter to be the only ſubſtance, and indued with underſtanding.*

[t] Vid. MAIMONID. in more nevochim, cap. 73. [u] See before, p. 39. [x] PLUT. de placit. phil. l. i. c. 3. CLEM. Alexandr. in protrept. Vid. etiam CICERON. acad. quæſt. l. iv. & de nat. deor. l. iii. [y] PLAT. in Cratylo, p. 413. [z] Σκοτεινός. Vid. CICERON. de finib. l. ii. CLEM. Alex. ſtromat. v. [a] PLUT. de animæ procr. p. 1014. [b] CUDWORTH intellect. ſyſt. p. 152, &c.

exha-

exhalation of water, the air was generated [c]. As the opinions of *Heraclitus*, concerning the origin of things, were adopted by the Stoics, of whom immediately, we ſhall not inlarge here; but only obſerve, that the great phyſician *Hippocrates* had the ſame notion of the Deity with *Heraclitus*, declaring his belief to be, that heat or fire was immortal and omniſcient; and that it ſaw, heard, and knew all things, both preſent and future [d].

*And* Hippocrates.

THE Stoics held two firſt principles, GOD, and matter void of all quality, the one active, and the other paſſive, and that they were both corporeal [e]; for they did not acknowlege any ſuch thing as incorporeal ſubſtance [f]; by which means they ſtrangely confounded themſelves, and reduced their two principles, in effect, to one and the ſame. They affirmed GOD to be an immortal, rational, and perfect animal, conſcious of his own happineſs, ſubject to no evil, governing the world, and all things in it, by his providence; and the architect, and, as it were, the father of the univerſe [g]. But they more uſually deſcribed him to be a fiery ſpirit, void of all figure, yet changing himſelf into all things; or an artificial fire methodically proceeding to the generation of the world, and containing within himſelf all ſeminal reaſons or models, according to which every thing is formed purſuant to fate [h]; which is alſo their deſcription of nature [i]. This ſpirit, they ſay, quickens, ſuſtains, and pervades, the whole world, and every part of it, as the ſoul does the human body, being called by ſeveral names, according to the different form of the matter which it animates. For which reaſon they hold the world itſelf to be GOD, and every part of it a member of him [k]. So that this ſect, in appearance, has confounded GOD and nature together, though their genuine doctrine ſeems to have been, that there was not only an intellectual conſcious ſoul preſiding over the whole

*The opinion of the* Stoics.

[c] PLUT. de placit. phil. l. i. c. 3. Vid. etiam DIOG. LAERT. in Heraclit. p. 551, &c. [d] HIPPOCRAT. de princip. aut carnib. ſect. i. [e] ARISTOCLES de philoſ. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. xv. cap. 14. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. Cittieo, p. 449. SENEC. ep. 65. CIC. de nat. deor. l. ii. [f] Vid. LIPSIUM de phyſiol. Stoic. l. ii. cap. 4, & 5. [g] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſupra, p. 458. [h] PLUT. de plac. philoſ. l. i. cap. 6, & 7. [i] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſup. p. 465. CIC. ubi ſup. [k] Vid. eoſd. & PLUT. ubi ſupr. c. 7. SENEC. quæſt. nat. l. ii. c. 45, & epiſt. 92. LUCAN. Pharſal. l. ix. v. 578. DIDYMUM apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. xv. c. 15, &c. VIRGIL. georg. l. iv. ver. 221. & Æneid. l. vi. ver. 724.

world,

world, yet lodged more immedittely in the fiery matter of it; but alſo a certain plaſtic or ſpermatic nature, contained under or within the former, and which was properly the fate of all things [l]. And the admitting of ſuch a ſubordinate plaſtic nature or life, which acts in order to certain ends, though without any ſenſe or conſciouſneſs, has been thought very reaſonable by ſome, though exploded by others, and that for the avoiding of theſe two conſequences; either, that, in the formation and organization of natural and animal bodies, every thing comes to paſs fortuitouſly, for the ſake of no final cauſes, and without the guidance and direction of any mind or underſtanding; to aſſert which, ſeems irrational and atheiſtical: or elſe, that GOD himſelf doth immediately form every the minuteſt thing, as it were with his own hands, which is very indecent to ſuppoſe [m]. There were ſome Stoics, it is true, who, rejecting all animality or conſcioúſneſs in the world, made it to be governed by a vegetable or plaſtic nature only, as *Boethius*, whom we have already mentioned, in particular did; but their opinion ought by no means to be imputed to the whole ſect.

As to the conſtitution of the world, the peculiar dogm of the Stoics, which *Zeno*, their maſter, ſeems to have borrowed from *Heraclitus*, was, that in certain periods, or alternate viciſſitudes of time, the univerſe is diſſolved by fire, and re-produced out of it; GOD withdrawing, or abſorbing all things into himſelf by a general conflagration, and afterwards producing them out of himſelf again [n]. In which ſucceſſive conflagrations, they held, that not only the world, but all the inferior gods alſo, are melted down into their ſupreme deity, the intellectual fiery ſoul, or principle of the univerſe [o]; who, during that interval, reſts in himſelf, conſidering his providence, and entertained with thoughts becoming himſelf [p], till he again emits and brings the world into being; the manner of which renovation *Zeno* thus deſcribes: GOD, being alone, changes all ſubſtance from fire, firſt into air, and then into water; and as the ſeed is contained in the plant, ſo GOD, being the ſeminal reaſon of the world, left ſuch a ſeed in the moiſture, as might afford proper matter for the generation of thoſe

[l] Vid. CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſtem, p. 133, &c. 423, &c. [m] Vid. eund. p. 148, &c. [n] DIOG. LAERT. in Zenonem, p. 451. NUMENIUS apud Euſeb. præp. ev. l. xv. c. 18, 19. [o] Vid. PLUT. adverſus Stoicos, p. 1075, & de defectu oracul. p. 420. [p] Idem adv. Stoicos, p. 1077. SENEC. epiſt. vi. ARRIAN. in Epictet. lib. iii. cap. 13.

things which were to be produced; that the groſſer parts of this watery matter, ſubſiding, made the earth; the finer, the air; and thoſe ſtill more ſubtilized, the fire. The four elements being thus generated, from the mixture of them proceeded plants and animals, and all other ſpecies [q].

*Of the* Pendets *in* India.

WITH theſe notions of the Stoics agrees the doctrine which is ſaid to be almoſt univerſal among the *Pendets* [r] (who are *Indian* gentiles), and ſecretly entertained by the *Sûfis* and learned men of *Perſia*, being the ſame in ſubſtance with the philoſophy of *Flud*, which *Gaſſendi* has taken the pains to refute. Theſe cabaliſts pretend, that GOD, or the ſupreme, immoveable, unchangeable Being, has not only produced the ſouls of creatures out of his own ſubſtance, but whatever is material or corporeal in the univerſe alſo; and that this production is not made ſimply in the way of efficient cauſes, but by an actual extraction or extenſion of his own ſubſtance, which is creation, as deſtruction is nothing elſe but the reſuming that divine ſubſtance into himſelf; which they illuſtrate by the following ſymbol. They feign, that a certain immenſe ſpider was the firſt cauſe of all things; which, drawing the matter from its own bowels, wove the web of this univerſe, and diſpoſed it with wonderful art; ſhe, in the mean time, ſitting in the centre of her work, feels and directs the motion of every part: till at length, when ſhe has pleaſed herſelf ſufficiently in ordering and contemplating this web, ſhe draws all the threads ſhe had ſpun out, again into herſelf; and, having abſorbed them, the univerſal nature of all creatures vaniſhes into nothing [s]. Another compariſon made uſe of by them is, that GOD is like an immenſe ocean, wherein ſeveral phials full of water are ſwimming; that theſe phials, whitherſoever they go, are always in the ſame ocean, and in the ſame water; and, when they break, the water contained in them will be united to their whole, that is, to the ocean, of which they are portions [t]. But this laſt is by no means a ſtrict parallel; for the matter of the phials is a ſecond ſubſtance, which, by its interpoſition, ſeparates the water incloſed in thoſe phials, from the ocean: but if there was ſuch a thing as a ſoul of the world, it would be expanded through all parts of the univerſe, no-

[q] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſup. p. 450. 454. Vide STOBÆI ecl. phyſ. c. 20. [r] We take this word to be the *Malayan pandit*, which ſignifies a man of letters. [s] BERNIER, ſuite des memoires ſur l'empire du grand mogul, p. 202, &c. BURNET. in append ad archæol. p. 354. KIRCHER. China illuſtr. p. 155. [t] BERNIER, ibid.

thing

thing could hinder the union of every particular ſoul with its whole, nor would death be a means of their reunion.

THERE is alſo a ſect among the *Chineſe*, who acknowlege nature to be the ſole deity, thereby underſtanding that natural power or operation, which, being the efficient cauſe of motion and reſt, produces, maintains, and preſerves all things. They take her to be the ſoul which univerſally informs matter, and call her a principle, independent of all others; but as they ſeparate this principle from all corporeal and ſenſible matter, its imperfections and definitions, they do in this particular differ ſomething from the Stoics; though they who incline to this ſect do believe, as they did, that the world hath had a beginning, and ſhall have an end, but ſhall afterwards begin and end again as before, and ſo perpetually be renewed and periſh. And, according to this opinion, numerous worlds have already exiſted; and others, to an infinite number, will hereafter ſucceſſively make room for one another [u].

*Of certain ſects among the Chineſe.*

BUT the opinion more commonly embraced at this time by the *Chineſe*, and wherein the atheiſm, which has ſo generally infected them, conſiſts, comes rather nearer to the Stoic doctrine, though not without ſome conſiderable differences; and it is this: That GOD is the material ſoul of the whole world, or rather only of its moſt excellent part, the heaven; and that his providence and power are finite and limited, though much excelling the prudence and power of man: that there are diſtinct ſpirits in the four parts of the world, the ſun, ſtars, mountains, rivers, plants, cities, houſes, and, in a word, in all things; ſome of which ſpirits they ſuppoſe to be evil, making them the immediate cauſe of all the miſchiefs and diſaſters to which human life is ſubject. By this diſtribution of ſouls throughout all nature, they are not at a loſs to account for its whole œconomy, and to ſupply the want of an almighty power, and infinite providence, which they allow to no one ſpirit, not ſo much as to that of the heaven. They ſuppoſe, indeed, that the ſoul of the heaven acts on nature with a power and prudence incomparably greater than what man is indued with; but, at the ſame time, acknowlege in the ſoul of every other thing an inward power, naturally independent on that of the heaven, and which ſometimes acts even in contradiction to the deſigns of heaven. So that, according to them, the heaven governs nature as a mighty king;

[u] Deſcript. of China, at the end of IDES's travels, p. 171, 172.

king; the other ſouls owe him obedience, which he almoſt always forces them to pay; yet there are ſome which now-and-then diſpenſe with their duty in that reſpect, and refuſe to obey [x].

This laſt opinion differs widely from another entertained by a ſect of the ſame nation, and eſtabliſhed by royal authority in the year of Chriſt 65. Its founder was ſon of the king *In fan vang*, who was firſt named *She*, or *She Kia* [y], and afterwards, when he arrived at the age of thirty, *Foe*, that is, *not a man* [z]. The ſecret doctrine of this ſect, which is never diſcovered to the ſimple or vulgar, is, that a void or emptineſs [a] is the principle and end of all things; that our firſt parents ſprang from thence, and, on their death, returned into it; and that all men are likewiſe reſolved into that principle by death; that mankind, and the elements, and all creatures, make a part of this void: ſo that there is but one ſubſtance in the univerſe, which is diverſified in particular beings only by figures and qualities, or interior configurations; in a manner as water, which is always eſſentially water, though it be in the ſhape of ſnow, hail, rain, or ice [b]. They deſcribe this original being as a pure, limpid, ſubtile, infinite ſubſtance, which can neither be generated nor corrupted, but is both perfect itſelf, and the perfection of all things, remaining in perpetual repoſe, but without heart, virtue, underſtanding, or power, the great property of its eſſence being neither to act, underſtand, nor will any thing [c]. This opinion is the fountain from whence that which we have mentioned to obtain among the *Japoneſe* [d] is derived; and differs from *Spinoſiſm* in allowing an emerſion of the world from a very different ſtate poſſible, if not actually to have been; as it does both from that, and the Stoic doctrine, in diveſting their firſt principle of activity and underſtanding. A follower of *Confucius* has refuted the extravagancies of this ſect by that eſtabliſhed maxim, *that nothing can be produced*

[x] La Loubere deſcript. de Siam, tom. i. p. 396, &c.
[y] So we chuſe to expreſs what other authors, following the Portugueſe ſpelling and pronunciation, write Xe, or Xe Kia, intending throughout this work to reduce the orthography of the Chineſe and Japoneſe words, as near as poſſible, to the Engliſh pronunciation. [z] See the acta eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688, p. 257, in the extract of the philoſ. of Confucius, printed at Paris, 1687.
[a] The Chineſe words are *cung biu*; the Latin tranſlation, *vacuum & inane*. [b] Biblioth. univ. tom. vii. p. 406. [c] Acta eruditor. Lipſiæ, 1688, page 258. [d] See before, p. 15, 16.

*from*

*from nothing*; by which he muſt have ſuppoſed, that they taught the firſt principle of all things to be *nothing*[e]; and, conſequently that the world had a beginning, without either an efficient cauſe, or matter. But it is more probable, that, by the words *void* and *emptineſs*, they intended only to expreſs that which has not the properties of ſenſible matter, and underſtand thereby what the moderns underſtand by *ſpace*, which is conceived to be diſtinct from body, and whoſe indiviſible, impalpable, penetrable, immoveable, and infinite extenſion is ſomething real. It is eaſy to perceive, that ſuch a being could not be the firſt principle, if it were inactive, as theſe *Chineſe* philoſophers pretend: *Spinoſa* has not been ſo abſurd; the abſtract idea which he gives of the firſt principle, is no more, properly ſpeaking, than the idea of *ſpace*; but then he indues it with motion, from whence all the varieties of matter may proceed[f].

THE *Siameſe* have alſo ſome agreement with the *Stoics*, in their notion of the alternate deſtruction and renovation of the univerſe. Their *Talapoins* teach, that the figure or model of the world is eternal, but that the viſible world is not; for whatever we ſee in it, lives, in their opinion, and muſt die; and there will at the ſame time be re-produced other beings of the ſame kind, another heaven, another earth, and other ſtars: and in this manner, they ſay, nature has periſhed and been renewed ſeveral times[g]. *Of the Siameſe;*

NOR was this doctrine unknown to the later *Jews*, whoſe cabaliſts are ſuppoſed to account for the origin of *later* things, by making them emanations from a firſt cauſe, and therefore pre-exiſtent, though perhaps under another form. They ſpeak alſo of the reſuming or withdrawing of things into the firſt being, by a revolution and reſtitution of them to their firſt ſtate; as if they believed their *En Soph*[h], or firſt infinite Being, to contain all things, and that there is always the ſame quantity of *being* in the univerſe, whether in the created, or uncreated ſtate. When it is in its uncreated or antemundane ſtate, GOD is ſimply all things; but when it becomes the world, the degree or quantity of being or entity is not increaſed, but GOD expands and unfolds himſelf by emanations and effluxes from the ſuperior to the lower parts, whereby the different forms and orders of created beings are conſtituted. For which reaſon they *and the Jews.*

[e] *Acta erudit. Lipſiæ, ubi ſupra.* [f] Vid. BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Spinoſa, rem. B. [g] La LOUBERE, deſcrip. de Siam, tom. i. p. 361. [h] אין סוף.

often ſpeak of greater and ſmaller veſſels, as it were to receive thoſe effluxes; and of effluent rays; and of canals, through which they flow and are propagated; in a word, when GOD retracts thoſe rays, the external world periſhes, and all things again become GOD[i]: *he ſendeth forth his ſpirit, and they are created, and he reneweth the face of the earth; he hideth his face, and they are troubled; he taketh away their breath, they die, and return to their duſt*[k].

*2. The opinion of thoſe who held two diſtinct co-eternal principles, GOD and matter.*

WE come now to ſpeak of thoſe who held two diſtinct and independent principles, co-exiſtent from eternity, GOD and matter; which is ſuppoſed to have been the opinion of *Pythagoras* and *Plato*; and was certainly that of *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, and ſeveral others.

*The opinion of* Pherecydes, Pythagoras.

WHAT was the opinion of *Pythagoras*'s maſter, *Pherecydes* of *Syros*, as to the origin of the world, is ſomewhat uncertain: from the firſt words of a treatiſe of his, extant in the time of *Diogenes Laertius*, which are indeed ſomewhat corrupted and obſcure, it ſeems he believed three eternal beings, *Jupiter* or GOD, time, and the earth[l]. But *Pythagoras* himſelf is ſaid to have aſſerted two ſubſtantial ſelf-exiſtent principles, a *monad*, or unity, and a *dyad*, or duality; by the former of which GOD, or an active principle or mind, is generally allowed to be meant (though ſome imagine the *Pythagoric* monads were atoms[m]); but what the latter ſignified is uncertain, it being ſometimes interpreted to be a dæmon, or evil principle, informing matter, or the viſible world[n], and at other times to be a paſſive principle, or matter itſelf[o]; the number *two* being uſed as a type, to ſhew the variety, inequality, diviſibility, and continual changes of matter, as *one* was to expreſs the unity, identity, indiviſibility, and unchangeableneſs of the divine nature[p]. Yet it may be queſtioned whether *Pythagoras* by his dyad meant matter or no: for *Porphyry* thus interprets the two *Pythagoric* principles. The cauſe, ſays he, of that ſympathy, harmony, and agreement, which is in things, and of the conſervation of the whole, which is always the ſame, and like itſelf, was by *Pythagoras* called *unity*, that unity which is in the things themſelves being but a participation of the firſt cauſe; but the reaſon of

[i] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 63, &c. [k] Pſalm civ. 29, 30. [l] DIOG. LAERT. in Pherecyde, p. 76. [m] See before, p. 40. [n] PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſ. l. i. cap. 7. [o] Idem ibid. cap. 3. Vid. NUMEN. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. & CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſtem, p. 371, &c. [p] Vid. DACIER, vie de Pythagore, p. 55.

difference, inequality, and conſtant irregularity in things, was by him called a *dyad*[q]. Thus, according to *Porphyry*, by the *Pythagoric* dyad, is not ſo much meant matter, as the infinite and indeterminate nature, and paſſive capability of things. So that the monad and dyad of *Pythagoras* ſeem to have been the ſame with *Plato*'s *finite* and *infinite*[r]; the former of which two only is ſubſtantial, that firſt moſt ſimple being, the cauſe of all unity, and the meaſure of all things[s].

HOWEVER, if *Pythagoras*'s dyad be to be underſtood of a ſubſtantial matter, there ſeems good reaſon to believe, that he did not ſuppoſe matter to be ſelf-exiſtent and independent upon the Deity; ſince, according to the beſt and moſt antient writers, his dyad was no primary, but a ſecondary being only, and derived from his monad, the ſole original of all things, as matter for the monad or active principle, which in the beginning was alone, to work upon[t]. For whatever *Ocellus Lucanus*, *Philolaus*[u], and ſome other *Pythagoreans*, imagined of the world's eternity, *Pythagoras* himſelf really believed it to have had a beginning, and to have been made by GOD[x]: which is confirmed by its being given as one reaſon of his ſuperſtitious abſtinence from beans; that at the beginning things being confounded, mingled, and putrefied together in the earth, the generation and ſecretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, animals being produced, and plants ſhooting forth; at which time, from the ſame putrefied matter, ſprang up both men and beans[y]. But his acknowleging the creation of the world by GOD is ſtill more expreſs, in thoſe verſes cited for his by *Juſtin*[z]. We ſhall content ourſelves to add here the teſtimony of St. *Cyril*, who aſſures us, that he held one GOD of the whole univerſe, the principle and cauſe of all things, illuminating and quickening the whole, and the original of motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of non-exiſtence into being[a].

[q] PORPHYR. in vita Pythag. p. 203. [r] Or rather determinate and indeterminate, Πέρας καὶ ἄπειρον. PLAT. in Philebo. [s] CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra, p. 372. [t] ALEXAND. de ſucceſſ. philoſ. apud DIOG. LAERT. in Pythagora, p. 507. HERMIAS, in irriſione philoſoph. gent. THEODORIT. therap. ii. THEARIDAS Pythagoreus, apud Clement. Alex. ſtrom. 5. p. 611, & in admonit. ad gentes, p. 47. SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. [u] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra, p. 393. [x] PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. 2. cap. 4. [y] PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. [z] De monarchia, p. 167. [a] CYRILL. cont. Julian. lib. i.

BUT *Pythagoras*, it ſeems, did not only call the ſupreme Deity a monad, but alſo a tetrad, or tetractys, the explication of which has tortured the wits of ſeveral ages[b]. It is, in the golden verſes, ſaid to be the fountain of the eternal nature[c]; and, by *Hierocles*, the maker of all things, the intelligent god, the cauſe of the heavenly and ſenſible god, that is, of the animated world or heaven[d]. The later *Pythagoreans* endeavour to give reaſons why GOD ſhould be called *Tetractys*, from certain myſteries in the number four[e]; but the late conjecture of ſome learned men[f] ſeems to be much more probable, that this name was really nothing elſe but the tetragrammaton, or that proper name of the ſupreme GOD amongſt the *Hebrews*, conſiſting of four letters[g]; nor is it ſtrange *Pythagoras* ſhould be ſo well acquainted with the name JEHOVAH, ſince, beſides his travelling into other parts of the eaſt, he is affirmed by *Joſephus*, *Porphyry*, and others, to have converſed with the *Hebrews* alſo. The worſt of *Pythagoras*'s theology was, that, repreſenting GOD as the mover of the univerſe, and the ſoul of the world, he taught that our ſouls were portions of the divine ſubſtance[h].

THAT *Pythagoras* held numbers to be the principles of all things, is teſtified by all antiquity; and he thence accounted for the production of the world in this manner: he ſuppoſed, that the monad and dyad were the two ſources of numbers, from whence proceeded points; from points lines; from lines plane figures; from planes ſolids; from ſolids ſenſible bodies, the elements of which are four, fire, water, earth, and air; and theſe are in perpetual change; from them the world was formed, being animated, intelligent, and ſpherical, containing in the midſt the earth, a globoſe body, and inhabited[i]. He taught that the world began from fire, and the fifth element; and that there being five figures of ſolid bodies, called mathematical or regular, the earth was made of the cube; fire of the pyramid, or tetrahedron; the air of the octahedron; water

[b] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l i. p. 154, 157. [c] Verſ. 47, 48. [d] HIEROCLES, in aur. carm. [e] See CUDWORTH, p. 376. [f] PICUS MIRAND. SELDEN. & GOTFF. WENDELIN. See alſo PHILO in vita Moſis, p. 519. [g] Vid. CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra; & DACIER, vie de Pythagore, p. 57. [h] CICER. de nat. deor. l. i. MINUT. FELIX, p. 151. LACTANT. l. i. c. 5. [i] SUIDAS, in voce Pythagoras. DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. p. 508.

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of the icoſahedron; and the ſphere of the univerſe of the dodecahedron[k].

THIS method of philoſophizing, which was alſo adopted by *Plato*, if underſtood in the literal acceptation, has no manner of foundation in nature, nothing being more certain, than that numbers, if ever ſo variouſly combined, can generate nothing but numbers[l]. It is therefore more probable, that *Pythagoras* made uſe of them no otherwiſe than as emblems, or ſymbols. For, ſuppoſing mathematical ſciences to poſſeſs a middle diſtance between corporeals and incorporeals, he began with them; thereby to wean the mind gradually from ſenſible things, and raiſe it to the contemplation of intelligible beings. And this is the reaſon why he had recourſe chiefly to numbers; for, not being able ſufficiently to explain by words the firſt principles, he repreſented them by numbers[m]: which ſeems to be all *Pythagoras* deſigned, though his followers have ſought myſteries in his doctrine, which himſelf never dreamt of; yet it is not to be denied, that the great defect of that philoſopher, and of *Plato* alſo, was, that they reſolved natural things into mathematical reaſons, numbers, and proportions; as *Ariſtotle* afterwards did into logical reaſons.

*Reflections thereon.*

THE monad, dyad, and tetrad, we have already ſpoken of. As to the regular bodies, it is conjectured, that *Pythagoras* intended only to repreſent the elements under their forms, in imitation of other natural bodies. Thus he repreſented the fire by the figure of a pyramid or tetrahedron, from its aſpiring to a point, or the acuteneſs of its flame; the air, being next in order to the fire, by an octahedron, which bears the neareſt reſemblance to the tetrahedron, being compoſed of two pyramids joined by a ſquare baſe; the water, becauſe of its fluidity, was repreſented by an icoſahedron; and the earth by a cube, to denote its ſtability; the cube being, of all the regular bodies, the leaſt adapted to motion[n]. Or if they were to be conſidered phyſically, perhaps *Pythagoras* ſuppoſed the conſtituent parts of the four elements to conſiſt of ſuch figures, according to their ſeveral ſpecific gravities: that the *molæ*, or primary particles of the earth, were cubes: for as the earth is the moſt ponderous of all the elements, ſo is the cube the

[k] PLUTARCH. de placitis phil. l. ii. c. 6. But the fifth figure, according to CLAVIUS, and others, was added by ſome of Plato's followers. [l] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 158. [m] DACIER, vie de Pythagore, p. 55. [n] SACROBIUS, apud Caſimir. Simienowicz, lib. iv. p. 263.

heavieſt of all the regular bodies; that the particles of fire were tetrahedra, or triangular pyramids, fire being the lighteſt and moſt volatile element, as the tetrahedron is the lighteſt of the ſame bodies; that the particles of the air had the form of an octahedron, which is the next lighteſt body of the five, as air is the next lighteſt to fire; and that the particles of water had the ſhape of an icoſahedron, which figure is a ſort of mean proportion between the cube and the octahedron, as the weight of water is between the weight of air and that of earth. As to the fifth body, the dodecahedron, which repreſents the heaven, or ſphere of the univerſe, it muſt be intirely emblematical (if it be not rather a later addition to the *Pythagoric* phyſiology, and no genuine part of it); the four faces of that figure being fanſied to allude to the twelve ſigns of the zodiac[o], or elſe the four elements, ſeven heavens, and the firmament[p].

*The opinion of* Timæus Locrus, *and*

TIMÆUS LOCRUS, who was a *Pythagorean*, ſeems to have held the pre-exiſtence of matter, as if it were a ſelf-exiſtent principle together with GOD; for he affirms it to be eternal[q]: yet, in another place, he aſſerts the eternal GOD, who is viſible to the underſtanding only, to be the author and parent of all things; and that the world, which is viſible to our eyes, is the generated god[r]; and he diſtinguiſhes between the eternal duration of GOD, which had no beginning; and time, which was made together with the world, as an imitation of eternity[s]. He taught more particularly, that there were two principles of all things; *mind*, of thoſe things which are made according to reaſon; and *neceſſity*, of thoſe which are produced by force, according to the powers of bodies; by which ſecond principle, he plainly means matter[t]. That before the making of the world, there were, beſides GOD, idea or form, and rude matter; one being the intelligible pattern or exemplar of all things, and the other the ſubject, which, being itſelf without figure, yet capable of all figures, was reduced by GOD into the determinate form of the viſible world; which, being the beſt production, is not corruptible by any other cauſe than the ſame GOD who compoſed it, if

[o] Idem ibid. [p] Vid. DACIER, vie de Pythagore, p. 133. Vid. etiam TIMÆUM LOCRUM de anima mundi, inter opuſc. mythol. &c. edit. a T. Gale, 1688. p. 553, &c. [q] TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 544. [r] Idem ibid. p. 549. [s] Ibid. p. 552. See alſo CLEM. ALEXAND. ſtrom. 5. p. 604. [t] Vid. MER. CASAUB. in Diog. Laert. in vita Plat. p. 207.

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it ſhall at any time pleaſe him to diſſolve it[u]. So that *Timæus* ſeems really to have held two ſubordinate principles, matter and form; wherein *Archytas* the *Tarentine*, who was alſo a *Pythagorean*, agreed with him, as ſuppoſing GOD to be the artificer and mover, matter that which is moved, and form the art introduced into the matter[x]: which was alſo the notion of *Plato*. We the rather take notice of the opinion of *Archytas* in this place, becauſe he and *Pythagoras* are joined by *Cenſorinus* with *Ocellus Lucanus*, as believing mankind to have been from eternity[y].

*of* Archytas *of* Tarentum.

PLATO, who, as well as his maſter *Socrates*, embraced the Pythagoric notions, as to the origin of the univerſe, held the three principles we have juſt mentioned, GOD, matter, and idea[z]; which are by *Laertius* reduced to two, GOD and matter[a]; the ideas, or original patterns, of things conceived in the divine mind, being really no diſtinct principle from him, but the very mind of GOD, with whom they are often confounded, both by *Timæus*, and ſeveral of the Platonics[b]. It ſeems therefore certain, that *Plato* ſuppoſed matter to have been uncreated and eternal, as he often aſſerts it to be. But he has been defended in this reſpect by *Hierocles*[c], who, being himſelf convinced by the arguments on the other ſide, was willing to have it thought, for the honour of his ſect, that its founder believed GOD capable of producing the world by a ſimple act of volition, though there was no pre-exiſtent matter: and therefore maintained, that he really held an abſolute creation out of nothing. Wherein *Hierocles* is thought to have been very ſingular[d]; and yet ſome moderns have followed him in that particular, ſuppoſing, that when *Plato* aſſerted matter to be eternal, he did not mean, that it ſubſiſted viſibly from all eternity, but only that it ſubſiſted intellectually in the eternal idea of GOD[e]. And ſeveral paſſages have been cited from the works of that philoſopher[f], which would give ſome grounds to ſuſpect he really believed that GOD

*The opinion of Plato.*

[u] TIMÆUS, ibid. p. 543, &c. See STANLEY's hiſt. of philoſ. part IX. p. 419, 420. [x] STOBÆUS, eclog. phyſ. [y] CENSORINUS de die natali, cap. 3. where, inſtead of *Ocellus*, the common editions have *Cereius*. [z] PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſ. l. i. c. 3. CHALCIDIUS in Timæum. APULEIUS, de doctrina Platonis, l. i. [a] DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 206, 212, &c. [b] Vid. MENAG. in Laert. p. 163. & MER. CASAUBON, in eundem, loco jam citato. [c] HIEROCL. apud Photium, biblioth. cod. ccli. p. 1380. [d] Vid. BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Hierocles, philoſ. [e] DACIER, vie de Platon, p. 123, &c. [f] Vid. ibid. & CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſtem, p. 404, 570, &c.

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created or produced matter itſelf, as well as made and formed the world thereout, had he not ſo explicitly declared the contrary. Another opinion imputed to *Plato* by *Plutarch*, *viz.* the ſuppoſing two intelligent and independent principles, a good and an evil one, will be conſidered by-and-by.

As to the formation of the world, *Plato* taught, that matter being at firſt unformed, and without any determinate figure, and being moved in an irregular and diſorderly manner, GOD, who prefers order to confuſion, gathered it together; and, converting this ſubſtance into the four elements, of them made the world, and all things therein, faſhioning it according to the archetypal idea, or model thereof, which he had conceived in himſelf; and that he gave it a ſpherical figure, as the moſt perfect, and that which contains the reſt; and indued it with an intelligent ſoul, becauſe an animated being is more excellent than an inanimate, which ſoul of the world *Plato* ſuppoſed to be formed before its material body[g]. He alſo aſſerted the world to be incorruptible, not by its nature, but becauſe it is ſupported by divine providence[h]: and held not only the animated univerſe itſelf, but the ſeveral parts of nature, which he likewiſe ſuppoſed animated, to be gods, inferior indeed to the ſupreme GOD, but ſuperior to men, and juſtly challenging honour and worſhip from them. Theſe gods of *Plato* were, for the moſt part, fiery, being the celeſtial bodies; though he ſuppoſed the earth alſo to be a god, affirming it to be the oldeſt of all the gods within the heaven[i]: and he, for this reaſon, found fault with the Anaxagorean doctrine, which made the planets and ſtars nothing but inanimate ſtones and earth[k].

*The opinion of* Anaxagoras.

ANAXAGORAS, who was not more conſpicuous for his wealth and nobility of birth, than the greatneſs of his mind[l], did indiſputably hold two co-eternal principles, GOD and matter; being the firſt (of the *Ionic* philoſophers at leaſt) who, as has been obſerved, introduced an intelligent being to move, ſeparate, and put in order the chaotic matter: whence he obtained the honourable ſurname of *Nous*, or *mind*[m]. He admitted as many ſorts of prin-

[g] DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 206, &c. PLATO, in Timæo. See alſo STANLEY's hiſt. of philoſ. part v. p. 186. & BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 176. [h] PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. i. c. 4. [i] DIOG. LAERT. in Platon. p. 211. [k] PLATO de legib. l. x. [l] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 83. [m] Idem ibid. PLUTARCH. in Pericle.

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ciples as of compounded bodies: for he ſuppoſed, that every kind of body was formed of a great number of ſmall ſimilar particles; that a bone, for example, was nothing but a compoſition of many inviſible bones; and that the blood which we ſee, was made up of many minute drops, every one of which was blood[n]; from the ſimilitude of which principles he called them *homœomeriæ*. But this obliged him to allow, that the ſeeds or principles of all kinds are found in every body, which throws his ſyſtem into a ſtrange confuſion; not to mention ſeveral other inconveniencies and contradictions therein[o]. As to the formation of the world, his doctrine ſeems to have been, that the mind or intelligence who preſided thereat, and whom he allows to be the original of motion[p], finding in the infinite matter a vaſt number of particles which were like one another, but promiſcuouſly mixed with, and ſurrounded by others which were unlike, ſeparated the one from the other, and, joining together the corpuſcles of the ſame kind, formed of ſome a ſtar, of others a ſtone, *&c.* Notwithſtanding which, he has been ſeverely cenſured by ſeveral, as allowing too much to material neceſſity, and endeavouring to account for things, as far as poſſible, from the inherent forms and qualities of matter only, or any way, rather than bring in the Deity, to whom he never has recourſe but when he is abſolutely at a loſs[q]; and without whoſe interpoſition, or knowlege, he admitted ſome revolutions in nature happened[r]. As to the formation of animals, he taught that they proceeded from the earth, being firſt generated of moiſture and heat, and after by mixture of the ſexes[s].

ARCHELAUS, the ſucceſſor of *Anaxagoras*, moſt probably held the ſame principles with his maſter, namely, an infinite number of ſimilar particles, as St. *Auſtin* and *Simplicius*[t] teſtify; though others[u] tell us, that he ſuppoſed infinite air, its rarefaction and condenſation, the one being fire, and the other water, to be the principles of all things. *Of* Archelaus.

[n] Vid. LUCRET. de rer. nat. l. i. v. 830, &c. PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. i. c. 3. DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 84. ARIST. phyſic. l. i. c. 4. [o] Vid BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Anaxagoras, Rem. C & G. [p] DIOG. LAERT. ubi ſupra. [q] ARISTOT. metaph. l. i. c. 4. [r] CLEM. ALEX. ſtrom. l. ii. p. 364. EUSEB. de præp. ev. l. xiv. c. 14. p. 750. [s] DIOG. LAERT. in Anaxag. p. 85. [t] AUGUSTIN. de civit. Dei, l. viii. c. 2. SIMPLIC. in Ariſt. phyſ. l. i. Vid. etiam CLEM. ALEXANDR. in protrept. p. 43. [u] PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſoph. l. i. c. 3. JUSTIN. martyr, admonit. ad Græcos, p. 4.

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He alſo thought men and animals were produced by the heat of the earth, which yielded a ſlimy ſubſtance like milk, ſerving for food[x].

*Of* Empedocles.

EMPEDOCLES, who was an auditor both of *Pythagoras* and *Anaxagoras*, is ſaid to have followed the phyſiology of the latter. He held two cauſes of all things, contention and friendſhip, meaning thereby ſecretion and concretion, or the ſeparation and mixture of the primary matter, from which the elements were formed, and all things that have been, are, or ſhall be, plants, animals, men, and gods, derived their original[y]: yet he ſuppoſed that contention and friendſhip did both depend on one ſupreme Deity as their author[z]. For *Empedocles*, it ſeems, believed, that, were it not for diſcord or contention, all things would be one; ſo that, according to him, all things whatſoever proceeded from contention, together with a mixture of friendſhip, ſave only the ſupreme GOD, who hath no contention at all in him, becauſe he is eſſentially unity itſelf[a]. He taught, that the elements were compoſed out of ſmaller corpuſcles, which were moſt minute, and, as it were, the elements of the elements[b]. Agreeably to other atomiſts, he acknowleged no generation or corruption, properly ſo called, but aſcribed all to ſecretion and concretion[c]. He imagined the elements to have been produced in this order; firſt, that the æther was ſecreted, afterwards the fire, and then the earth, which being too cloſely preſſed by violence of the circumvolution, there iſſued thence water, from the evaporation of which proceeded the air. That the heaven was made of the æther, the ſun of the fire, and the things about the earth from the other elements[d]: ſo that the phyſiology of *Empedocles* was, at the bottom, the ſame with that of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*; only that he differed from them in ſome particulars, as in excluding a vacuum, and denying ſuch phyſical corpuſcles as were indiviſible, but chiefly in admitting an intelligent principle, by whoſe wiſdom the world was put into this order, as the beſt, and moſt convenient, for the good of the whole; though he ſometimes indulged too much to fortuitous me-

[x] DIOG. LAERT. in Archelao, p. 89. [y] DIOG. LAERT. in Emped. p. 538. CICER. de amicitia. CLEMENS ALEX. in admon. ad gentes. ARIST. phyſ. l. viii. SUIDAS, in voce Manes, &c. [z] ARISTOT. in metaph. l. iii. c. 4. & de mundo, p. 26. [a] CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſt. p. 392. [b] PLUTARCH. de placitis phil. l. i. c. 13. STOBÆUS, in eclog. phyſic. [c] PLUT. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 24, & 30. [d] Idem ibid. l. ii. c. 6.

chaniſm, eſpecially in the ſtructure of animals[e]. We ſhall only obſerve further, that he held, according to the Pythagorean doctrine, that there were two worlds, the one intellectual, and the other ſenſible; the former of them being the model or archetype of the latter[f].

THAT *Plutarch* maintained the eternity of matter, is paſt all queſtion; he expreſly aſſerting, that the ſubſtance, or matter, out of which the world was made, was not itſelf made, but always ready at hand, and ſubject to the artificer, to be ordered and diſpoſed by him. For, in his opinion, the making of the world was not the production of it out of nothing, but out of an antecedent bad and diſorderly ſtate, like the making of a houſe, garment, or ſtatue[g]. *Of* Plutarch, *and ſeveral others.*

IT is alſo well known, that *Hermogenes*, and other antient pretenders to Chriſtianity, did in like manner aſſert the ſelf-exiſtence and improduction of matter; for which reaſon they were commonly called Materiarians; endeavouring, by this means, to give an account (as the Stoics had done before them) of the original of evils, and to free GOD from the imputation thereof. And they argued in this manner; GOD made all things either out of himſelf, or out of nothing, or out of pre-exiſtent matter: he could not make all things out of himſelf, becauſe himſelf being always unmade, he ſhould then really have been the maker of nothing; and he did not make all out of nothing, becauſe, being eſſentially good, he would have made every thing in the beſt manner, and ſo there could have been no evil in the world: but ſince there are evils, and theſe could not proceed from the will of GOD, they muſt needs ariſe from the fault of ſomething, and therefore of the matter out of which things were made[h]. Some modern ſects of the Chriſtian profeſſion do alſo, at this day, aſſert the uncreatedneſs of matter; but theſe ſuppoſe, as the Stoics did, body to be the only ſubſtance[i].

BUT ſome went ſtill farther, and maintained that the chaos, or original matter, was animated by an evil or maleficent ſoul, thereby conſtituting a third ſelf-exiſtent principle. And this was the opinion of *Plutarch*, whom we have juſt mentioned, and of *Numenius* and *Atticus*[k]. The

[e] Vid. CUDWORTH, p. 24, 25. [f] SIMPLIC. in phyſ. Ariſt. Vid. PLUT. ubi ſupra, l. i. c. 20. [g] PLUT. de pſychog. Platon. p. 1014, 1015, &c. [h] TERTULLIAN. adv. Hermog. p. 282. [i] CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſt. p. 197. [k] PROCL. in Tim. p. 116.

firſt not only expreſly aſſerts, that a mad irrational ſoul, and an unformed diſorderly body, did co-exiſt with one another from eternity, neither of them having any generation or beginning[l]; but diſcovers no ſmall fondneſs for this notion in ſeveral parts of his works[m], and profeſſedly endeavours to eſtabliſh it by the beſt arguments he could; pretending, that otherwiſe it would be impoſſible to account, in a ſatisfactory manner, for the original of evil. For as evil could not be produced without ſome poſitive cauſe, it being ridiculous to imagine it came into the world by accident; and as neither GOD, who is eſſentially good, nor mere inactive matter, void of all form and quality, could be the cauſe of evil; he therefore concluded, that it muſt proceed from a certain irrational and maleficent ſoul or dæmon, unmade, and co-exiſting with GOD and matter from eternity. So that whatever is good in the ſoul and body of the univerſe, and likewiſe in the ſouls of men and dæmons, is to be aſcribed to GOD, as its only original; and whatever is evil, irregular, and diſorderly in them, ought to be imputed to that other ſubſtantial evil principle. And to ſupport this opinion by authority, as well as reaſon, he would perſuade us, that it was the conſtant belief of all the pagan nations, and of the wiſeſt men and philoſophers that ever were among them[n]; imputing it to the *Egyptians*, who, as he imagines, repreſented the evil principle under the name of *Typhon*; to *Zoroaſtres* and the *Perſian* mages, who are alſo by *Laertius* affirmed to have maintained two principles, a good dæmon and an evil one[o] (though it has been queſtioned whether they really believed the evil principle to be eternal, or not); to the *Chaldeans*, becauſe their aſtrologers ſuppoſed two of the planets to be beneficent, two maleficent, and three of a middle nature; and to the antient *Greeks*, becauſe they ſacrificed not only to *Jupiter Olympius*, but alſo to *Hades*, or *Pluto*, who was ſometimes called by them the infernal *Jupiter:* ſuppoſing alſo the monad and dyad of *Pythagoras*, the contention and friendſhip of *Empedocles*, the mind and infinite matter of *Anaxagoras*, to be no other than a good and evil GOD. But above all, he endeavours to prove, that *Plato* was an undoubted champion for this opinion, and that chiefly for theſe reaſons: firſt, becauſe that philoſopher ſpeaks of a neceſſary and innate appetite, which may ſometimes turn the heavens a con-

[l] PLUT. in quæſt. Platon. p. 1003. [m] Idem de pſychog. Plat. & de Iſide & Oſiride, &c. [n] Idem de Iſide & Oſiride, p. 369, &c. [o] DIOG. LAERT. in proœm.

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trary way, and by that means cauſe diſorder and confuſion[p]; ſecondly, becauſe he ſpeaks of two kinds of ſouls, whereof one is beneficent, but the other contrary[q]; and laſtly, becauſe he ſuppoſes the matter to have been moved diſorderly before the world was made, which implies there was a diſorderly and irrational ſoul exiſting with it, as the mover of it, matter being unable to move itſelf. But, as to the firſt of theſe allegations, it has been obſerved, that *Plato*, as if it had been purpoſely to prevent ſuch an interpretation of his meaning in the paſſage there quoted as this of *Plutarch*'s, adds, that it muſt not be ſuppoſed there are two gods of contrary minds, turning the heavens ſometimes one way, and ſometimes another. Which might alſo ſerve for an anſwer to what is afterwards urged, as if *Plato* had affirmed, that there were two ſouls, the one beneficent, and the other contrary, becauſe this would be all one as to introduce two gods: but in that place, it is conceived, that *Plato* did only diſtribute ſouls in general into good and evil; thoſe moral differences properly belonging to that rank of beings called by him ſouls, and ariſing from them, according to his premiſed doctrine, that ſoul is the cauſe of good and evil, juſt and unjuſt: but then afterwards making inquiry concerning the ſoul of the world or heaven, he poſitively concludes, that it was no other than a ſoul indued with all virtue[r]. As to the laſt reaſon, that matter is ſaid by *Plato* to have been moved diſorderly, it is ſuppoſed, that he did therein only adhere to that vulgarly received tradition, that the world was formed from a chaos, or matter confuſedly moved, and afterwards brought into order[s]. And as to the origin of evil, *Plato* is conceived neither to have imputed it to GOD himſelf, nor derived it from unqualified matter, nor yet from an irrational and maleficent ſoul, but the neceſſity of imperfect beings[t].

HOWEVER, ſome mongrel Chriſtians, as the *Marcionites*, *Manichæans*, and *Paulicians*, did really maintain this opinion of two ſelf-exiſtent gods, a good and an evil one, which latter *Manes* called *hyle*, or matter[u].

HAVING now done with the ſecond of thoſe opinions, under which we comprehended the ſeveral notions which have been entertained concerning the origin of the univerſe, we come to ſpeak of the laſt, and only true one; that the world

*The opinion of thoſe who held the world to be abſolutely created, and liable to diſſolution.*

[p] PLAT. in politic. [q] Idem, de legib. l. x. [r] Idem ibid. [s] CUDWORTH, intell. ſyſt. p. 218, &c. Vid. BAYLE, dict. hiſt. art. Zoroaſtre, rem. E. [t] CUDWORTH, p. 220. [u] AUGUST. contr. Fauſt. l. xx. c. 3.

world had a beginning, being abſolutely produced by God out of a ſtate of non-exiſtence; and conſequently, that it is of its own nature liable to diſſolution.

And, beſides ſuch of the nations and philoſophers already mentioned, who moſt probably believed this creation of the world, though ſuſpected of contrary opinions, there were ſeveral among the heathens who unqueſtionably did ſo.

*The opinion of the antient* Tuſcans,

We ſhall firſt inſtance in the antient *Tuſcans*, or *Etrurians*, whoſe tradition we have from one of their own writers. He ſays, that God, the author of the univerſe, employed twelve thouſand years in all his creations, and diſtributed them into twelve houſes: that in the firſt chiliad, or thouſand years, he made the heaven and earth; in the next, the firmament which appears to us, calling it heaven; in the third, the ſea and all the waters that are in the earth; in the fourth, the great lights, the ſun, and moon, and alſo the ſtars; in the fifth, every volatile, reptile, and four-footed animal, in the air, earth, and watea; in the ſixth, man. It ſeems therefore, according to them, that the firſt ſix thouſand years were paſſed before the formation of man, and that mankind are to continue for the other ſix thouſand years, the whole time of conſummation being twelve thouſand years[x]. For they held, that the world was ſubject to certain revolutions, wherein it became transformed, and a new age and generation began: of ſuch generations there were in all, according to them, eight, differing from one another in cuſtoms and way of life; each having a duration of a certain number of years aſſigned them by God, and determined by the period which they called *the great year*. The approach of ſuch a change in the world was judged, by the *Tuſcan* diviners, to be portended by a prodigy which happened in the time of *C. Marius*, when the air being perfectly clear and ſerene, there was heard a ſhrill and mournful ſound of a trumpet, to the aſtoniſhment and terror of every body[y]. And theſe are all the remains we now have of the old *Etrurian* phyſiology; which may be ſuppoſed to have been well worth our knowlege, that nation being particularly curious and diligent in their inquiries into nature[z]. Beſides thoſe we have already mentioned, who entertained this opinion of the mundane revolutions, the *Druids* alſo taught the alternate

*and of the* Druids.

[x] Anonym. apud Suid. in voce Tyrrheni. [y] Plutarch. in Sylla, p. 456. [z] Diodor. Sic. l. v. p. 316.

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diſſolution of the world by water and fire, and its ſucceſſive renovation [a].

THE *Mages*, among the antient *Perſians*, did alſo acknowlege the world to have been created by GOD, as their ſucceſſors moſt certainly do at this day [b]; but, being at a loſs otherwiſe to account for the original of evil, they held two principles, a good dæmon, or GOD, and an evil one [c]; the firſt the author of all good, and the other of all evil; the former they ſuppoſed to be repreſented by light, and the latter by darkneſs, as their trueſt ſymbols; and that, of the compoſition of thoſe two, all things in the world are made. The good principle, or GOD, they named *Yezad*, or *Yezdân*, and *Ormozd*, or *Hormizda*, which the *Greeks* wrote *Oromazes*; and the evil dæmon they called *Ahârîman*, or *Ahrîman*, and the *Greeks Arimanius* [d]. Intending in the proper place to give a more particular detail of the antient religion of the *Magi*, and their ſeveral tenets, true or ſuppoſed; we ſhall only obſerve here, that though one ſect of them held, as the *Manichæans* and ſome other heretics did, both theſe principles to have been from all eternity, yet they are reputed heterodox; the original doctrine being, that the good principle, or GOD, only was eternal, and the other created: which appears not only from the unanimous teſtimony of the eaſtern writers, but from what genuine remains we have of *Zoroaſtres* in the *Greek*, particularly the following deſcription of the ſupreme Deity, taken from the very words of *Zoroaſtres* himſelf: GOD, ſays he, has the head of an hawk (which muſt be a ſymbolical expreſſion), and is the firſt of all things, incorruptible, eternal, unmade, without parts, unlike any other being, the promoter of all good, impartial, the beſt of the good, the moſt prudent of the prudent; he is the father of equity and juſtice, ſelf-inſtructed, natural, perfect, and wiſe, and the ſole inventor of what is holy in nature [e]. And, indeed, that the evil dæmon was not believed to be ſelf-exiſtent, appears from what *Plutarch* himſelf, though he ſo confidently affirms the contrary, ſays of its future deſtruction, it being impoſſible, that what is uncreated ſhould ever be deſtroyed [f].

*The opinion of the Perſian magi.*

[a] STRABO, l. iv. [b] See LORD's account of the religion of the Perſes, p. 5. [c] DIOG. LAERT. in procem. p. 6. [d] Vid. HYDE de relig. vet. Perſar. cap. 9. [e] ZOROASTRES, in ſacra collectione rituum Perſ. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. i. cap. 10. p. 42. OSTHANES the mage alſo wrote in the ſame manner of the Deity, ibid. [f] Vid. CUDWORTH intellect. ſyſt. p. 222.

THAT writer gives the following account of the *Magian* traditions in relation to their gods, and the introduction of evil into the world; *viz.* That *Oromazes* consisted of most pure light, and *Arimanius* of darkness; and that they were at war with eath other: that *Oromazes* created six gods; the first the author of benevolence, the second of truth, the third of justice, the others of wisdom, riches, and the pleasure which attends good actions; and that *Arimanius* made as many, who were the authors of the opposite evils or vices: that then *Oromazes*, triplicating himself, removed as far from the sun, as the sun is from the earth, and adorned the heaven with stars, appointing the dog-star for their guardian and leader: that he also created twenty-four other gods, and inclosed them in an egg; but *Arimanius* having also made an equal number, these last perforated the egg, by which means evil and good became mixed together. However, the fatal time will come, when *Arimanius*, the introducer of plagues and famine, must be of necessity utterly destroyed by the former, and annihilated; then, the earth being made plain and even, mankind shall live in an happy state, in the same manner, in the same political society, and using one and the same language. *Theopompus* writes, that, according to the *Magians*, the said two gods, during the space of three thousand years, alternately conquer, and are conquered; that, for other three thousand years, they will wage mutual war, fight, and destroy the works of each other, till at last *Hades* (or the evil spirit) shall perish, and men become perfectly happy, their bodies needing no food, nor casting any shadow: that GOD, who contrives this scene of things, rests and reposes himself for a certain season, which is not long to him, but like the intermission of sleep to men g.

*A tradition of the modern Persians.*

THE modern *Persians* have a peculiar tradition, which they pretend to have received from *Zoroastres*, that GOD created the world, not in six natural days, but in six times, or spaces of different length, called in their tongue *gâhanbârha*, and making in all three hundred and sixty-five days, or a year complete: as to the several names of which, their order, number of days, and the several parts of the creation performed therein respectively, all authors agree; though they differ as to the particular part of the year from which they begin. Their names and order are as follow:

g PLUTARCH. de Iside & Osiride, p. 369.

THE

THE firſt time is called *mîd-yuzeram*, and contains the ſpace of fifty-five days; in which the heavens were created.

THE ſecond is *mîd-yûſham*, or *mîd-yûſhaham*, of ſixty days; in this the waters were created [h].

THE third, *pîtîſhahîm*, or *pîtiſhahim-gáh*, conſiſts of ſeventy-five days; wherein the earth was created.

THE fourth is *iyâſeram*, or *iyâſhehram*, of thirty days; in which the trees and plants were created.

THE fifth is *midiyârîm*, containing eighty days; in which ſpace the animals were created.

The ſixth, *hameſpîtamîdîm*, was that wherein man was created, being ſeventy-five days [i].

THE old *Indian* philoſophers, called by the *Greeks* *Brachmanes*, held that the world was generated, or made, and alſo periſhable, being ſubject to ſucceſſive diſſolutions and renovations: that the principles of all things were different, but the formation of the world commenced from water [k]; and that the cauſe of GOD's making all things was his eſſential goodneſs [l]. And theſe are alſo the ſentiments of the modern bramins, their ſucceſſors: but the particulars of their doctrine are related, by different authors, with a variety not eaſy to reconcile; the occaſion of which has been partly the reſervedneſs of the bramins, who are extremely ſhy of converſing with ſtrangers, or making them the leaſt diſcoveries, but more the relators want of ſkill in their language.

*The opinion of the old Brachmans, and of the modern Bramins.*

THEIR tradition, as delivered by one writer [m], is, that the great GOD, being alone, and intending to manifeſt his goodneſs and power, conſulted with himſelf about the creation of the univerſe; and, as the groundwork of this mighty frame, made four elements, which were at firſt confuſedly mingled together, but the Almighty ſeparated them in the following manner. Firſt, by ſome great cane, or like inſtrument, he blew upon the waters, which aroſe into a bubble, of a round form, like an egg, which, ſpreading itſelf farther and farther, made the clear and tranſparent firmament that encompaſſes the world. After this, of the remaining water, and its ſediment, GOD made a round ball, which he called the lower world; the ſolid

[h] Mr. LORD, in his account of the religion of the Perſes, p. 6, & 41, makes the work of this ſecond ſpace to be the creation of hell. [i] HYDE, hiſt. rel. veter. Perſar. p. 164, &c. [k] MEGASTHENES, apud Strab. l. xv. p. 713. [l] Vid. PHILOSTR. in vita Apollonii, p. 142. [m] LORD's diſcovery of the Banian religion, extracted from their ſacred book called *Shaſter*.

part whereof became the earth, and the more fluid the ſea, both making one globe, which, by a great noiſe, or humming ſound, he placed in the midſt of the firmament. Then he created the ſun and moon in the firmament, to diſtinguiſh times and ſeaſons. And thus the elements became ſeparated, and aſſigned to their proper places, and began to perform their offices, the air filling up all interſtices, the fire nouriſhing by its heat, and the earth and ſea bringing forth the living creatures proper to each. And to theſe GOD imparted a ſeminal virtue, that they might be fruitful; and thus was the world created.

GOD having thus made the world, he then created man, as a creature more worthy than the reſt; whom the earth, at GOD's command, produced from its own bowels, his head firſt appearing, and afterwards the other parts of his body, into which GOD infuſed life, and afterwards made him a companion, which was woman, reſembling him more in mind and diſpoſition, than in outward ſhape. The firſt man's name was *Pourous*, and the woman's *Parcoutee*; whoſe deſcendants being, for their wickedneſs, deſtroyed by a deluge, GOD afterwards created three perſons of greater perfection, called *Bremaw*, *Vyſtney*, and *Ruddery*; to each of whom he gave a different office and power; to the firſt, that of creating or producing men and other animals; to the ſecond, that of preſerving and feeding them; and, to the laſt, that of deſtroying them; which charges they ſeverally executed in the manner that ſhall be related in a more proper place.

ANOTHER [n] tells us, that the bramins acknowlege one ſole and ſupreme GOD, but are not perfectly agreed which of their gods he is; one ſect affirming him to be *Wiſtnou*, another *Eſwara*; and a third holding *Wiſtnou* and *Eſwara* to be one and the ſame: that they all teach, however, that his firſt and moſt antient production was a ſecondary god, named *Bramma*, whom the ſupreme GOD formed out of a flower, which floated on the great deep, before the creation of the world; and that GOD afterwards, on account of *Bramma*'s virtue, gratitude, and fidelity, gave him power to create the univerſe.

BUT the proteſtant miſſionaries lately ſent to the coaſt of *Coromandel* have given accounts ſomewhat different from the preceding, and which yet may, perhaps, deſerve

[n] ABR. ROGER, of the religion of the bramins (ſaid to be taken from one of the ſacred books called *Vedam*), part i. c. 3. and part ii. c. 1.

more

more regard, as written by men who were not unacquainted with the *Malabarian* tongue. In one of their letters it is ſaid, that the *Malabarians* (who are one of thoſe nations which follow the religion of the bramins) own but one divine Being, the ſpring and original ſource of all other gods and things, called by them *Iſparetta*, which, in their language, imports as much as a deity. This *Iſparetta*, they ſay, before any thing was created, transformed himſelf into an egg; out of which the whole ſyſtem of heaven and earth, and all things contained therein, were afterwards produced. From this divinity, as their tradition runs, did originally ſpring ſomething, which they call *Kiwelinga*, and which they worſhip in their temples as a god. From this *Kiwelinga* three other great gods took their riſe; *Bramma*, *Wiſhtnum*, and *Iſpara*. *Bramma* is ſaid to create and make all things; *Wiſhtnum*, to rule over things created; and *Iſpara* to deſtroy them again [o].

IN another letter we are told, the ſupreme Being is called *Barabara Waſtu*, who, as the *Indians* believe, does not concern himſelf immediately about things of ſmall moment; but, having created ſome other great gods as his vicegerents, he by them moves and influences the world, and all creatures contained therein. Theſe gods have again their ſubordinate gods, who have their particular ſtation and government of things aſſigned them. The theogony, or gradual production, of which gods is deſcribed in the following ſeries: 1. The Being of all beings, or the ſupreme GOD, created eternity. 2. Eternity brought forth *Tſhiwen*. 3. By this *Tſhiwen* the goddeſs *Tſhaddy* was created. 4. The goddeſs *Tſhaddy* produced *Putadi*, or the elementary and ſenſitive world. 5. By *Putadi* a ſound, or ringing, was generated. 6. The ſound's offſpring was nature. 7. Nature afterwards begat the great god *Tſhatatſhiwen*. 8. Which laſt again produced another great god called *Mageſhurn*. 9. From *Mageſhurn* ſprang *Ruddiren*, or *Iſpuren*. 10. From *Ruddiren*, the great god *Wiſhtnum*. 11. This laſt created *Bruma*. 12. *Bruma* was the productive principle of the ſoul. 13. The ſoul at length created the heaven, or that vaſt expanſion between heaven and earth, which makes up the fifth element, according to their philoſophy, or rather the receptacle of the other four elements. 14. The heaven begat the air. 15. The air begat the fire. 16. The fire begat the water. 17. And the water the earth. Beſides a tedious genealogy

[o] Propagation of the goſpel in the eaſt, part i. letter 3.

of other gods and prophets carried to a great length. They acknowlege their inferior gods to be ſubject to various changes, as well as the creatures themſelves; and that each of them has his fixed term of life and government allotted him: after the expiration of all which determined times, every thing ſhall return into the Being of all beings, and there ſhall follow a new creation. As to the creation of man, they ſay, that ſixty thouſand men were created at firſt, but that half of them turned devils ſoon after, and the other half remained men; both of them being, in proceſs of time, multiplied to infinite numbers P.

*The opinion of ſome among the* Chineſe.

THOUGH the *Chineſe* have for ſome time paſt been generally infected with the impious opinions which have been taken notice of, it is however certain, that, before idolatry prevailed in *China*, they acknowleged one GOD, or ſupreme, eternal, omnipotent ſpirit, the lord of heaven and earth, and the governor and director of all things, whom they worſhipped under the name of *Shang-ti*. But this opinion now obtains with very few, and thoſe of the better ſort Q. Theſe hold, that a chaos was the beginning of things, from which GOD produced and formed whatſoever is material in the univerſe. But this they diſtinguiſh into principles, which they call *Yn* and *Yang*; *Yn* ſignifies hidden or imperfect; *Yang* revealed or perfect; which two principles by combination produce four images or ſigns, which ſeem to repreſent the four elements; whence proceed eight forms, or ſymbols; and theſe repreſent certain general things, whereon the generation and corruption of all things depend, being the heaven, the earth, thunder, mountains, fire, clouds, waters, and wind; which again, mutually combined, produce ſixty-four ſymbols, completing, as it were, the number of the univerſe; concerning which they have much myſterious learning. They ſay, the heaven was firſt perfected, then the earth, after which genii or ſpirits were produced, and then mankind; and that the firſt man, whom they call *Puoncu*, was generated from the chaos, as from an egg; the ſhell of which became the heaven, the white the air, and the yolk the earth: others ſay, he came out of a certain deſert, but that his original is unknown R.

THEY divide the period wherein the world was created, and will be deſtroyed, as they do their natural day, into

P Ibid. part ii. letter 3. See alſo KIRCHER, China illuſtr. p. 154, &c. Q MARTINII hiſt. Sinic. l. i. p. 11. R Ibid. p. 13, 14.

twelve

twelve hours or times, conſiſting each of ten thouſand eight hundred years. The twelfth hour, or at midnight, the heaven was made; the earth, the firſt hour after midnight; and man the ſecond. Their emperor *Ya* was created the ſixth hour, or at noon; and the age wherein we now live is the ſeventh hour (though ſome count a much larger number of years from the beginning of the world). The ninth hour, they ſay, there will be a great diſorder and confuſion of all things, cruel wars, commotions in kingdoms, and public calamities, till all things return to the chaos whence they firſt proceeded [s].

*and Japoneſe;*

THERE are alſo ſome, even among the *Japoneſe*, who acknowlege this truth of the creation of the world, and entertain a much more noble idea of their god *Amida*, than the generality of them do. For they ſay, he is inviſible, diſtinct from the nature of the elements, and exiſting before the creation of heaven and earth, without beginning or end; that by him all things were created, his eſſence paſſing through heaven and earth, and beyond them, being limited to no place, and governing and preſerving all things; that he is immoveable, incorporeal, without any viſible accident whereby he may be ſeen by the bodily eyes; and this god they hold in great reverence, as the perpetual fountain of all good [t].

*and of ſeveral American nations.*

SEVERAL nations in *America* alſo entertained the ſame belief of a creation; of which ſome inſtances might be given: but, their opinions containing little curious, as to the original of things, we have, to avoid prolixity, choſen to omit them.

*A general reflection.*

SOME of the accounts we have given above, will, no doubt, be taken by the generality of readers to be very abſurd and ridiculous: but, before they paſs an abſolute judgment, they are deſired to conſider the imperfection of philoſophy in thoſe early times, and that the antients, as well *Greeks* as barbarians, wrapped up and concealed their true doctrines, particularly thoſe concerning the origin of things, under the veils of ſymbols, ænigmas, and myſtical allegories [u]; for which reaſon many things in the preceding accounts, which may ſeem ſtrange and fabulous, will not, perhaps, deſerve to be treated with all the contempt they muſt needs meet with from thoſe who underſtand them in the obvious and literal ſenſe: nor perhaps is it

[s] Ex libro Sinico de natura, ibid. p. 13. [t] LUD. FROES apud Kircher. Chin. illuſtr. p. 142. [u] Vid. PHORNUT. de nat. deor. c. ult. CLEM. Alexandr. ſtrom. v. p. 556. & BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 89, &c.

possible for us, at this distance of time, to give any tolerable explications of them; and therefore, omitting such disquisitions, we have confined ourselves to the bare historical narration.

*The Mosaic account of the creation.*

AND now we come to the only authentic and genuine history of the creation; which has been left us by *Moses*, and carries with it all the marks of truth and probability, even though it be regarded only as an human composition, and separate from divine authority: and it is to this purpose:

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth [x]. The earth, after its immediate creation, was for some time a promiscuous, dark, fluid, and unformed chaos, or mass of matter [y], which GOD, in the space of six days, disposed and reduced into the present form of the world; his Spirit moving or brooding over the surface of the water, or fluid matter, to influence and actuate the same.

THE first thing that appeared was light; the separation of which from the darkness was the work of the first day [z].

THEN GOD made an expansion [a] in the midst of the waters, to divide the waters above from the waters below; which expansion *Moses* calls heaven: and this was the second day's work [b].

ON the third day, GOD caused the earth to be drained, and the waters to be gathered together chiefly into one great receptacle, or the ocean; whereupon the dry land appeared: after which the earth produced all sorts of plants, herbs, and trees, bearing their several seeds and fruits, according to their various kinds [c].

THE fourth day GOD made the sun and moon, and placed them in the heaven to illuminate the earth; to distinguish between day and night, and divide the several seasons of the year; the stars were also made this day [d].

THE fifth day GOD created all the fishes, and inhabitants of the waters; and also the fowls of the air, which were likewise produced out of the water [e].

ON the sixth day GOD made all the terrestrial animals, the cattle, creeping things, and beasts of the field. And last of all, he created man, forming his body of the dust of the earth, and animating him with a living soul [f]; and

[x] Genes. i. 1. [y] Ib. vers. 2. [z] Vers. 3, 4, 5. [a] This is the true signification of the Hebrew רקיע, and not *firmament*, which was taken from the *Greek* interpreters. [b] Ib. vers. 6, &c. [c] Vers. 9, &c. [d] Vers. 14, &c. [e] Vers. 20, &c. [f] Vers. 26.

out of the man he made the woman, taking her out of his ſide, having firſt caſt him into a profound ſleep g.

THIS is the ſubſtance of what *Moſes* has delivered concerning the creation of the world; which being ſhort, and rather ſuited to the capacities of the people he deſigned to inſtruct, than written for the ſatisfaction of a philoſophic inquirer, has left room for various explications, and the ſetting up of ſeveral very different hypotheſes.

IE may be expected we ſhould ſay ſomething of the hypotheſis of Mr. *Deſcartes*, though he has endeavoured rather to form a fine ſyſtem of his own, than to explain the *Moſaical* deſcription, and reconcile it with philoſophy. He agrees with *Epicurus*, in making matter and motion the principles of nature; ſuppoſing, however, the being of a GOD, who both created the matter, and impreſſed the firſt motion upon it; but then, after this motion once begun, and the wheels ſet a going, he leaves this vaſt machine to the laws of mechaniſm, which affect all things, both celeſtial and terreſtrial, without any farther aſſiſtance from the firſt impreſſor h, after the following manner. *The* Carteſian *hypotheſis.*

HE ſuppoſes, 1. That the matter, of which the world is compoſed, being at firſt of one uniform nature, and infinitely diviſible, was actually divided into many particles of a moderate ſize, which had all ſuch a motion as is now found in the world. 2. That all theſe particles were not at firſt ſpherical, becauſe many ſuch little globes, joined together, will not fill up a continued ſpace; but that, of whatever figure they were at firſt, by their continual motion, and frequent occurſions againſt each other, their angles would be cut off, and they become ſpherical. 3. He aſſerts, that there is no ſpace left empty; and therefore, when theſe round particles, by being joined together, leave ſome intervals between them, he ſuppoſes, that there are other leſſer particles, ariſing from thoſe angles that were cut off, which, by the force and celerity of their motion, will be divided into innumerable ſtill leſs fragments, proper to fill up all the interſtices. 4. He ſuppoſes, that ſome of theſe fragments, taken from the angles of the ſpherical particles, will neceſſarily have very angular figures, and, upon that account, being not ſo fit for motion, will be apt to ſtick together, and transfer a great part of their motion to ſuch particles as are leſs, and conſequently move ſwifter. Theſe things being ſuppoſed, he proceeds to the

g Cap. ii. verſ. 21, &c. h BAKER's reflections on learning, cap. 7.

formation

formation of the world from his three elements, which conſiſt of the three ſorts of particles above-mentioned. The firſt element, which is the ſubtile matter cut off from the angles of the greater particles, is that of the ſun and fixed ſtars, and ſuſceptible of a much quicker motion than the other two: the ſecond element conſiſts of the ſpherical particles themſelves, of which the heavens were made: the third element conſiſts of thoſe angular particles which are leſs adapted to motion, and thence proceeded the earth, planets, comets, and other appearances of nature [i].

He ſuppoſes, that the ſolar ſyſtem is a vortex continually whirling round, whoſe matter (excepting the earth and planets) is very liquid and tranſparent, conſiſting altogether of the firſt and ſecond elements, and containing a greater quantity of the firſt, than is ſufficient to fill up the ſpaces between the particles of the ſecond. And ſince all bodies which move circularly, endeavour to recede from the centre of their motion, and the more thick and ſolid parts, ſuch as the particles of the ſecond element, are obliged to fly off with a greater force than the reſt; the particles of the ſecond element muſt neceſſarily recede from the common centre, and approach one another, as much as their figure and motion will permit. After their interſtices therefore are filled up, the remaining matter of the firſt element takes the place left by the ſecond; by which means a maſs, or heap of the matter of the firſt element, ſettles, and is formed in the midſt of the vortex, which maſs we call the ſun [k]. Every one of the fixed ſtars he ſuppoſes likewiſe to be a ſun, and the centre of a vortex; and that the earth was originally ſuch a ſtar, whoſe vortex was adjoining to that of the ſun; but by degrees it was covered over, or incruſted with ſpots, ariſing on its ſurface like the ſcum on a boiling pot, which ſtill increaſing and growing thicker and thicker, the ſtar loſing its light and activity, and conſequently the motion of the celeſtial vortex about it growing more weak, languid, and unable to reſiſt the vigorous incroachments of the neighbouring vortex of the ſun, it was at laſt drawn in, and wholly abſorbed by it, and forced to comply with its motion, and make one in the choir of the ſun's ſatellites [l].

[i] Vid. Stillingfleet, orig. ſacræ. Ray on the creation. Cartesii princip. philoſ. part iii. § 52. Rohault. phyſ. part i. c. 21. [k] Rohault. ibid. part ii c. 25. [l] Ray's phyſico-theol. diſcourſes, diſc. iii. c. 5. ſect. 3. Vid. Descartes princip. philoſ. part iv. ſect. 2.

BUT this hypotheſis is liable to ſeveral objections, and ſome which abſolutely ruin it. The three elements of *Deſcartes*, and particularly the ſubtile matter of the firſt, have been ſhewn to be imaginary, and his vortices fictitious, and repugnant to the nature of things; his ſuppoſition of a *plenum* is alſo evidently falſe, not to mention the abſurdities which follow his making of matter or ſpace, or extenſion, to be the ſame [m]. However, we cannot but think the eſſay of that philoſopher, who endeavoured to account for the formation of the world in a certain time from a rude matter, by the ſole continuation of a motion once impreſſed, and reduced to a few ſimple and general laws; or of others, who have ſince attempted the ſame, with more applauſe, from the original properties of matter, with which it was indued at its creation; is ſo far from being criminal, or injurious to GOD, as ſome have imagined, that it is rather giving a more ſublime idea of his infinite wiſdom. *Objections thereto.*

WE cannot therefore excuſe ourſelves from repreſenting the theories of two very learned men of our age and nation; one of whom has excelled in the richneſs of his ſtyle and fancy, and the other in the ſtrength of parts and contrivance.

THE former of them, Dr. *Burnet*, omitting to ſpeak of the original of the univerſe, or even of the ſolar ſyſtem, as made long before the *Moſaic* creation [n], confines himſelf to the formation of the earth only, which he ſuppoſes to be done from a chaos, or confuſed maſs, conſiſting of the principles of all terreſtrial bodies, in this manner. He ſuppoſes, that the firſt change that would happen, would be, that the heavieſt and groſſeſt parts would ſink downwards towards the middle of the maſs (for there he ſuppoſes the centre of its gravity), and, being more and more compreſſed, would harden by degrees, and conſtitute the interior parts of the earth: that the reſt of the maſs, which ſwam above, would alſo be divided, by the ſame principle of gravity, into two orders of bodies, the one liquid, like water, the other volatile, like air: for the more fine and active parts, diſentangling themſelves by degrees from the reſt, would mount above them; and, having motion enough to keep them upon the wing, would play in thoſe open places, where they conſtitute that body *The theory of Dr. Burnet.*

[m] Vid. NEWTON, princip. l. ii. prop. 38, 40, 53, &c. Ejuſd. optic. p. 311, 342, &c. & notas S. CLARKE ad ROHAULTI phyſ. part i. c. 8. & 12. & part ii. c. 25, &c. [n] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. ii. c. 8.

we

we call air: that the other parts, being groſſer than theſe, and having a more languid motion, could not fly up ſeparate from one another, but ſettled in a maſs together under the air, upon the body of the earth, compoſing not only water, ſtrictly ſo called, but the whole maſs of liquid bodies belonging to the earth: that, there being two chief kinds of terreſtrial liquors, thoſe that are oily and light, and thoſe that are lean and more earthy, like common water, which naturally ſeparate from one another, when they come to ſettle; the more oily and light part of this maſs would conſequently get above the other, and ſwim upon it. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the air was, as yet, thick, groſs, and dark, there being abundance of terreſtrial particles ſwimming in it, after the groſſeſt were ſunk down; which, by their weight, made their way more ſpeedily: that the leſſer and lighter, which remained, would ſink too, but more ſlowly, and in a longer time; ſo as in their deſcent they would meet with that oily liquor upon the face of the deep, or upon the watry maſs, which would entangle, and ſtop them from paſſing any further; whereupon, mixing there with that unctuous ſubſtance, they compoſed a certain ſlime, or fat, ſoft, and light earth, ſpread upon the face of the waters: that this thin and tender orb of earth increaſed ſtill more and more, as the little earthy parts that were detained in the air could make their way to it, ſome having a long journey from the upper regions; and others, being very light, would float up and down a long while before they could diſengage themſelves, and deſcend; but at length, being all got thither, and mingling more and more with that oily liquor, they ſucked it all up, and were wholly incorporate together, and ſo began to grow more ſtiff and firm, making both but one ſubſtance, which was the firſt concretion, or firm and conſiſtent ſubſtance, that roſe upon the face of the chaos, and became at laſt an habitable earth, ſuch as nature deſigned it. And ſuch a body as this, he doubts not, would anſwer all the purpoſes of a riſing world; for what can be a more proper ſeminary for plants and animals, than a ſoil of this temper and compoſition? a finer and lighter ſort of earth, mixed with a benign juice, eaſy and obedient to the action of the ſun, or what other cauſes were employed by the author of nature for the production of things in the new-made earth, and perfectly anſwering the antient deſcriptions of the primigenial ſoil or ſlime.

THE form of this firſt earth, both external and internal, is eaſily conceived from the manner of its formation. As

to

to the external form, it would be ſmooth, regular, and uniform, without mountains, and without a ſea. The internal form would conſiſt of ſeveral regions involving one another, like orbs about the ſame centre, or the ſeveral elements caſt circularly about each other; the water being intirely contained under the upper cruſt of the earth, which formed a wonderful vault, hanging above the deep, ſuſtained by nothing but its own meaſures, and manner of conſtruction [o].

To confirm ſo new and ſurpriſing a repreſentation of the form of the firſt earth, and to prove it muſt have been different from the preſent, he endeavours to ſhew, that if the earth had been always in the form it now bears, it would not have been capable of a deluge, which could not have been effected without ſuch an infinite maſs of water, as could neither be brought upon the earth, nor afterwards any-way removed from it [p]: and that the chaos, as a fluid body, would naturally and neceſſarily ſettle and caſt itſelf into a ſmooth ſurface, every-where equidiſtant from its centre, and not into a ſurface broken into ſo many irregularities as our earth is; nor could it poſſibly imitate the cavities, dens, and broken holes within it [q]. And theſe reaſons he backs by authority of Scripture, which plainly intimates a difference between the form or conſtitution of the old world, and of the preſent; by reaſon of which difference, that was ſubject to periſh by a deluge, as this is ſubject to periſh by a conflagration [r]; beſides ſeveral paſſages which ſeem to deſcribe the ſtructure of the antediluvian earth, as founded and eſtabliſhed on the waters [s], and ſet as an orb over the face of the deep [t]; conformably to which, on the renovation, or reſtitution of nature to its primeval ſtate, the new earth will appear without a ſea [u]. To which he adds the teſtimony of antient tradition, that the world was oviform, which was true of that original earth, not only in reſpect to its outward figure, but alſo to the inward compoſition of it; the central parts being repreſented by the yolk of the egg, the exterior region of the earth by the ſhell, and the abyſs of water by the white that lies under the ſhell [x]. The manner wherein he ſuppoſes this earth was ſupplied with water, will be taken notice of when we

[o] BURNET's theory of the earth, l. i. c. 5. & archæol. l. ii. c. 3. [p] Idem, theory, l. i. c. 2. [q] Ibid. c. 4. [r] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7. [s] Pſal. xxiv. 2. & cxxxvi. 6. [t] Prov. viii. 27. [u] Revel. xxi. 1. [x] BURNET, theor. l. i. cap. 5. & tellur. theor. ſacr. l. ii. c. 10.

come

come to conſider more particularly the ſtate of the antediluvian earth.

SEVERAL objections have been made to the philoſophy of this gentleman's hypotheſis, as that his laws of gravitation ruin the whole contrivance; becauſe, if every thing ſubſided according to its ſpecific gravity, the earth, being heavier than the water, muſt neceſſarily place itſelf nearer the centre, and ſo leave the waters to cover the face of the whole orb: that his fat or oily liquid, to catch the terrene particles, as they deſcended, is but a weak expedient, becauſe it is impoſſible, that oil, or any other liquor, ſhould ſuſtain ſuch an immenſe heavy orb: that he has, without any reaſon, deprived the old world of the benefit and advantage of a ſea, mountains, and minerals[y]: but the great misfortune is, that ſo coherent and ſurpriſing a ſcheme does not in ſeveral particulars accord with the letter of the Scripture, with which he has in many places taken great liberty, ſuppoſing that the ſacred books were not always to be ſo literally and naturally underſtood, as was generally believed hitherto. For, conſidering the mean capacities of the *Jews*, which were not capable of ſuch points of philoſophic truths; conſidering the moſt antient ways of conveying (or rather concealing) ſublime theorems by parables, fables, and hieroglyphics; conſidering the Scripture-ſtyle, in ſome other caſes, very different from the preſent plain way of diſcourſe; conſidering the main end of thoſe writings, the benefit of the moral world, ſeemed not to require a ſtrict adherence to truth in every circumſtance relating to the natural; and conſidering, laſtly, that all ages had endeavoured in vain to clear theſe points according to the ſtrictneſs of the moſt obvious ſenſe, and that the greater improvements in philoſophy ſeemed only to render them ſtill more unaccountable; all theſe conſiderations induced him to ſuppoſe, that the holy writers only ſecured the fundamental and general verities; involving the reſt under, and explaining the whole by, a way of ſpeaking, which was myſtical and mythological, rather popular than true; and fitted more to the needs of men than the reality of things[z].

*Mr.* Whiſton's *theory.*

THE other theoriſt, Mr. *Whiſton*, not only ſhews a greater regard to Scripture, and has avoided many difficulties that were chargeable on the former; but proceeds on more philoſophical principles: He firſt lays down this

[y] Vid. KEIL's examinat. of Dr. Burnet's theory. [z] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. ii. c. 8.

propoſition,

propoſition, that the *Moſaic* creation is not a nice and philoſophical account of the origin of all things, but an hiſtorical and true repreſentation of the formation of our ſingle earth, out of a confuſed chaos, and of the ſucceſſive and viſible changes thereof each day, till it became the habitation of mankind [a]: which he proves from the firſt words of *Moſes*, *In the beginning* GOD *created the heaven and the earth*, which plainly imply, that the creation of the univerſe out of nothing, which we uſually ſtyle creation, was precedaneous to the ſix days work; the hiſtorian immediately deſcending thence to the chaos of our earth, to which he afterwards confines himſelf; mentioning, indeed, the making of the ſun, and other celeſtial bodies, to accommodate his narrative to vulgar apprehenſion, and make it complete; but chiefly to ſecure the *Jews* from the worſhip of the hoſt of heaven [b]. He therefore ſuppoſes, that the ſun, moon, and ſtars, were created before, and only made viſible and conſpicuous to the earth on, the fourth day [c]: that the antient chaos, the origin of the earth, was the atmoſphere of a comet [d]; which is no other than a planet unformed, or in its primeval ſtate, placed in a very eccentrical orbit: to ſupport which propoſition, he endeavours to ſhew, that the atmoſphere of a comet has thoſe ſeveral properties which are recorded of the antient chaos; that it has ſuch peculiar properties beſides, as lay a rational foundation for ſome of thoſe phænomena of our earth, which can ſcarce otherwiſe be philoſophically explained; and that no other body, or maſs of bodies, now known, or ever heard of in the world, can ſtand in competition, or pretend to the ſame character. He proceeds to ſuppoſe, that the ſix days of the creation were equal to ſix years; a day and a year being one and the ſame thing [e] before the fall of man, when the diurnal rotation of the earth about its axis, as he thinks, firſt began [f]: which ſuppoſition agrees with the letter of *Moſes*, and the ſtyle of Scripture elſewhere, wherein a day often denotes a year; and allows a convenient ſpace for the works of creation, which appear to have been leiſurely, regular, and gradual, without any

[a] WHISTON's new theory of the earth. Diſc. of the Moſaic creation, p. 3. [b] Ibid. p. 4, &c. [c] Ibid. p. 24, &c. [d] WHISTON's theory, book ii. pag. 73. [e] EMPEDOCLES taught, that, when mankind ſprang originally from the earth, the length of the day, by reaſon of the ſlowneſs of the ſun's motion, was equal to ten of our preſent months. PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. v. c. 18. A ſurpriſing teſtimony to this purpoſe! [f] WHISTON's theory, book ii. pag. 85, &c.

preci-

precipitancy, or acceleration, by a miraculous hand on every occaſion; not to mention other arguments drawn from the peculiar characters of the ſtate of nature before the fall, which will be obſerved hereafter.

On theſe foundations, Mr. *Whiſton* proceeds to account for the formation of the earth in this manner: That ſuch formation was not a mere reſult from any neceſſary laws of mechaniſm independently on the divine power; but the proper effect of the interpoſition, and all along under the peculiar care of God, who not only created the matter of which the univerſe, and particularly the earth, was to conſiſt, out of a non-exiſtent ſtate, and indued it with its ſeveral properties and powers, but interpoſed more particularly in the formation of the earth, by changing the courſe and orbit of the chaos into that of a planet; by immediately forming the ſeeds of all animals and vegetables; by ordering every diſtinct day's work to be completed in its proper period, that every thing ſhould follow in its own order and place; and principally in the creation of our firſt parents g. That, at the time immediately preceding the ſix days creation, the face of the abyſs, or ſuperior regions of the chaos, were involved in a thick darkneſs; agreeably to the nature of a comet, which is repreſented as containing a central, ſolid, hot body, of many hundred or thouſand miles in diameter; and, beſides that, a vaſtly large, fluid, heterogeneous maſs, or congeries of bodies, in a very rare, ſeparate, and expanded condition, whoſe diameter were ten or eleven times as long as that of the central ſolid, which is the atmoſphere, or chaos itſelf. But, on the change of the comet's orbit, from a very eccentrical to a moderately elliptical one, the commencing of the *Moſaic* creation, and the influence of the Divine Spirit, all things would begin to take their own places, and each ſpecies of bodies rank themſelves according to the law of ſpecific gravity. By which method the maſs of denſe fluids, which compoſed one part of the intire chaos, being heavier than the maſſes of earth and water and air, would ſink downwards with the greateſt velocity, and elevate thoſe maſſes incloſed among them upwards, which muſt diſtinguiſh the chaos into two very different and diſtinct regions; the lower and larger whereof would be a collection of denſe and heavy fluids, or a vaſt abyſs, immediately encompaſſing the central ſolid; the higher and

g Ibid. book iv. pag. 292, &c.

leſſer

leſſer would be a collection of earthy, watery, and airy parts, confuſedly mixed, and encompaſſing the ſaid abyſs. And this he takes to be the ſtate of darkneſs; for the crouding together all thoſe opake corpuſcles, which before roved about the immenſe regions of the atmoſphere, muſt, by conſequence, exclude the rays of the ſun much more than before [h].

THINGS being in this ſtate, the viſible part of the firſt day's work was the production of light, or its ſucceſſive appearance to all the parts of the earth; with the conſequent diſtinction of darkneſs and light, night and day, upon the face of it. And this was effected by the ſeparation of the upper and elementary chaos of earthy, watery, and airy corpuſcles, into two ſomewhat different regions; the one a ſolid orb of earth, with conſiderable quantities of water in its pores; the other an atmoſphere in a peculiar ſenſe, or maſs of the lighteſt earthy, with the reſt of the watery and airy particles, ſtill ſomewhat confuſedly mixed together. So that, on this firſt day or year of the creation, the earthy or denſer parts would take their places loweſt on the ſurface of the great abyſs, would ſettle in part into the ſame, and compoſe an orb of earth; and in its interſtices, and little cavities, all ſuch watery particles as were already in this region, or deſcended upon it before its conſolidation, would be incloſed; and that as far above the ſurface of the abyſs as their quantity would enable them to reach. On this firſt day alſo, the upper regions of the chaos, now in ſome meaſure freed from thoſe earthy and opake maſſes, which before excluded the ſame, and cauſed the above-mentioned thick darkneſs, would, in ſome degree, admit the rays of the ſun. Now therefore that glorious emanation, light, would begin to appear on the face of the earth; and by the annual motion, ſucceſſively illuminate the ſeveral parts of it, and conſequently occaſion the viciſſitude of night and day [i].

THE viſible part of the ſecond day's work was the elevation of the air, with all its contained vapours; the ſpreading it for an *expanſum* above the earth; the diſtinction thence ariſing of ſuperior and inferior waters; the former conſiſting of thoſe vapours raiſed and ſuſtained by the air; the latter of ſuch as either were incloſed in the pores, interſtices, and bowels of the earth, or lay upon the ſurface thereof. The heat of the ſun, at the concluſion of the former day, beginning conſiderably to penetrate the ſupe-

[h] Ibid. p. 307, &c. [i] Ibid. p. 311.

rior regions of the chaos, and the lower earthy *ſtrata* continuing to ſettle ſomewhat cloſer together, the watery parts would ſubſide, and where they could get entrance, ſaturate their inward pores and vacuities, and the atmoſphere would free itſelf more and more from the heavieſt and moſt opake corpuſcles, and thereby become much more tenuious and clear than before. Whereupon, by the time the night, or firſt part of this ſecond day, was over, and the ſun aroſe, the light and heat of that luminary would more freely and deeply penetrate the atmoſphere, and become very ſenſible in theſe upper, or airy regions; and conſequently vaſt quantities of vapours would be elevated and ſuſtained there, and ſo increaſe the quantities which were there already; while, in the mean time, all the earthy corpuſcles uncapable of rarefaction, and with them all ſuch watery particles as were ſo near the earth, that the ſun's power could not ſufficiently reach them, were ſtill ſinking downwards, and the former increaſing the craſſitude and bulk of the ſolid earth, and the latter, if the earth was too ſolid to admit them, as by this time it would probably be, flowing down apace, and covering all its ſurface with water. So that the *expanſum*, or firmament, which was this day ſpread out above the earth, was plainly the air; the ſuperior waters, all thoſe freſh ones, which, in the form of vapour, a nine or ten months heat of the ſun, with the aſſiſtance of the central heat, could elevate, and the air ſuſtain, beſides thoſe vaſt quantities of ſalt ones, which had never yet left thoſe regions: the inferior waters were thoſe which were not elevated, but remained below in the bowels, or on the ſurface of the earth[k].

THE viſible parts of the third day's work were two; the former, the collection of the inferior waters, or ſuch as were now under the heaven, into the ſeas, with the conſequent appearance of the dry land; the latter, the production of vegetables out of that ground ſo lately become dry. In order to apprehend which, it muſt be conſidered, that the orb of the earth had been ſettling and fixing itſelf on the ſurface of the abyſs from the very beginning of the creation; and was, by the coheſion of its parts, grown ſolid ſome time before all the lighter and remoter earthy parts were deſcended upon it, ſuppoſe by the end of the firſt day: by which means, and by reaſon of the different denſity and ſpecific gravity of its columns, it was ſettled into the abyſs in different degrees, and thereby became of an

[k] Ibid. p. 317, &c.

unequal

unequal ſurface, diſtinguiſhed into mountains, plains, and valleys; which things being ſuppoſed, at the concluſion of the preceding day, the air being crouded with vapours to a prodigious degree, in the night, or former part of this third day, the ſaid vapours muſt needs deſcend on the earth in vaſt quantities, leaving the air by degrees pretty free, and becoming of celeſtial, terreſtrial waters: theſe waters being deſcended, by reaſon of the inequality of the earth's ſurface, and its ſolidity, muſt in ſome time have run down from the higher parts by the declivities and hollows, into the loweſt valleys, and moſt depreſſed regions of all, and there compoſed the ſeas and lakes; ſo that, in the morning, the intire face of the globe, which was before covered with the deſcending waters, muſt be diſtinguiſhed into overflowed valleys, and extant continents. The dry land being now diſtinguiſhed from the ſeas, and juſt become moiſt and juicy, like the primitive ſlime; on the ſun riſing, it was of all other the moſt fit ſeaſon for the germination of the ſeeds of vegetables, and the growth of trees, herbs, and plants; for which purpoſe, nine or ten months continual preſence of the ſun was a time very proper and natural[1].

THE fourth day's work was the placing the heavenly bodies, ſun, moon, and ſtars, in the *expanſum* or firmament; that is, the rendering them viſible and conſpicuous on the face of the earth; together with their ſeveral aſſignations to their reſpective offices there. For though the light of the ſun penetrated the atmoſphere in ſome ſort the firſt day, and in the ſucceeding ones had very conſiderable influence upon it, yet it is by no means to be ſuppoſed, that his body was viſible all that while; the air, even at this day, being not at all times ſo clear, as to render it diſcernible by us, though we are at the ſame time ſufficiently ſenſible of his force and influence in the conſtant productions of nature. But on the coming on of this fourth day, and the ſun's abode below the horizon for two or three months, thoſe vapours which were raiſed the day before, muſt fall downwards, and ſo, before the approach of the morning, leave the air in the greateſt clearneſs and purity imaginable, and permit the moon firſt, and then the ſun, moſt plainly to appear, and be conſpicuous to the earth. This fourth day therefore is the time, when both theſe heavenly bodies, though in being before, yet ſo as to be wholly ſtrangers to a ſpectator on earth, were rendered viſible: the whole inanimate world, with its vegetable pro-

[1] Ibid. p. 320, &c.

ductions, being now complete, according to the tradition of the *Chineſe* [m] inhabiting *Formoſa* and other iſlands, who hold that the world, when firſt created, was without form or ſhape; but, by one of their deities, was brought to its full perfection in four years [n].

THE production of the fiſh and fowl out of the waters, with the benediction beſtowed on them, in order to their propagation, was the work of the fifth day, which was a very proper time for their introduction. The terraqueous globe being now become habitable, both to the ſwimming and volatile animals; and the air clear, and ſo penetrable by that complete heat of the ſun, which was requiſite to the generation of ſuch creatures; thoſe ſeeds, or little bodies of fiſh and fowl, which were contained in the water (or moiſt fruitful ſlime of kin to it), were now expoſed to the kindly warmth of the ſun, and the conſtant ſupply of a moſt gentle and equal heat from beneath; being neither diſturbed by any ſudden alteration of the air from winds, nor by the agitations of tides, which in thoſe ſmall ſeas, and in the abſence of the diurnal rotation, were imperceptible and gradual: which ſeeds, being invigorated with the divine benediction, became now prolific; and a numerous off-ſpring of the ſwimming and volatile kind aroſe, whereby the two fluid elements, air and water, became repleniſhed with thoſe firſt pairs, which were enabled to propagate their ſpecies [o].

THE ſixth day's work was the production of all the terreſtrial, or dry-land animals. The brute beaſts were produced out of the earth; after which the body of *Adam* was formed of the duſt of the ground; and by the breath of life, breathed into him in a peculiar manner, he became a living ſoul: and ſome time after, on the ſame day, he was caſt into a deep ſleep, and *Eve* was formed of a rib taken from his ſide. The earth being now grown more ſolid and dry, and the air fully clear and fit for reſpiration, and the other diſpoſition of external nature being ſubſervient, it was a proper ſeaſon for the generation of the land animals, and the introduction of the nobleſt of them, man [p].

*Objections to Mr. Whiſton's theory.*

THIS is the ſubſtance of the latter theory, wherein, among many ingenious and probable ſolutions, there are ſome ſuppoſitions, which have been thought too bold and precarious.

[m] Atlas Chinenſ. part ii. p. 46. [n] WHISTON's theor. ubi ſupra, p. 325. [o] Ibid. p. 328. [p] Ibid. p. 329, &c.

IT has been objected, that he is probably miſtaken as to the extent of the *Moſaic* creation; it being pretty certain, that the moon was formed at that time, or at leaſt placed in its orbit, and made to turn round the earth; for no comets have any ſecondary planets: ſo that ſomething more muſt be intended by *Moſes*, than the bare rendering the moon viſible; and the word *made* being equally applied both to ſun and moon, it is ſuppoſed it ought in both places to be taken in the ſame, that is, a literal ſenſe.

THE atmoſphere of a comet could not, it has been thought, have been the primitive chaos, being not an obſcure, but a bright pellucid fluid, which is a conſequence of the intenſe heat of the central ſolid; and becauſe the greateſt part of the bodies which compoſe the upper *ſtratum* of the earth, would have been vitrified on the comet's near approach to the ſun, and ſo very improper for the formation of the earth.

THAT the diurnal rotation of the earth did not commence till after the fall, ſo that till that time days and years were exactly the ſame, has been held a paradox; conſidering the prodigious cold that muſt be occaſioned by the total abſence of the ſun for one half of the year, and the intenſe heat that muſt enſue upon its continual ſhining upon it for the other; which immoderate degrees of heat and cold muſt be pernicious to the antediluvian plants and animals, unleſs their bodies were of a very different conſtitution from what they are now. Nor can there be any neceſſity to lengthen a day into a year, for the ſake of a gradual and regular formation of things, without precipitance or acceleration, where an Almighty Agent is acknowleged to be concerned q.

*The Moſaic creation explained.*

IT may not therefore be amiſs, laying all hypotheſes aſide, briefly to propoſe ſuch an explication of the coſmogony, as may be moſt agreeable both to reaſon, and the letter of ſcripture.

AND firſt, it is conceived, that the *Moſaic* creation is neither to be extended to the whole univerſe, nor yet confined to the terreſtrial globe alone; the middle opinion, that it included the ſolar ſyſtem, and that only, ſeeming the moſt probable, from the near ſimilitude and relation the ſeveral planets in that ſyſtem bear to one another, and their having the ſame common centre and luminary; ſo that though the hiſtorian chiefly regards the earth in his whole narration, yet there is reaſon to preſume, that the other

q Vide KEILL's remarks on Mr. Whiſton's theory.

planets were formed in the ſame manner, and in the ſame time as the earth, of ſo many particular chaotic maſſes.

MOSES, after the general aſſertion, that both heaven and earth were originally made [r] by GOD, and before he begins his account of their reduction into the preſent ſyſtem, informs us, that the earth, in particular, was at firſt in an unformed and deſert ſtate, when, as a thing preparatory to the work, the ſpirit of GOD moved upon the face of the waters; by which ſpirit ſome underſtand the third perſon in the bleſſed Trinity [s]; others, that plaſtic nature [t] which was ſubſervient to him on this occaſion, or ſome other emanation of the divine power; which, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, moved the chaotic maſs, whoſe ſurface was covered with water, or other fluid matter; and impregnated it with ſeveral kinds of vital influence, preparing every part to receive the intended diſpoſition, order, and life.

THINGS being in this ſtate, the confuſed ſtagnating parts of matter began to range themſelves in order; and the groſſer parts ſubſiding, the lighter and more tenuious mounted up; by which means the atmoſphere being in ſome degree cleared, the luminous rays of the ſun began to pierce it, and cauſed an imperfect and glimmering light, yet ſufficient partly to diſpel the before total darkneſs, and to diſtinguiſh day from night. And this account of the light, which appeared on the firſt day, is much more reaſonable, than to ſuppoſe the ſubſtance of the ſun, much leſs the fixed ſtars, were then extracted from the chaos [u]; becauſe more than ninety-nine parts in an hundred of the matter of the univerſe are fiery corpuſcles; and if they were included at firſt in the chaos, it could not poſſibly have been dark, or caliginous. Nor is it probable, that even the terrene matter of the planets was taken from the *Moſaic* chaos, not only becauſe it is expreſly called *the earth*, but becauſe ſuch an imagination is directly overthrown by the now undoubted property of the univerſal

[r] The original word ברא is allowed not neceſſarily to ſignify a creation, or production out of nothing: yet as the Hebrew tongue has no other word to expreſs ſuch a creation, it is moſt likely *Moſes* uſes it here in that ſenſe. [s] GROTIUS, &c.
[t] Dr. CUDWORTH's intell. ſyſt p. 148. Yet others by this ſpirit of GOD underſtand no more than a violent wind, which they ſuppoſe was ſent to dry up the waters. Chal. paraphraſe, DRUSIUS, &c. [u] Which is the opinion of Dr. NICHOLS, and others. See his conference with a theiſt, vol. I. part 1,

gravi-

gravitation of matter; not to mention the falſe ſuppoſition which muſt, in that caſe, be made, of the earth's being the centre of the world[x]. To account for this day's light, before the ſun is ſaid to be made, there is no occaſion to recur to the ſuppoſition of its being either the divine *Shechinah*[y], or no more than a temporary light, occaſioned by the rapid motion communicated by GOD to a portion of matter[z].

THE ſecond day, the expanſe, or air, called by *Moſes* heaven, was perfected, being now freed from the groſs terrene particles which before crouded it, and made capable of ſupporting clouds, and aqueous vapours, which were the ſuperior waters, as thoſe on the earth were the inferior[a]. By the waters above the firmament cannot be underſtood the planetary waters[b], for the reaſons given above; and the notion the old Chriſtian fathers had of ſuperceleſtial waters, is perfectly groundleſs.

THE former part of the third day's work was, to gather the waters, which before covered the face of the earth, into ſeas and lakes, that the dry land might appear. How this was effected, is not eaſy to determine. That GOD himſelf ſhould raiſe the mountains, and hollow the chanels of the ſea, for this purpoſe, appears not a little indecent; for which reaſon ſome have ſuppoſed the mountains might have been thrown up by the force of a ſubterraneous fire, or flatus, in the ſame manner as earthquakes are now cauſed[c]: but the more philoſophical opinion is, that they were occaſioned by the different denſities of the ſeveral columns of the earth, when its ſurface was firſt formed, ſome ſinking lower into the abyſs than others; for it is more than probable, that the mountainous columns are much hollower and lighter than the other, notwithſtanding the vulgar opinion to the contrary[d]. The latter part of this day's work was the production of vegetables, which were deſigned as food for the future animals. But how great ſoever we ſuppoſe the fecundity of the primigenial earth to be, it is ſcarce to be imagined, that trees and plants could arrive at full growth, and bear their ſeveral fruits and ſeeds, in ſo ſhort a ſpace as a day, without the aſſiſtance of a ſupernatural power: and as GOD is on all hands allowed to

[x] Vide WHISTON of the Moſaic creation, p. 35, &c. [y] The notion of ABRAVANEL. [z] Vide SAURIN, diſſert. p. 2. [a] GROTIUS, &c. [b] This is Dr. NICHOLS's interpretation, ubi ſupra. [c] RAY on the creation, and biſhop PATRICK in his commentaries. [d] See WHISTON's theory, book ii. p. 82,

have formed the ſeeds of thoſe vegetables, it may not, perhaps, be wrong, to attribute their ſudden maturation alſo to his interpoſition; though it be well known how much vegetation may be helped and forwarded by art, even at this day, of which there have been ſome ſurpriſing inſtances, and much more might be expected from nature in that vigorous ſtate.

ON the fourth day the two great lights, the ſun and the moon, are ſaid to have been made, and placed in the heaven. It muſt not, however, be ſuppoſed, they were then firſt created, or aſſigned to their reſpective orbs; for the ſun was not only in being from the beginning of the *Moſaic* creation, but had all along great influence on the earth, its light and heat gradually increaſing, and influencing the earth and its productions with greater power, as the air became from time to time more and more pure and defecated; and the moon, as well as the other planets, kept pace with the earth in its formation; but only that the bodies of thoſe luminaries (which had been hid from the earth till the fourth day, when the air was perfectly freed from the heterogeneous particles, and the vapours, which before obſcured it) did then firſt appear to the earth, and viſibly begin to perform their ſeveral offices. The ſtars alſo are for the ſame reaſon, ſaid to be made on that day; tho' the planets, as we have ſaid, were forming before; and the fixed ſtars were no part of this creation[e].

AFTER the formation of the inanimate world, *Moſes* proceeds to the formation of animals; and he begins with fiſhes and fowls, which were both produced, on the fifth day, out of the waters in great numbers[f]. And as the ori-

[e] Dr. NICHOLS (ubi ſupra) ſupports the opinion of the creation of other worlds, or ſyſtems, before ours, by a criticiſm on the Hebrew word ואת (in Geneſ. i. 16.) which ſignify *together with*; and thence concludes, that by *Moſes*'s text the moon was to rule the night *and*, or *together with*, the ſtars, which ſhine then only; the words *he made* being interpolated in our tranſlation. By the ſtars coming in ſo abruptly in this place, ſome have been ready to think thoſe words were added ſince *Moſes*'s time, or crept into the text from a marginal annotation, made to obviate an objection from idolaters, that the ſtars were not made.

[f] *Let the waters bring forth abundantly the moving creature that hath life, and fowl*, &c. Geneſ. i. 20. But afterwards it is ſaid, that GOD *formed the fowls of the air out of the ground*, Geneſ. ii. 19. The Jews reconcile this, by ſuppoſing that they were formed out of both elements mixed, *viz.* out of ſoft ouze. But CALMET (in his commentary) ſays, the firſt paſſage may be rendered, *and let the fowl fly*, &c.

ginal

ginal of fiſh and volatiles was from the ſame element, ſo there is ſuppoſed to be ſome congruity in their nature, being both oviparous, and their motions of ſwimming and flying ſomething alike.

IN the former part of the ſixth and laſt day, the terreſtrial animals were produced out of the earth.

THE manner of the original formation of plants and animals, in which the wiſdom of the Creator principally appears, has never been accounted for by any philoſopher with any tolerable ſucceſs; matter, and the laws of motion, having nothing at all to do in theſe things, whatever they have in the inanimate part of the world. How ridiculous and groundleſs thoſe hypotheſes are, which make them to be produced from the earth, ſuppoſed ever ſo fruitful, by the influence and heat of the ſun, appears from the late diſcovery made in philoſophy, that there is no ſuch thing as equivocal generation of any the meaneſt animal or plant; the ſun, and earth, and water, and all the powers of nature, in conjunction, being able to do nothing at all towards the producing of any thing indued with ſo much as even a vegetative life[g]. It muſt be therefore neceſſarily allowed, that GOD himſelf, or ſome agent impowered by him, actually formed both plants and animals, making uſe of the earth and water as the matter only whereof he conſtituted their parts. But whether theſe firſt vegetative and ſenſitive creatures were created in their ſeeds only (which contain the plants and animals themſelves in little), and diſperſed over the ſuperficial part of the land and water, which had power given them to hatch and bring them forth; or whether they were created in their full ſtate of perfection, ſeems not eaſy to decide. It has been thought by ſome modern philoſophers, that GOD at firſt created only two of each ſpecies of animals, from which all the reſt proceeded by generation: to ſupport which opinion, they obſerve, that there was but one man and one woman created, and at the deluge but two of each kind (of unclean beaſts) were preſerved in the ark. But it ſeems more conſonant to ſcripture, that a great number of every kind were formed at firſt: we are aſſured the aquatic creatures and fowls were brought forth abundantly; and plants, having no locomotive power, muſt neceſſarily have been created diſperſedly all the world over. There has been alſo a farther queſtion moved concerning the creation of ani-

*Of the formation of plants and animals.*

[g] Dr. CLARKE's demonſtration of the being and attributes of GOD, p. 64.

mals,

mals, *viz.* whether all animals that already have been, or hereafter ſhall be, were at firſt actually created by GOD? or whether he hath given to each kind of animal ſuch a power of generation, as to prepare matter, and produce new individuals in their own bodies? And it ſeems to be the moſt reaſonable opinion, that GOD did himſelf, at firſt, actually create all the individual animals that ever were, or ever ſhall be; and that there is no ſuch thing as any production of new ones. For what were that but a creation of ſuch individuals? and what did GOD at the firſt creation more than, if this be true, we ſee every day done; that is, produce a new animal out of matter, which itſelf prepares? all the difference is, that GOD does that in an inſtant, which the creature muſt take time to do. Beſides, the parent animal cannot be the agent or efficient in the generation, or forming and nouriſhing of the fœtus, becauſe that is a work of art and reaſon, which brute creatures are not indued withal; nor, indeed, does man himſelf underſtand any thing of the proceſs of generation in himſelf. Again, it is moſt probable, if not certain, that moſt animals have in them, from the beginning, the ſeeds or eggs of all the young they ſhall afterwards bring forth; which, when ſpent and exhauſted, the creature becomes barren; the females of all viviparous quadrupeds being brought forth with their *teſtes*, or *ovaria*; and all birds formed with their ovary, or egg-cluſter, containing the ſeeds of all the eggs they ſhall ever lay. Now had the creature a power of producing new ones, what need was there, that there ſhould be ſo many at firſt formed in them? Whereupon theſe philoſophers argue thus; Let us ſuppoſe GOD did at firſt create two animals, a male and a female: the female muſt be created with its ovaries, which (as we have ſaid) contain ſo many ſeeds, or eggs, as the creature ſhould ever bring forth young. So it is clear, that not only the firſt pair, but the firſt generation of animals, were actually created. Again, this generation, from their firſt appearance, had each of them (that is, the females) its *ovaria*, containing, in like manner, the ſeeds of its future off-ſpring; ſo that this ſecond generation was alſo created in the firſt. The ſame may be demonſtrated of the third and fourth, and ſo on, of all the generations that ſhall be, as long as the world ſhall laſt[b].

[b] RAY's phyſico-theological diſcourſes, chap. 4.

WHEN

WHEN the creation had proceeded thus far, and every thing that could be ſubſervient to man, or advance his felicity, was completed; he, who was to be the lord of all, and for whoſe ſake the whole was framed, was brought into the world, being created in a ſolemn and immediate manner by GOD himſelf[i], after a conſultation, as it were, of the holy Trinity[k], every Perſon wherein may juſtly be preſumed to have been peculiarly concerned in the production of that being which was to bear the image of GOD, and be made capable, in ſome degree, of his immortality. *The creation of man,*

MAN then was, by a divine power, created on the ſixth day, after the terreſtrial animals had been produced; his body was formed out of the duſt of the ground[l],

[i] Mr. WHISTON, conceiving it unfit and impoſſible for the divine nature of the Father to be ſo much, and in ſuch a manner, concerned with the corporeal world, and the ſinful race of mankind, is of opinion, that the ſame divine perſon, who was afterwards frequently converſant on earth, gave the law on mount *Sinai*, and took the title, adoration, and, to others, incommunicable name of the God of *Iſrael*; and who at laſt was incarnate, and died, and ſtill makes interceſſion for us with the Father, and will judge the world at the laſt day; was actually and viſibly on earth in a human ſhape, and truly and really employed in this creation of the world, ſo frequently aſcribed to him in the holy ſcriptures, and particularly in this formation of man. Vide his theory, book IV. p. 330. [k] Geneſ. i. 26. Moſt of the modern expoſitors take the plural number here uſed, *Let us make*, &c. to be no more than a majeſtic form of ſpeech, as princes now uſe. The *Jewiſh* doctors are of opinion, that this deliberation was real, and held with ſuch angelical beings as GOD might employ in the work of man's creation: and on this occaſion tell the following ſtory; That as *Moſes* was writing his book by GOD's appointment, and theſe words came to be dictated, he made ſome difficulty to ſet them down; crying out, *O Lord, wouldſt thou then lead men into error, and make them doubt of the doctrine of the unity?* whereupon GOD anſwered, *I command thee to write; and, if any will err, let them err.* Bereſhit Rabba. *Philo* the *Jew* ſays, the true reaſon of this expreſſion is known to GOD only; yet he conjectures, that man alone, of all creatures, being capable of the contraries of virtue and vice; the creation of ſuch a mixed being was partly proper, and partly improper, for GOD himſelf; who therefore here beſpeaks his coadjutors, that what is irreprehenſible in the actions or will of man may be attributed to GOD; and what is otherwiſe, to his ſubordinate agents. De mundi opificio, p. 15, &c. [l] Geneſ. ii, 7.

whence

whence he had the name of *Adam* [m], and his ſoul immediately infuſed into him by his Creator; in which better and immortal part more evidently conſiſted that image or reſemblance of GOD, wherein he is ſaid to have been made [n].

*and of woman.* The woman was formed, alſo, on the ſame day [o], out of the ſide [p] of the man, who had been caſt into a deep ſleep for that end [q]. And this original, it is to be ſuppoſed, was choſen, to conciliate the ſtricter love and union between them; the ſide being alſo the moſt proper part to denote that equality with the man, for which the woman was deſigned: whereas, if ſhe had been taken from the head [r], it might have argued ſome intended ſuperiority; or, if from the lower parts [s], the contrary. From what *Adam* ſaid on his firſt ſight of the woman, *that ſhe was bone of his bone, and fleſh of his fleſh*, it appears, he well knew whence ſhe was formed; whether he was ſenſible of the paſt operation, or had it otherwiſe revealed to him, as probably it was in a viſion, as he ſlept. Beſides *Eve*, it is pretended, by ſome rabbins, that GOD made another woman out of the earth, named *Lilith*, of whom the *Jews* relate many ſtories [t].

*Traditions concerning their ſize,* THAT the firſt pair were created in an adult and perfect ſtate, immediately capable of the full exerciſe of their natural powers and faculties, is not to be doubted: nor is it to be imagined, but that they both came out of their Maker's hand in the greateſt perfection both of body and

[m] אדמה *Adamah* in Hebrew ſignifies *earth* but more properly, as is ſaid, a ſort of *red earth*, or *clay*, from the root אדם *to be red*. *Ludolphus* derives it from the *Æthiopic*, *Adama*, i. e. *to be pleaſant, or delightful*; which epithets are attributed to the earth for its amenity, and might be to the firſt man, for his beauty. But this name of *Adam*, it muſt be obſerved, is an appellative, rather than a proper name; and includes even both the ſexes. Ibid. According to ſome of the *Perſian* mages (but not the more orthodox), the firſt human pair were named *Miſha* and *Miſhâna*. HYDE, hiſt. rel. vet. Perſ. c. 10. [n] Geneſ. i. 26, 27. Ib. v. 1. [o] Ibid. i. 27. [p] The original word, which ſtrictly ſignifies a *rib*, may be alſo tranſlated *ſide*, as it is, all along, by the Septuagint. [q] Geneſ. ii. 21. [r] Which ſome have imagined. Vide ST. ROMUALD, abbregé du treſor chronolog. tom. i. p. 35. [s] Some rabbins ridiculouſly fanſy, that GOD, at firſt, made *Adam* with a tail; but, finding it leſſened the beauty of his workmanſhip, he reſolved to cut it off; however, he made it ſerve for the matter whereof he formed the firſt woman. Vide BARTOLOCCII biblioth. rabbin. tom. i. p. 69. [t] Vide ST. ROMUALD, ubi ſupra. HEIDEGGER, hiſt. patriarch. tom. i. p. 112.

mind.

mind [u]. But we muſt not hence entertain the extravagant opinions, which ſome have held in thoſe reſpects. The Talmudiſts ſay, that *Adam* reached from one end of the earth to the other, when firſt created; but that, when he had ſinned, GOD ſqueezed his ſtature to an hundred ells [x]: though others ſuppoſe this was done at the requeſt of the angels, who were terrified at his gigantic ſize, and that GOD ſtill left him nine hundred cubits high [y]; and that was not a great deal too much, if he waded through the ſea into our continent, after his expulſion from paradiſe, which, as ſome imagine, was ſeparated from this world by the ocean [z]. The Mohammedans alſo have a tradition from their prophet, that *Adam* was as high as a tall palm-tree [a]; but this would be too much in proportion, if that were really the print of his foot, which is pretended to be ſuch, being ſomewhat above two ſpans long, on the top of a mountain in the iſland of *Ceylon*, thence named *pico de Adam*; and too little, if *Eve* were of ſo enormous a ſize, as is ſaid, that when her head lay on one hill near *Mecca*, her knees reſted on two others in the plain, about two muſquet-ſhots aſunder [b]. The beauty of *Eve* is ſaid to have been ſo extraordinary, that the prince of the angels fell in love with her, which occaſioned his fall [c]: and, to give as charming an idea of *Adam*'s perſon, ſome have imagined, that GOD at his creation cloathed himſelf with an human body ſuperlatively beautiful, and by that model formed the body of *Adam*; which apparition was the firſt prelude of the incarnation [d]: and, what is yet more wonderful, *Adam* all the while looked on, and ſaw his Maker, in that lovely form, faſhioning every limb [e]. Nor have the gifts of his mind been leſs magnified than his ſtature and beauty: ſome rabbins [f] have been contented to equal him with *Moſes* and *Solomon*; others aſſert, that he was maſter of every ſcience and art; that he knew more the firſt day of his creation, than any other by the experience of a long life [g]; nay,

*beauty,*

*and know-*

*lege.*

[u] Vid. PHILON. Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 31. [x] Talmud, in lib. ſanhedrim. [y] Vid. BARTOLOCCII biblioth. Rabbinic. vol. i. p. 65, 66. [z] BARCEPHA in tract. de paradiſo, cap. 14. [a] YAHYA, comment. in Korân. [b] MONCONI's voyages, part i. p. 372, &c. [c] Vid. BARTOLOCC. ubi ſup. p. 322. [d] EUGUBIN. in coſmopœia, apud Salian. annal. tom. i. p. 106. [e] The Latin terms are, *Cum fingeretur homo, manus illas divinas aſpexit, ambroſioſque vultus illos, pulcherrima brachia corpus ſuum fingentia, ſinguloſque artus ducentia.* Idem ibid. [f] Apud RIVINI ſerpent. ſeduct. p 50. [g] Vid. SALIAN. ubi ſup. p. 107. 113.

that

that he ſurpaſſed the angels themſelves in knowlege [h]: allegorically interpreting, what is ſaid of his ſtature's reaching from on end of the world to the other, of the extent of his underſtanding [i].

*Suppoſed, by ſome, to have been created double.*

BUT it is ſtill more groundleſs and extravagant to ſuppoſe, as ſeveral rabbins have done, that *Adam*'s body was created double, male on one ſide, and female on the other, being joined together by the ſhoulders, the heads looking directly contrary ways: and that GOD, when he had made *Eve*, had no more to do than to ſplit this body in two [k]. Others join them by their ſides, and ſay the male body was on the right, which embraced the other round the neck with his left-hand, while the other did the ſame to him with her right. Theſe dreams are ſufficiently refuted by the text of *Moſes*. It may not however be improper to add a word of the hermaphrodites, or androgynes, of which *Plato* has ſaid ſo much; they were bodies which had the two ſexes with four arms, four legs, and two faces on one neck, turned one towards the other. This duplicity of members gave them a prodigious ſtrength, and conſequently inſpired them with great inſolence, and they thought of no leſs than making war againſt the gods: who conſulting on means to bring them to reaſon, the advice of *Jupiter* was approved; and that was, to ſplit them in two: which being done, each part ſtill preſerved a ſtrong inclination to unite itſelf to the other, and this was, according to him, the original of love [l].

*Of the androgynes of* Plato.

Moham-medan *traditions concerning the creation of man.*

THE Mohammedans have ſeveral peculiar traditions about the creation of *Adam*. They ſay, that the angels

[h] To prove this, they pretend to allege the teſtimony of GOD himſelf. They ſay, that the angels having ſpoken of man with ſome contempt, when GOD conſulted them about his creation, GOD made anſwer, that the man was wiſer than they; and, to convince them of it, he brought all kinds of animals to them, and aſked them their names; which they being not able to tell, he put the ſame queſtion to the man, who named them one after another; and, being aſked his own name, and GOD's name, he anſwered very juſtly, and gave GOD the name of JEHOVAH. RIVIN. ſerpent. ſeduct. p. 56. This ſtory has been adopted by Mohammed in his Korân, cap. 2. ver. 30. &c. [i] Ibid. p. 49, &c. [k] Vid. HEIDEGGER. hiſt. patriarch. tom. i. p. 85. which author attributes this opinion to two famous rabbins, Manaſſes Ben Iſrael (in conciliat. in Geneſ.), & Moſes Maimonides (in more nevoch. p. ii. cap. 30.), who yet rather approve a different ſentiment. [l] PLAT. in ſympoſ. pag. 1185. ed. Francof. 1602.

*Gabriel,*

*Gabriel*, *Michael*, and *Iſrafil*, were ſent by GOD, one after another, to fetch, for that purpoſe, ſeven handfuls of earth from different depths, and of different colours (whence ſome account for the various complexions of mankind [m]); but the earth, being apprehenſive of the conſequence, and deſiring them to repreſent her fear to GOD, that the creature he deſigned to form would rebel againſt him, and draw down his curſe upon her, they returned without performing GOD's command; whereupon he ſent *Azrail* on the ſame errand, who executed his commiſſion without remorſe; for which reaſon GOD appointed him to ſeparate the ſouls from the bodies, being therefore called the angel of death. The earth he had taken was carried into *Arabia*, to a place now between *Mecca* and *Tayef*, where, being firſt kneaded by the angels, it was afterwards formed by GOD himſelf into an human form, and left to dry for the ſpace of forty days, or, as others ſay, as many years; the angels, in the interim, often viſiting it, and *Eblis* (afterwards the devil) among the reſt: but he, not contented with looking on it, kicked it with his foot till it rung; and, knowing GOD deſigned that creature to be his ſuperior, took a ſecret reſolution never to acknowlege him as ſuch. After this, GOD animated the figure of clay, and indued it with an intelligent ſoul; and, when he had placed him in paradiſe, formed *Eve* out of his left ſide [n].

THE two firſt human pair, according to the *Phœnician* tradition, were begotten, or generated, by the wind *Colpias*, and his wife *Baau*, which is interpreted night [o]; that is, by an hollow wind acting on unformed matter: the meaning being no more than this; that a wind, incloſed in ſeveral cavities of unſhapen matter, worked out of it

*The* Phœnician *tradition.*

[m] AL TERMEDI, from a tradition of Abu Muſa al Aſhari.
[n] KHOND AMÎR, JALLALO'DDIN, comment. in Korân, &c. Vid. D'HERBEL. biblioth. orient. p. 55. [o] SANCHONIATHO, apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. i. c. 10. As to the words *colpias* and *baau*, Bochart takes the firſt of them to be the ſame with קול-פי-יה *col-pi-yah*, i. e. *the voice of the mouth of* GOD; but this is improbable, becauſe it is plainly the name of a wind, derived from the *Greek* κόλπος, which ſignifies a hollow place, or cavity, whether thoſe little ones in our boſoms, garments, &c. or thoſe large ones which we call bays in the ſea-ſhore: nor is there ſuch a phraſe in the Hebrew tongue as *the voice of the mouth of Yah*; beſides other reaſons. *Baau* he would correct *baut*, which he affirms to ſignify the night: but it is more probably the בהו *bohu* of Moſes, as Scaliger and Grotius agree. Vide CUMBERLAND's remarks on the hiſtory of Sanchoniath. p. 207.

the

the firſt man; the rude matter being the paſſive principle, or cauſe, and therefore here figuratively called the wife; and the incloſed wind being the active principle, and therefore intimated to be as it were the huſband, in this firſt generation P.

*Of the human ſoul:*

THAT the ſoul of man is a ſpiritual ſubſtance, independent on the matter it informs, is evident to any who conſiders the power and freedom of its operations, which no accident can be ſuppoſed to have; and which matter, with all its refinements and maturations, can never be able to perform. It has however been queſtioned, whether the ſouls of men are infuſed into them immediately from GOD, or whether they are derived, *ex traduce*, from their parents. The latter opinion has been maintained, from all other creatures having the power of propagating their ſpecies in full perfection; by which it ſeems to follow, that mankind were indued with the ſame; from the likeneſs of temper, and diſpoſition of mind, which children often take from their parents; and from the indecency of conceiving GOD to be inceſſantly making ſouls, whenever the ſexes are ſtimulated to ſatisfy their natural appetite. But it is ſcarce poſſible to maintain the immateriality and immortality of the human ſoul on this ſuppoſition; for if the ſoul be propagated by generation, it muſt, to our beſt apprehenſion, be material, and liable to corruption q: it is therefore more reaſonable to believe, that though GOD has committed the formation of our bodies to the agency of ſecond cauſes, yet he has reſerved the production of our ſouls to himſelf, who is the Father and GOD *of the ſpirits of all fleſh* r.

*whether infuſed, or ex traduce.*

*Whether our ſouls were created at once, or ſucceſſively.*

IT has alſo been doubted, whether the ſouls of mankind were all created at once, together with that of *Adam*, in order to be united to certain bodies which ſhould be prepared afterwards for their reception; or whether they are ſucceſſively created, as the bodies they are to inform are made fit to receive them? Such of the old philoſophers, who believed the ſoul to be a diſtinct ſubſtance from the body, as *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and *Plato*, concluded, that all ſouls muſt pre-exiſt in the univerſe before generation and tranſmigration into their reſpective bodies; and this doctrine was not confined to human ſouls only, but extended univerſally to all ſouls and lives whatſoever;

P CUMBERLAND, ibid. p. 209. q Vid. CUDWORTH intell. ſyſt. p. 38. r Numb. xvi. 22. Vid. Mr. STACKHOUSE's body of divinity, p. 223, &c.

for the antients were so far from denying the sense and consciousness of brutes, that the generality of them allowed them the faculty of reasoning [s], though they were not able to express their thoughts, as man did: for which reason they were supposed, by some, to transmigrate indifferently from men into other animals, and from animals into men; it being only the difference of the organs, and the modification of the matter to which they were united, wherein consisted the seeming disparity of their powers. Several of the antient Christians have also believed the pre-existence of souls, induced by this consideration, that it was incongruous to bring GOD upon the stage perpetually, and make him immediately interpose every-where in the generation of men, by the miraculous production of their souls out of nothing. Nay, the continual creation and decreation of the souls of brutes has been thought so improbable, that it has been fansied they are but so many particular eradiations, or effluxes, from that source of life above, which animate such matter as is fitly prepared to receive and be actuated by them, so long as it continues such; but when those organized bodies, by reason of their indisposition, become incapable of being further acted upon, are resumed and retracted into that original head or fountain; it seeming not at all absurd to grant perpetuity of duration to the souls even of brutes, any more than to every the least particle of matter [t]. Nor is this doctrine of pre-existence unknown to the Mohammedans, who imagine, that GOD drew out of the loins of *Adam* all his posterity at once, and made a covenant with them, that they should acknowlege him for their lord [u]. They say, that all these men were actually assembled together in a valley near *Mecca*, or, as others say, in the plain of *Dahia* in *India*, in the shape of pismires, which were indued with understanding; and after they had, in the presence of the angels, as witnesses, confessed their dependence on GOD, they were again caused to return into the loins of their great ancestor [x]. That the *Jews* had likewise some notion of the soul's existing before the body, appears from their question put to our Saviour, whether the man that was born blind [y] had himself sinned, or his parents, to deserve that

[s] Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis philos. l. v. cap. 20. See BAYLE dict. hist. art. Pereira, rem. E.

[t] CUDWORTH, ubi supra, p. 44, &c.

[u] Al korân, cap. 7. ver. 173.

[x] See D'HERBELOT. biblioth. orient. p. 54. MARRACCIUS in Alcoran. p. 290.

[y] John ix. 2.



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puniſhment; and as this opinion was not then contradicted, ſome have ſuppoſed it to have been thereby tacitly approved.

NOTWITHSTANDING which, the vulgar opinion of the ſucceſſive creation of ſouls may, with good reaſon, be allowed; for why ſhould we imagine, that GOD put forth all his creative vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a ſpectator only of the conſequent reſult, and permitting nature alone to do all, without any farther interpoſition[z]? and how is it poſſible, that, if our ſouls ever were in ſuch a ſtate of pre-exiſtence, we ſhould have ſo perfectly loſt all memory and conſciouſneſs of any ſuch thing?

*Whether men before* Adam.

BEFORE we have done with this ſubject, the creation of man, we muſt take ſome notice of the opinion of thoſe, who think mankind were in being before *Adam*, who was the progenitor of the *Jews* only. To ſupport which, they allege, that *Moſes* makes mention of two diſtinct creations, one of mankind in general[a], and the other of *Adam* and *Eve*[b]; and, in the progreſs of his hiſtory, gives ſtrong intimations, that there were ſeveral more men in the world when they were created; elſe it is not eaſily to be conceived how *Cain* could be a tiller of the ground[c], which muſt preſuppoſe all the artificers that have relation to tillage; or what reaſon he had to apprehend, that every one that found him would ſlay him[d]; nor can his going into another country, marrying a wife, and building a city[e], be otherwiſe accounted for. From which they would infer, that *Moſes* intended only to give an account of the origin of the *Jews*, and not of the primitive parents of the whole human race[f]. Theſe objections are eaſily anſwered; for the paſſage wherein the creation of man is mentioned the ſecond time, is plainly no more than a recapitulation of what had been ſaid before of the creation of the world in general, with a more particular detail of that of our firſt parents. And, as to the numbers of men ſuppoſed to be in the world about the time of the murder of *Abel*, it is by no means improbable, that theſe ſhould be the deſcendants of *Adam* and *Eve*, whoſe poſterity, in the ſpace of near one hundred and thirty years (for it was in that year of *Adam*'s age that *Seth*, who was given

[z] CUDWORTH, ubi ſupra. [a] Geneſ. i. 27. [b] Geneſ. ii. 7. Ib. ver. 1. [c] Geneſ. iv. 2. [d] Geneſ. iv. 14. [e] Ib. ver. 16, 17. [f] Vid. PEYRERII præ-adamit. l. iii. c. 4. BLOUNT's oracles of reaſon, p. 218.

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in lieu of *Abel*, was born), might, by a fair calculation, be multiplied to many thouſand ſouls, conſidering the primitive fecundity, and that none are ſuppoſed to have died in the interim g.

BUT the moſt plauſible objection of the pre-adamites is, that, if *Adam* and *Eve* be allowed to be the progenitors of all mankind, there can be no tolerable cauſe aſſigned of the difference in colour between the whites and the blacks; it being very improbable they were both the offspring of the ſame parents. To this it may be anſwered, that the variety of complexions in the world may be rationally accounted for another way. We know how the hair and colour of mens bodies differ, according to the climate they inhabit, and their greater or leſſer diſtance from the ſun: we may therefore well conclude, that the firſt colony, which ſettled in a very hot country, received a great change in their complexion, proportionable to the heat of the climate, and became very tawny, gradually inclining to blackneſs, as the ſun was more intenſe upon them. Hence, in a generation or two, that high degree of tawnineſs might become natural, and at length the pride of the natives. The men might begin to value themſelves upon this complexion, and the women to affect them the better for it; ſo that their love for their huſbands, and daily converſation with them, might have a conſiderable influence upon the fruit of their wombs, and make each child grow blacker and blacker, according to the fancy and imagination of the mother; the force of which is evident from many inſtances. Upon this ſuppoſition, the children thus produced muſt every birth approach nearer to an abſolute blackneſs; and, as their tender bodies came to be expoſed naked (as the manner of ſuch countries is) to the violent heat of the ſun, their ſkin muſt needs be ſcorched in an extraordinary manner, and, perhaps, its very texture altered, and by that means contract a blackneſs far ſuperior to that of their parents. By ſuch degrees it is not improbable that people of the faireſt complexion, when removed into a very hot climate, may, in a few generations, become perfect negroes. As to what ſome have imagined, that this blackneſs was at firſt preternatural, and a judgment inflicted upon *Ham*, the ſon of *Noah*, for diſcovering his father's nakedneſs [h], and that all people of that complexion are the progeny of that

*Their difference in colour accounted for.*

g Vid. NICHOLLS's conference with a theiſt, vol. i. part 1.

h Geneſ. ix. 22.

undutiful ſon [i]; this ſeems very unlikely, and without foundation, the curſe on that occaſion being laid on *Canaan*, the ſon of *Ham*, by name, and yet his poſterity are allowed not to have been black.

THUS have we attended the earth through its ſeveral degrees of formation, ſeen it perfected, cloathed with trees and plants, and repleniſhed with animals; and at laſt man, for whom the whole was deſigned, and to whom the dominion of it was expreſly given, by its Maker, introduced and placed in it.

*The time and ſeaſon of the creation.*

WHETHER all this was really done in the ſpace of ſix days, has been a queſtion; ſome, as has been obſerved, thinking it much too ſhort for ſuch a work; and others, too long [k], ſuppoſing, that the world was created in a moment, and that *Moſes* extends it to ſix days, the better to help the imagination of the people, that things may ſeem to riſe in ſome order and method, and to take off any image of haſte or precipitancy. But we cannot ſee any reaſon to depart from the letter of *Moſes* in this particular, the creation deſcribed by him being not the creation of the ſubſtance of all things out of nothing, which was moſt probably the effect of one individual act, but the formation of one world, or ſyſtem only, out of matter before created [l].

IT has been diſputed alſo in what ſeaſon of the year the world was made; which, it is to be preſumed, muſt be meant in reſpect of the place where *Adam* was created; for otherwiſe all the ſeaſons muſt have been in being at once in different parts of the world. Some have ſuppoſed the vernal equinox to have been the time; but others the autumnal, which opinion is the more generally received [m], and ſeems to be confirmed from the year's antiently beginning from that time [n]. This indeed was afterwards altered by *Moſes*, who ordered the eccleſiaſtical year ſhould commence from the vernal equinox, or the month *Niſan* [o]: but the *Jews*, in civil affairs, ſtill continued to compute from the former, or the month *Tiſri*.

*The place where Adam was created.*

ANOTHER ſubject of inquiry has been, the place where *Adam* was created. There is an antient tradition, that it was in *Syria*, near where *Damaſcus* now ſtands [p]; others will

[i] Ib. ver. 25. [k] St. AUSTIN. PHILO Jud. LE GRAND, hiſt. ſacra. [l] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. ii. p. 312. [m] Vid. JACOB. CAPPELLI obſerv. in Geneſ. c. i. ver. 14. p. 583. [n] Vid. Exod. xxiii. 16. & xxxiv. 22. [o] Exod. xii. 2. [p] Vid. HEIDEGG. hiſt. patriarch. tom. i. p. 84.

will have it to have been in *Armenia* [q]; but it was, moſt probably, in or near the garden of *Eden*, the ſeat deſigned for him, where-ever that was.

THE Mohammedans, who have very right notions as to the creation of the world in ſix days, do however believe, that GOD, previous to that creation, made the table, whereon, as they ſuppoſe, his decrees are written; the pen wherewith they are written; the waters whereon his throne is eſtabliſhed; and the throne itſelf [r]: wherein they have imitated the *Jews*, who ſay, that GOD created ſeven things before the world; *viz.* paradiſe, the law, the ſouls of juſt men, *Iſrael*, the throne of GOD's glory, *Jeruſalem*, and the *Meſſiah* [s].

*Things made prior to the creation.*

BEFORE we quit this ſubject, it may be expected we ſhould ſay ſomething of the creation of angels, who ſo eminently concerned themſelves in the affairs of mankind, at leaſt in the firſt ages of the world.

*Of angels.*

ANGELS, in the proper ſignification of the word [t], do not import the nature of any being, but only the office, to which they are appointed, eſpecially by way of meſſage, or intercourſe between GOD and his creatures; in which ſenſe they are called the miniſters of GOD, who do his pleaſure, and miniſtring ſpirits ſent forth to miniſter for them who ſhall be heirs of ſalvation. That there are ſuch beings as we call angels, that is, certain permanent ſubſtances, inviſible and imperceptible to our ſenſes, indued with underſtanding and power ſuperior to that of human nature, created by GOD, and ſubject to him, as the ſupreme being; miniſtring to his divine providence in the government of the world, by his appointment, and more eſpecially attending the affairs of mankind, is a truth ſo fully atteſted by Scripture, that it cannot be doubted; and was ſo generally acknowleged by the *Jews*, that it is ſcarce to be believed, that even the Sadducees themſelves utterly denied their exiſtence; but only that they had no notion of their appearing in thoſe latter times; as many Chriſtians, though they do not abſolutely impugn the being of ſpirits,

[q] CALMET's comment. in Geneſ. [r] Vid. ECCHELLENS. hiſt. Arab. c. 9. [s] Maſſechet Peſachim. [t] The word *angel* is Greek, and ſignifies a meſſenger: the Hebrew מלאך, the Arabic, and Perſian words, ſignify the ſame thing. The angels are in Daniel (cap. iv. ver. 13, &c.) called עירין, or *watchers*, from their vigilance; for which reaſon they are, in the remains we have of the prophecy attributed to *Enoch*, named *egregori*; which word imports the ſame in Greek,

yet are far from giving credit to the frequent ſtories of apparitions. Nay, the exiſtence of ſuch inviſible beings was generally acknowleged by the antient heathens, though under different appellations; the *Greeks* calling them *dæmons*, and the *Romans genii*, or *lares* [u]: *Epicurus* ſeems to have been the only one among the old philoſophers, who abſolutely rejected them [x]; and indeed, the belief of middle intelligences influencing the affairs of the world, and ſerving as miniſters or interpreters between GOD and man, is as extenſive as the belief of a GOD; having never, as we know, been called in queſtion by thoſe who had any religion at all.

AND, had we no ſuch revelation and tradition, it ſeems very reaſonable to ſuppoſe there are intermediate beings to fill up the gap which would otherwiſe be in nature: for as there is a gradation of creatures on earth, ſome having barely being, as earth, air, and water; ſome that beſides being have life, as vegetables; ſome that beſides life have ſenſe and perception, as brute animals; and ſome that beſides ſenſe have reaſon and cogitation, as men; and as we ſee our ſenſitive part exiſts in beings beneath us; ſo it is very probable, that our more noble and intellectual part exiſts in beings as much ſuperior to us as we are to brutes; and that there is a like gradual aſcent from the loweſt rank of them, which borders upon man, to the higheſt, which comes as near as a finite creature can, to an infinite deity [y].

*When created.*

THAT the angels were in being long before the *Moſaic* creation, is generally allowed [z], and indeed cannot be doubted, ſince they were actually preſent, if not employed in that creation, *when the morning-ſtars ſang together, and all the ſons of* GOD *ſhouted for joy* [a]; and ſince it is more than probable, that the fall of the apoſtate angels was ſome time at leaſt before it.

*Their nature, power, employment, &c.*

As to the natures of theſe beings, we are told, that they are ſpirits [b]; but whether pure ſpirits, diveſted of all matter, or united to ſome thin bodies, or corporeal ve-

[u] Vid. PLUTARCH. de placitis philoſ. l. i. c. 8. & VARRON. apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei, l. vii. cap. 6. [x] Vid. PLUT. ibid. [y] Vid. STACKHOUSE's body of divinity, p. 185, &c. [z] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. ii. p. 300, &c. [a] Job xxxviii. 7. Yet ſome have imagined they were created the firſt day, and deſigned by *Moſes* under the name of *light*: others, that they were created the fifth day, after man, to crown and conſummate the creation, which roſe by degrees from the leſs to the more perfect parts. [b] Vid. TILLOTSON's ſerm. vol. ii.

hicles,

hicles, has been a controverſy of long ſtanding. Not only the antient philoſophers, but ſome of the Chriſtian fathers[c], were of opinion, that angels were cloathed with ethereal or fiery bodies, of the ſame nature with thoſe which we ſhall one day have, when we come to be equal to them. But the more current opinion, eſpecially of later times, has been, that they are ſubſtances intirely ſpiritual, though they can, at any time, aſſume bodies, and appear in human, or other ſhapes[d].

THAT the angelical powers and abilities vaſtly excel thoſe of man, cannot be denied, if we conſider, that their faculties are not clogged or impeded, as ours are, by any of thoſe imperfections which are inſeparable from corporeal beings: ſo that their underſtandings are always in perfect vigour; their inclinations regular; their motions ſtrong and quick; their actions irreſiſtible by material bodies, whoſe natural qualities they can controul, or manage to their purpoſes; and occaſion either bleſſings or calamities, public or private, here below; inſtances of which are too numerous to mention.

BESIDES their attendance on GOD, and their waiting and executing his commands, they are alſo preſumed to be employed in taking care of mankind, and their concerns: and that every man had ſuch a tutelar or guardian angel, even from his birth, was a firm belief and tradition among the *Jews*; and our SAVIOUR himſelf ſeems to have been of the ſame ſentiment[e]. The heathens were alſo of the ſame perſuaſion[f], and thought it a crime to neglect the admonitions of ſo divine a guide[g]. *Socrates* publicly confeſſed himſelf to be under the direction of ſuch an angel, or dæmon, as ſeveral others have ſince done[h]. And on this tutelar genius of each perſon, they believed his happineſs and fortune depended. Every genius did his beſt for the intereſt of his client; and if a man came by the worſt,

[c] S. BASIL, S. ATHANASIUS, and METHODIUS; and alſo S. AUGUSTIN. apud Sixt. Senenſ. l. v. annot. 8. Vid. acta concil. Nicen. 2. act. 5. [d] MAIMONID. more nev. p. ii. c. 49.
[e] Vid. Matth. xviii. 10. [f] Vid. MENAND. ARRIAN. in Epictet. [g] Vid. M. ANTONIN. meditat. l. ii. §. 15. l. v. §. 19, &c. PLOTIN. ennead. III. l. iv. DIOG. LAERT. in Zenon. p. 418. [h] Particularly PLOTINUS, whoſe dæmon is ſaid to have appeared at the evocation of an *Egyptian* prieſt in the temple of *Iſis* at *Rome*, in the preſence of *Plotinus* himſelf, and proved to be a god, and not a ſimple dæmon; whereupon *Plotinus* was immediately congratulated by the prieſt, on ſo extraordinary a prerogative. PORPHYR. in vita Plotini.

it was a ſign the ſtrength of his genius was inferior to that of his opponent, that is, of an inferior order; and this was governed by chance. There were ſome genii, whoſe aſcendant was ſo great over others, that their very preſence intirely diſconcerted them; which was the caſe of that of *Auguſtus* in reſpect of that of *M. Antony*[i]: and for the ſame reaſon, perhaps, ſome perſons have wit, and ſpeak well, when others are abſent, in whoſe preſence they are confounded, and out of countenance. The *Romans* thought the tutelar genii of thoſe who attained the empire, to be of an eminent order, on which account they had great honours ſhewn them: nations and cities alſo had their ſeveral genii[k]. The antient *Perſians* ſo firmly believed the miniſtry of angels, and their ſuperintendence over human affairs, that they gave their names to their months, and the days of their months, and aſſigned them diſtinct offices and provinces[l]: and it is from them the *Jews* confeſs to have received the names of the months and angels, which they brought with them when they returned from the *Babyloniſh* captivity[m]: after which, we find they alſo aſſigned charges to the angels, and, in particular, the patronage of empires and nations; *Michael* being the prince of the *Jews*[n], as *Raphael* is ſuppoſed to have been of the *Perſians*[o].

THE *Mohammedans* have ſo great a reſpect for the angels, that they account a man an infidel, who either denies their exiſtence, or loves them not. They believe them to be free from ſin, enjoying the preſence of GOD, to whom they are never diſobedient: that they have ſubtil pure bodies, being created of light; and have no diſtinction of ſexes, nor do they need the refreſhment of food or ſleep. They ſuppoſe them to have different forms and offices; that ſome adore GOD in ſeveral poſtures; others ſing his praiſes, and intercede for men; ſome carry and encompaſs his throne; others write the actions of men, and are aſſigned guardians to them[p].

AS the numbers of theſe celeſtial ſpirits are very great[q], it is likewiſe reaſonable to believe, that there are ſeveral orders and degrees among them, which is alſo confirmed by

[i] PLUTARCH. in Antonio, p. 930. [k] Vid. DODWEL. præl. ii. ad Spart. Hadrian. p. 176, &c. [l] Vid. HYDE, rel. vet. Perſ. cap. 19, & 20. [m] Talmud Hieroſol. in Roſh ha ſhana. [n] Dan. xii. 1. [o] HYDE, ubi ſup. p. 270, 273. [p] Compendium theolog. Moham. c. iii. apud Reland. de rel. Mohammed. [q] Revel. v. 11.

Scripture:

ſcripture: whence ſome ſpeculative men have diſtributed them into nine orders, according to the different names they are there called by; and reduced thoſe orders into three hierarchies, as they call them; to the firſt of which belong ſeraphim, cherubim, and thrones; to the ſecond, dominions, virtues, and powers; and to the third, principalities, archangels, and angels. They imagine farther, that there are ſome who conſtantly reſide in heaven; others who are miniſters, and ſent forth, as there is occaſion, to execute the orders they receive from GOD by the former. The *Jews* reckon but four orders, or companies of angels [r], each headed by an archangel; the firſt order being that of *Michael*, the ſecond of *Gabriel*, the third of *Uriel*, and the fourth of *Raphael*. But though the *Jews* believe them to be but four, yet, it ſeems, there were rather ſeven [s]. The *Perſians* alſo held there were ſubordinate degrees among the angels [t].

ALTHOUGH the angels were originally created perfect, good, and obedient to their maker's will, yet ſome of them ſinned [u], and kept not their firſt eſtate [x], but left their habitation; and ſo, of the moſt bleſſed and glorious, became the moſt vile and miſerable of all GOD's creatures. They were expelled the regions of light, and caſt down to hell, to be reſerved in everlaſting chains under darkneſs, until the day of judgment. With heaven they loſt their heavenly diſpoſition, which delighted once in doing good, and praiſing GOD; and fell into a ſettled rancour againſt him, and malice againſt men: their inward peace was gone; all deſire of doing good departed from them; and, inſtead thereof, revengeful thoughts and deſpair took poſſeſſion of them, and created an eternal hell within them. *Of the fallen angels.*

WHEN, and for what offence, theſe apoſtate ſpirits fell from heaven, and plunged themſelves into ſuch an abyſs of wickedneſs and woe, are queſtions very hard, if not impoſſible, to be determined by any clear evidence of Scripture. As to the time, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that their fall preceded the creation of the world; though ſome have imagined it to have been after; and that carnality, or luſting to converſe with women upon earth [y], was the ſin which ruined them [z]: an opinion built on a miſ- *The time of their fall, their offence, &c.*

[r] MAIMONID. more nevoch. part ii. c. 10. [s] Revel. iv. 5. viii. 2. Tobit xii. 15. [t] Vid. HYDE, de rel. vet. Perſ. c. 12, & 20. [u] 2 Pet. ii. 4. [x] Jude ver. 6. [y] See before, p. 93. [z] JOSEPHUS, PHILO JUD. ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, &c.

taken

taken interpretation of ſcripture, as if angels were meant by the ſons of GOD, who are ſaid to have begotten the mighty men of old on the daughters of men [a]. Others have ſuppoſed, that the angels, being informed of GOD's intention to create man after his own image, and to dignify his nature by CHRIST's aſſuming it, and thinking their glory to be eclipſed thereby, envied man's happineſs, and ſo revolted [b]: and with this opinion that of the *Mohammedans* has ſome affinity, who are taught, that the devil, who was once one of thoſe angels who are neareſt to GOD's preſence, and named *Azazil* [c], forfeited paradiſe for refuſing to worſhip, or pay homage to *Adam*, at the command of GOD [d]. But on what occaſion ſoever it firſt ſhewed itſelf, pride ſeems to have been the leading ſin of the angels [e]: who, admiring and valuing themſelves too much on the excellence of their nature, and the height of their ſtation, came at length to entertain ſo little reſpect for their Creator, as to be guilty of downright rebellion and apoſtaſy [f].

IT is certain, from Scripture, that theſe fallen angels were in great numbers [g], and that there was alſo ſome order and ſubordination preſerved among them; one eſpecially being conſidered as their prince, and called by ſeveral names, *Beelzebub*, *Satan*, or *Sammael*, by the *Jews*; *Ahârîman*, by the *Perſians*; and *Eblis*, by the *Mohammedans*. Their conſtant employment is not only doing evil themſelves, but endeavouring, by all arts and means, to ſeduce and pervert mankind, by tempting them to all kind of ſin, and thereby bringing them into the ſame deſperate ſtate with themſelves.

*Of intermediate ſpirits, or genii.*

BESIDES the angels and devils, the *Mohammedans* believe there are a ſort of intermediate creatures, which they call *jin*, or *genii*, of a groſſer fabric than angels; ſome of whom are good, and others bad, and capable of future ſalvation, or damnation, as men are. The *Orientals* pretend, that theſe *genii* inhabited the world for many thouſand years before the creation of *Adam*, under the reigns of

[a] Geneſ. vi. 2, 4. GREGORY NYSSEN. &c. [b] IRENÆUS, LACTANTIUS, GREGORY NYSSEN. &c. [c] Vid. RELAND. de rel. Mohammed. p. 189, &c. [d] Al korân, cap. ii. ver. 34. [e] Vid. 1 Tim. iii. 6. and the magnificent compariſon of the fall of proud *Sennacherib* to that of *Lucifer*; Iſaiah xiv. 12, &c. [f] The opinion of St. CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORET, ATHANASIUS, &c. [g] Yet ſome have endeavoured to prove there is no more than one devil. Vid. lettres de BAYLE, tom. i. p. 360.

ſeveral

ſeveral princes, who all bore the common name of *Solomon:* but, falling, at length, into an almoſt general corruption, *Eblis* was ſent to drive them into a remote part of the earth, there to be confined: that ſome of that generation ſtill remaining were by *Tahmûrath*, one of the antient kings of *Perſia*, who waged war againſt them, forced to retreat into the famous mountains of *Kâf*. Of which ſucceſſions, and wars, they have many fabulous and romantic ſtories. They alſo make different ranks and degrees among this kind of beings (if they are not rather of different ſpecies), ſome being called abſolutely *jin*, ſome *peri*, or *fairies*; ſome *div*, or *giants*; others *tacwins*, or *fates* [h].

As to the antient *Greeks* and *Romans*, we do not find they had any notion of evil ſpirits, or devils, in the uſual ſenſe of the word, if we except only *Plutarch*'s evil principle before-mentioned. Their infernal gods were not conceived to be of an evil nature; and though they believed the furies were the tormentors of wicked men in another life, yet they looked on them as goddeſſes, and the avengers only of evil actions.

MUCH more might be added to what we have already ſaid on theſe ſubjects; but as we may be thought already to have exceeded the bounds of an introduction, we ſhall here conclude it, and haſten to the hiſtory itſelf.

[h] Vid. D'HERBELOT, bibl. orient. p. 369, 820, &c.

AN

# A MAP OF PARADISE MOUNT ARARAT and the CITY of BABEL

according to the three different Hypotheses mentioned in this Work.

## ASTRONOMICAL OBSERVATIONS,

according to which this Map hath been formed

| Places | Authors | Longit. de | Latitu. de |
|---|---|---|---|
| Eriwan | P Beza | | 40·19·33 |
| Arzerum | Ditto | | 39·56·35 |
| Al Bir | Maundrel | | 37·10 |
| Alexandretta | Chazelles | 54·15 | 36·35 |
| Haleb or Aleppo | Halley | | 36·30 |
| Al Rakkah | Al Bathani | | 36·1 |
| Baghdad | Ebn Yunis | | 33·22·15 |

NB That the first Meridian is that which passes over the Western verge of the Island of Iron which is the most western of all the Canaries which Meridian is found by Astronomical Observations to be 17·35 W^t of that of London & 20·00 West from that of Paris. Note farther that the modern names of Countries are ingraven in Italic & that when the names of Cities have only a single stroke under them it is a sign that only y^e Latitude of them is known and when y^e stroke is double y^e Longitude is likewise known.

The Longitude taken from the Iron Island

PART OF ANATOLIA
PART OF THE CASPIAN SEA
ARMENIA
CURDISTAN
ARAM NAHARAIM
SYRIA
MESOPOTAMIA OR AL JEZIRA
CANAAN or PALESTINE
PART OF ARABIA
CHALDEA
IRAK ARABI
PART OF ELAM or PERSIA
CUSH OR KHUSSESTAN
HAVILA
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
PART OF THE MEDITERRANEAN SEA
CYPRUS

Araxes or Araxes
Tsmiadzin or the 3 Churches
Erivan
Arzerum
Paradise according to the 2d Hypothesis
Mt Ararat according to the 2d Hypothesis
Nakkehuvan
Araxes R.
Horad Shai or Euphrates
Tigris R.
Tigris or Hiddekel R.
Seyhon R.
al Bier
Jezirat Ebn Omar
Ararat according to the 1st Hypothesis
Isle of Eden
Mausel or Nineveh
Alexandretta
Haleb or Aleppo
al Rakka
Shinar
Shinar or Nisibis
The Plain of Shinar
Idena
Eden
Dhjoti
Damascus
Tyre
Paradise according to the 1st Hypothesis
Jordan R.
Anah
Felujah
Babel according to the 2d Hypothesis
Baghdad
Babel according to the 3d Hypothesis
Hella
Hiddekel R.
Diglat or Tigris R.
Kawah River
Rivers Forat or Euphrates
Shat al Arab
Kawah R.
Gihon R.
Paradise according to the 3d Hypothesis
Bozra
Hanukh or Anuchtha
Persic Gulf

AN

# Universal History.

## BOOK I.

### *The* ASIATIC *History to the Time of* ALEXANDER the Great.

## CHAP. I.

### *The General History of the* WORLD *till the* FLOOD.

### SECT. I.

#### *The Creation of Man, and the Situation of the Garden of* Eden.

IN the beginning GOD created the heaven and the earth. The earth was once in a confuſed and deſolate ſtate, but by divine providence, and ſecond cauſes ſubſervient to that purpoſe, gradually, in the ſpace of ſix days, reduced into a habitable world; cloathed with trees, ſhrubs, plants, and flowers, and ſtocked with various kinds of animals. And when all theſe things were, by the care and beneficence of GOD, prepared for the reception of his principal gueſt, then, and not till then, was man created, and introduced into the world [a].

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4004.

*The creation of the world, and of man.*

WHATEVER opinions the antient Heathens might have of the origin of mankind, we are aſſured, by the moſt authentic records, that we are deſcended from two perſons, *Adam* and *Eve* [b], who were formed by GOD in the moſt abſolute perfection, both of body and mind, and ſubject to none of thoſe irregular appetites, diſeaſes, wants,

*The happy ſtate of the firſt pair.*

[a] Geneſ. i. [b] Geneſ. iii. 20.

and

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4004.

and ſorrows, which they afterwards, by their rebellion, brought on themſelves, and their unhappy poſterity. And, leſt any thing ſhould be wanting to complete their happineſs, a moſt delightful habitation was prepared for them in *Eden*, by their gracious Creator; a garden, or paradiſe [c], whereon all the beauties of nature were profuſely beſtowed, well watered, and planted with all ſorts of trees, that were either pleaſant to the ſight, or good for food: in the midſt of which garden were two trees of a very peculiar, and, it ſeems, contrary nature; one called the tree of life, the fruit of which had the virtue of rendering thoſe who eat it, in ſome degree at leaſt, immortal; and the other the tree of knowlege of good and evil; the conſequence of the taſting which, was ſo pernicious to them, and their offſpring.

*Situation of the garden of Eden.*

BUT before we proceed, it may be expected we ſhould ſay ſomething with reference to the ſituation of this garden, concerning which there has been ſo great a variety of opinions among learned men.

*Extravagant opinions concerning it.*

SEVERAL of the primitive fathers believed, that there never was a local paradiſe; and that all which is ſpoken of it in Scripture, is to be underſtood in an allegorical ſenſe: others, who allowed the reality of paradiſe, have ſwerved ſo far from the letter, as to ſuppoſe it not to be ſituated on any part of this terreſtrial globe. They have placed it in the third heaven, within the orb of the moon, in the moon itſelf, in the middle region of the air, above the earth, under the earth, in a receſs hidden and removed from the knowlege of men, in the place poſſeſſed, at preſent, by the *Caſpian* ſea, under the arctic pole, and under the equator; with many more ſuch extravagancies, which have been collected by ſeveral authors [d], ſome of whom have thought it worth while to give ſuch whimſies a ſerious anſwer.

ON the other hand, many of thoſe who have allowed a terreſtrial paradiſe, have fallen into no leſs extravagancies. There is ſcarce a corner of the earth which has not been ranſacked in ſearch of it. They have looked for it in *Aſia*, in *Africa*, in *Europe*, in *America*, in *Tartary*; upon the banks of the *Danube*, and the *Ganges*; in the iſle of *Ceylon*, in *Perſia*, in *Armenia*, in *Meſopotamia*, in *Chaldea*, in

[c] Geneſ. ii. 8, &c. [d] STEPH. MORINUS, diſſert. de parad. terreſt. præfix. oper. Bocharti edit. 1722. MOSES BAR CEPHA, de paradiſ. comment. P. DAN. HUET. de ſitu paradiſi. BURNET's theory of the earth. RALEIGH's hiſt. of the world, &c.

*Arabia*,

*Arabia*, in *Paleſtine*, in *Syria*; about the mountains of *Libanus* and *Antilibanus*; near the cities of *Damaſcus* and *Tripoly*; in *Ethiopia*, towards the mountains of the moon; and, which will, doubtleſs, be thought as much out of the way, in *Sweden*. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4004.

THIS diverſity of opinions proceeds partly from that humour which prevailed in the early ages of chriſtianity, of allegorizing all paſſages of Scripture which had the leaſt appearance of difficulty in them; and partly from the little agreement to be found betwixt the geography of *Moſes*, and that of the Heathen authors, whoſe imperfections are not yet, perhaps, ſufficiently ſupplied to reſolve this difficult problem. As for the *Jews*, from whom we might have expected ſome light into matters which concern their own antiquities, they are perfectly ignorant of the geography of their bible, and have run as much aſtray as other nations, in their deſcriptions of paradiſe; ſuppoſing, as *Joſephus* [f], and all the reſt of their authors have done, the *Ganges* and the *Nile* to be two of the four rivers; in which the Chriſtian fathers have almoſt unanimouſly followed them. *What owing to.*

THERE are ſeveral places which bear the name of *Eden*: we find two mentioned in Scripture, beſides that in the *Moſaical* deſcription, if it be not one of them; *viz.* one near *Damaſcus* in *Syria* [g], the other in or about *Thelaſſar* in *Chaldea* [h]. *Ptolemy* places an *Addan* in this laſt country, and another on the *Euphrates*. There is alſo another *Eden* in *Syria* near *Tripoly* [i], in the road to *Damaſcus*, as the former ſeems likewiſe to be. *Cartwright*, in his travels [k], gives an account of an iſland in the *Tigris* [l], called *Eden*, as he informs us, by the people of the country, and about twelve miles above *Mauſel* (A). There is a city near *Tarſus* in *Cilicia*, ſtill called *Adena*, and *Aden* is a very noted one on the coaſt of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, a little without the ſtreights of *Bâb al Mondab*; for *Eden*, or *Aden*, ſignifying *pleaſure*, that name was given to places *Several Edens.*

[f] Antiq. Jud. lib. i. cap. 1. [g] Amos i. 5. [h] 2 Kings xix. 12. Iſaiah xxxvii. 12. [i] MAUNDREL's travels, p. 135. [k] Vid. the preacher's travels, p. 91, 95. [l] Vid. ASSEMANI bibl. orient. tom. i. p. 526.

(A) This remark, whether true or falſe, ſeems to have occaſioned Raleigh's ſtraining the expreſſion in the Neſtorian epiſtles (1), tranſlated into Latin by Maſius, where that iſle is not called Eden, but is ſaid to be in the Tigris, a river of Eden.

(1) *Ad calcem Bar Cephæ, comment. de ſitu paradiſi, p.* 264.

re-

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4004.

remarkable for the delightfulneſs of their ſituation, conſidered either in themſelves, or comparatively with the adjacent country; and the laſt ſeems to be the caſe of *Aden* in *Arabia*, which has nothing more than ordinary to deſerve that name, but the barrenneſs of the neighbouring ſoil.

*The* Moſaical *paradiſe local, not imaginary.*

IT appears plainly, from the *Moſaical* deſcription (B), however prepoſterous a learned author [m] thinks it, that *Moſes* had no imaginary paradiſe in view but a portion of this habitable earth, bounded with countries and rivers, very well known by the names he gives them, in his time; and (as appears from Scripture) for many ages after. *Eden* is as evidently a real country as *Ararat*, where the ark reſted; and *Shinaar*, where the ſons of *Noah* removed after the flood. We find it mentioned as ſuch in Scripture, as often as the other two; and there is the more reaſon to believe it, becauſe the ſcenes of theſe three remarkable events are laid in the neighbourhood of one another, in the *Moſaical* hiſtory: but the *Jews* having, probably, during the diſtraction of their affairs about the time of the captivity, loſt the remembrance of all the particulars relating to this account of *Eden* (as indeed they have of moſt things relating to their antiquities), except that of the rivers *Hiddekel* and *Frat*; the Chriſtians, who have buſied themſelves much in ſearch after it, have loſt their way for want of guides; which has been the occaſion of ſo many ſtrange notions about it, as we have already mentioned; and there muſt always be a difference among men in opinions, where

[m] Dr. BURNET's theory of the earth, book ii. chap. i. at the end.

(B) *And the Lord God planted a garden eaſtward in Eden* (2).—*And a river went out of Eden to water the garden; and from thence it was parted, and became into four heads* (3). *The name of the firſt is Piſon* [Fiſhon]: *that is it which compaſſeth the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold* (4). *And the gold of that land is good: there is bdellium* [Bdolah] *and the onyx-ſtone* [Shoham] (5). *And the name of the ſecond river is Gihon: the ſame is it that compaſſeth the whole land of Ethiopia* [Cuſh] (6). *And the name of the third river is Hiddekel: that is it which goeth toward the eaſt of* [*or eaſtward to*] *Aſſyria* [Aſhur]. *And the fourth river is Euphrates* [Perath *or* Frat] (7).

(2) *Gen.* ii. 8. (3) *Ibid. ver.* 10. (4) *Ver.* 11. (5) *Ver.* 12. (6) *Ver.* 13. (7) *Ver.* 14.

the

the uncertainty and defectiveneſs of the proofs leave room for controverſy.

Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4004.

SOME of the lateſt moderns[n], miſled by the affinity of names, have ſuppoſed they found the name of the *Piſon* preſerved in the *Paſi-tigris*, or rather (as they would have it, to favour their hypotheſis) the *Piſo-tigris*; whilſt others[o] take it for granted, that it is the *Phaſis*, as they conclude the *Aras* to be the *Gihon*, from the conformity of the ſignification; both thoſe terms being uſed by the *Perſians* to ſignify any great river in general. But, at that rate, *Eden* may be any-where, and every-where, ſince a conformity of names, either in ſound, or ſignification, may be found in all countries; and if that ſort of proof be admitted, unleſs under proper reſtrictions, it will be no hard matter to prove, that *America* was peopled immediately by the poſterity of *Noah*, as ſome have alleged.

*This inquiry uncertain, and conjectural.*

THE *bdolah* and *ſhoham*, which were the produce of *Havilah*, being unknown names, as well as that of their native country, they are interpreted by every one ſo as to favour the ſcheme he eſpouſes. Thus the *bdolah* is rendered *bdellium*; the *carbuncle*, the *loadſtone*, the *oleaſter*. Thoſe who place paradiſe in *Armenia*, will have it to be *cryſtal*[p], becauſe they find that ſtone thereabouts; and thoſe who ſituate it in *Chaldea*, towards the *Perſian* gulph, inſiſt, that it ſignifies *pearl*, which is fiſhed, in great quantity, in *Bahrein*, near *al Katîf*, on the *Arabian* coaſt, where the country of *Havilah* is to be found, according to this hypotheſis: and it muſt be owned, this conjecture ſeems to come neareſt the truth, conſidering manna is compared[q] to the *bdolah* for colour; and ſo the talmudiſts deſcribe manna to be round as coriander-ſeed, and white as pearls. In like manner, the *ſhoham* is made, by different authors, to ſignify the *beryl*, and the *emerald*[r]; perhaps with as little propriety as it is rendered, in our bibles, the *onyx-ſtone*, which tranſlation is condemned by *Bochart*[s], and others (C).

OF

[n] FRANCIS JULIUS, HUGO GROTIUS. [o] WILL. SANSON, in geograph. *Aſiæ*. RELAND, diſſert. de ſitu paradiſi, p. 7. CALMET, comment. ſur la Gen. ii. 8. [p] RELAND, ibid. p. 27. [q] Numb. xi. 7. [r] RELAND, ibid. p. 31. [s] Vol. i. p. 30.

(C) On this occaſion we cannot help obſerving, that our tranſlators have often ſwerved from the original *Hebrew*, to follow the Septuagint, if not the *German* verſion, eſpecially in

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OF the three ſchemes which at preſent obtain amongſt the learned, the firſt, which places paradiſe near *Damaſcus* in *Syria*, about the ſprings of *Jordan*, and has for its patrons *Heidegger* [t], Mr. *le Clerc* [u], *Pere Abram* [x], and *Pere Hardouin* [y], ſeems the worſt grounded, being deſtitute of all the marks ſpecified in the *Moſaical* deſcription, which ought always to be the principal teſt in this inquiry. The ſecond hypotheſis places *Eden* in *Armenia*, between the ſprings, or heads, of the *Tigris*, the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Phaſis*; and is eſpouſed by two great men, eminent for their ſkill in geography, namely, *Sanſon*, and the late Mr. *Hadrian Reland* [z], beſides *Calmet* [a]. But this ſcheme is not much better ſupported than the firſt; for, according to the modern diſcoveries, the *Phaſis* does not riſe in the mountains of *Armenia*, near the ſprings of the *Euphrates*, the *Araxes*, and the *Tigris*, as *Strabo* [b], *Ptolemy* [c], *Dionyſius* [d], and the reſt of the antients, have wrongly informed us; which led them, without doubt, into this error: but by the map of *Colchis*, or *Mingrelia*, in *Thevenot*'s collection, and the account of Sir *John Chardin*, in his travels, that river has its ſource far away in mount *Caucaſus*, and does not flow from ſouth to north, but, on the contrary, from north to ſouth; a great extent of country, and the river *Kor* (which, by its ſituation, would much better ſupply the place of the *Piſon* than the *Phaſis*), interpoſing; as may be ſeen by the map. As one miſtake generally draws on another, *Reland*, led again by that deceitful guide the ſimilitude of names, ſuppoſes *Cuſh*

*The ſchemes which place* Eden *in* Syria *and* Armenia, *ill grounded.*

[t] Hiſtor. patriarch. p. 94. [u] In Gen. cap. ii. 8. [x] Pharus vet. teſt. l. ii. n. 16. p. 6. [y] In his edition of Pliny. [z] Diſſertat. de ſitu paradiſi. [a] Dict. de la bible, p. 150. & commentaire ſur la Geneſe, chap. ii. 8. [b] Lib. x, & xi. [c] Tab. III. Aſiæ. [d] Periegeſis.

in names and terms. Thus *Aram* is generally rendered *Syria*; *Khaſhdim*, *Chaldea*; *Mizraim*, *Egypt*; *Cuſh*, *Ethiopia*; and the like: but we need not ſend the reader farther than the *Moſaical* deſcription of *Eden* above-cited, in which it appears, there are no leſs than ſix variations. They have, moreover, introduced a corrupt pronunciation, either by following the *German* orthography inſtead of the *Engliſh*, or continuing the orthography of the vulgate, which prevailed before the reformation. Thus they have conſtantly made uſe of the J conſonant inſtead of the Y: *Jacob* and *Joſeph* ſhould be written *Yacob* and *Yoſeph*, or rather *Yoſef*; *Benjamin*, *Benyamin*, or rather *Benyamim*.

to be the country of the *Coſſæans*, or *Cuſſæans*; but if the *Coſſæans* were the inhabitants of the mountains [e], which, with *Parthia*, bounded *Media* on the eaſt; and which, in all likelihood, as he conjectures, was *Kuheſtân*, or *the mountain country*, as that name ſignifies; how could they be ſettled along the *Araxes*, which yet it was neceſſary they ſhould be, to favour his opinion? for *Kuheſtân* is the moſt eaſtern or north-eaſtern part of *Irâk Ajami*, a well-known province of *Irân*, or *Perſia* at large; agreeable to *Diodorus Siculus* [f] and *Arrian* [g], who makes the country of the *Coſſæans* a part of *Media*; though ſome place them in *Perſia*, and *Ptolemy* in *Suſiana*: beſides, the *Phaſis* and *Scythia* (which *Sanſon* underſtands by *Cuſh*, or the *Coſſæans*) ſeem to have been too remote to be known to *Moſes*. Neither does this hypotheſis account for that river which watered paradiſe, and from whence the other four had their riſe; and *Reland* will not allow it can be done, but by ſuppoſing a ſubterranean river, which may as well ſerve for the ſcheme of the *Jews*, followed by the fathers, which makes the *Piſon* and *Gihon*, the *Nile* and the *Ganges*.

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ACCORDING to the third opinion, *Eden* is placed upon the united ſtream of the *Dijlat*, or *Hiddekel*, and *Frat*, called, by the *Arabs*, *Shat al Arab*, that is, *the river of the Arabs*; which [h] begins two days journey above *Baſrah*, and about five leagues below divides again into two or three chanels, which empty themſelves into the *Perſian* gulph. By this hypotheſis, the *Shat al Arab* is the river paſſing out of *Eden*; which river, conſidered according to the diſpoſition of its chanel, and not according to the courſe of its ſtream, divides into four heads, or different branches, which make the four rivers; two below, *viz.* the two branches of the *Shat*, which ſerve for the *Piſon* and *Gihon*; and two above, *viz.* the *Frat*, and *Dijlat*, or the *Euphrates* and *Hiddekel*. According to this diſpoſition, the weſtern branch of the *Shat* will be *Piſon*; and the adjoining part of *Arabia*, bordering on the *Perſian* gulph, will be *Havilah*; and the eaſtern branch will be the *Gihon*, incompaſſing the country of *Cuſh*, or *Khuzeſtân*, a province of *Irân*, as it is ſtill named by the *Perſians*.

*The third ſcheme moſt probable.*

THIS opinion was firſt ſtarted by *Calvin*, and is, with ſome little variation, followed by *Stephanus Morinus*, *Bochart*, and *Huet*, biſhop of *Avranches*: and, indeed, all the paſſages of Scripture, where *Eden* is mentioned, concur

Eden *to be looked for in* Chaldea.

[e] STRABO, lib. xiv. [f] Lib. xvii. cap. 3. [g] In hiſtor. Ind. [h] THEV. trav. part ii. chap. 9.

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to eſtabliſh it ſomewhere hereabouts. The prophet, ſpeaking of *Tyre*, ſays, *Haran, and Canneh, and Eden, were thy merchants* [i]. Now if *Canneh* be *Calneh*, or *Calyo*, which is taken to be *Cteſiphon*, or *Medaïn*, the ſeat of the *Parthian* race of *Perſian* kings, then *Eden* muſt have been to the ſouth of that city, according to the order of mentioning the places, which ſeems to be from north to ſouth. The ſame order is obſerved in two other places of the old teſtament, where mention is made of *Gozan*, *Haran*, *Rezeph*, *and the children of Eden which were in Telaſſar* [k]. To this we may add an argument of ſome, that the city of *Enoch*, or, rather, *Hanukh*, built by *Cain*, and called after the name of his ſon, is placed to the eaſt of *Eden* [l]: and *Ptolemy* places a city, called *Anuchta*, in *Suſiana*, or the country of *Cuſh*.

WITH regard to the natural marks aſcribed to *Havilah*, authors mention that part of *Arabia* as productive of gold; and as for the *bdolah* and *ſhoham*, they may be made the produce of any country, as we have before obſerved. However, the *bdolah* being conſidered either as pearls, or *bdellium* (ſuppoſed to be a tranſparent, odoriferous, but bitter gum [m]), is allowed to be a native of *Arabia*.

*Objections to the third ſcheme.*

BUT though this hypotheſis ſeems the beſt of any that hath been yet advanced, and to account tolerably well for the *Moſaical* deſcription, yet is it liable to exception: for the two branches of the *Shat al Arab*, which, by this ſcheme, repreſent the *Piſon* and the *Gihon*, ſeem not conſiderable enough to deſerve the name of rivers, nor are of ſufficient length to incompaſs countries of any extent; the place where the *Shat al Arab* divides below *Baſrah*, being not above eighteen leagues [m] diſtant from the places where thoſe two branches fall into the ſea. Indeed, if we could be ſure there was a third branch, which, according to ſome accounts and maps, parting from the *Shat* about *Baſrah*, falls into the ſea at *al Katif*, it might ſerve tolerably well for the *Piſon*; and for the *Gihon*, we ſhould chuſe to ſubſtitute either the river *Karon*, or the river *Karha*; the firſt of which falls into the *Shat al Arab*, the other into the *Tigris*, and may much more properly be ſaid to incompaſs the whole land of *Cuſh*, as running through *Khuzeſtan*; whereas the eaſtern branch of the *Shat* waſhes only a corner

[i] Ezek. xxvii. 23. [k] Iſaiah xxxvii. 12. 2 Kings xix. 12.
[l] Gen. iv. 17. [m] THEVENOT's travels, part ii. chap. 10. Teixeira, in his journey from Baſrah to Aleppo.

of that country, or rather one side of an island made by it and the *Karon*.

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OR suppose we should alter this scheme a little, and situate *Eden* above the confluence of *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, we shall find one or two large arms crossing the intermediate country from one river to the other, which would much better supply the place of the *Pison* and *Gihon*, than the branches of the *Shat al Arab*, provided other circumstances agreed with this alteration. If these branches of the *Tigris* had been known to *Grotius*, and others, they would not, perhaps, have fallen into so gross a mistake, as to make the *Nahar Malca*, or *royal river*, which passes from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, the *Gihon*: it would better have suited with the *Mosaical* description to have supposed it to be the river of *Eden*, which was divided into four heads; in which case, the parts of those rivers to the south of the *Nahar Malca* would serve for the *Pison* and *Gihon*; and indeed that would answer the *Mosaical* description, as to the rivers, almost without exception. But the truth is, such an hypothesis cannot be admitted without overthrowing the credibility of the Scripture, and allowing the most antient books in it were written after, or in the times of the *Babylonish* captivity: for the *Nahar Malca*, or *Basilicos Potamos*, as the *Greeks* called it, is an artificial canal still in being, cut from *Euphrates* to *Tigris*, a little above *Babylon*, in the later times of the *Babylonian* empire. The oriental authors attribute this work to *Nimrod* [n]; perhaps it may be the same with the river *Cutha*, which a *Persian* author [o] says was dug by a king of *Babel* of the same name, and supposed to be *Cush*, the father of *Nimrod*.

*New schemes proposed.*

THOSE who patronize the *Armenian* paradise, may likewise improve or amend their scheme out of the modern travellers and maps *; where they will find the *Morad Shaï*, which falls into *Euphrates*, and the *Kor*, which joins the *Araxes*, or *Aras*, either of them better fitted to supply the place of the *Pison* than the *Phasis*: or, if they chuse to have the *Euphrates* and *Tigris* united with the other two *Mosaical* rivers, they may adopt the *Sert*, which falls into the *Tigris* at *Hesn Keifa*, and throw out the *Aras* and *Kor*, the head of which last *Ptolemy* has made to change place with that of the *Phasis*. As a wrong or confused account of the rise and course of rivers, delivered by the antients,

[n] Vid. HYDE, de relig. vet. Persar. p. 40. [o] TABARI, in cap. de morte Saræ apud HYDE, ibid.

* Particularly those of DE LISLE, which are far the best.

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has been the occasion of many of the mistakes into which authors have fallen, in treating of this subject, the inquirer ought to have recourse to the modern observations of geographers and travellers, which often help where the others fail, but have been too much neglected by the learned.

*The Mosaical description of Eden imperfect.*

AFTER all, we ought not to be so earnest about this matter; for, strictly speaking, the *Mosaical* description does not agree with the state of things, either as they now are, or ever were in all probability: for there is no common stream, of which the four rivers are properly branches; nor can one conceive how a whole land can be encompassed by a river, as *Havilah* is said to be by the *Pison*, and *Cush* by the *Gihon*, without being an island. But we are to consider paradise described according to *Moses*'s notion of things, and that imperfect knowlege of the world which they had in those early times. It is absurd in this case to allege an alteration made by the deluge in the bounds of countries, or the course of rivers; for *Moses* describes things as they were supposed to be at the time he wrote; nor is it credible, that the *Hiddekel* and *Frat* were branches of a river before, and had springs of their own afterwards.

IT is observable, that there is no manner of doubt in authors, with relation to these two rivers; nor indeed is there the least room for it, they having retained their names nearly, if not exactly the same, to this day; for what the *Hebrews* called *Hiddekel*, the *Arabs*, and perhaps the *Assyrians* and *Chaldæans*, called *Dijlat* then, as they do at present; and the *Pherath*, *Forat*, or *Frat*, is called *Frat* by the neighbouring people; for *Euphrates* is one of those corrupt names which our translations have borrowed from the septuagint version, and which probably the *Greeks*, as *Reland*[p] judiciously observed, took from the *Persians*, who often set the word *Ab* or *Au*, which signifies water, before the names of rivers; of which word, and *Frat*, the name *Euphrates* is compounded. The other opinion, which forms that name from a conjunction of *Frat* with the preceding particle *hua*, in the *Hebrew* text, is absurd; as supposing the *Greeks* first came acquainted with that river, by reading this passage of *Moses* relating to the situation of *Eden*.

*Several paradises.*

THE oriental nations give the name of paradise to several places, rather for the deliciousness of their situation,

[p] De situ paradisi.

than

than a real perſuaſion that any of them was the paradiſe of *Adam*, which the *Mohammedans* in particular do believe not to be on earth, but in the ſeventh heaven [s]. And, of the antient *Perſians*, ſome thought it to be in the ſun, as the *Manichæans*, and other heretics, did; and others, that there is no paradiſe now in being, but after the reſurrection the earth will be renewed, by being melted, and changed into another form, and a paradiſiacal ſtate [t]; ſo that they ſeem to have believed the whole earth to have been paradiſe, before the curſe given it at the fall [u]. However, the terreſtrial paradiſes mentioned by the *Arabs* and *Perſians* are, 1. The plain of *Damaſcus*, which they call *al Gauta*. 2. *Obolla*, a village in *Irâk*, on the weſtern branch of the *Shat al Arab*, where there are moſt pleaſant gardens. 3. *Sheb Bawân*, a place in *Fars*, or *Proper Perſia*, ſituate on the river *Nilâb*, near *Nubendijân*. 4. *Sogd Samarkand*, or the valley of *Samarkand* [w]. 5. *Gangdiz*, or the caſtle of the *Ganges*, called alſo *Behiſhti Gang*, or the paradiſe of *Ganges*, *Arîm* or *Arîn*, and *Kubbat al ard*, or the vertex of the earth. 6. *Jam gherd*. But theſe two laſt places are imaginary, and ſuppoſed to be ſituate eaſtward of *China*, in the middle of the ſea, where the zodiac and equator interſect each other, exactly at one hundred and eighty degrees of longitude from the *Fortunate Iſlands* (or *Canaries*), where they place the other interſection. So that theſe two places are ſuppoſed to be paradiſiacal, as conſidered mathematically, and ſituate exactly under the interſection of the equator, where they think the temperance and clemency of the air muſt needs render ſuch a ſituation extremely delightful. The *Indians* place their earthly paradiſe in *Caſhmîr*, near the head of the *Ganges* (whence that above-mentioned ſeems to have taken its name, though in another part of the world); and this not only on account of the amenity of that ſmall kingdom [x], eſpecially in reſpect of the more ſouthern parts of *India*; but becauſe the river *Ganges*, which that nation eſteems ſo ſacred, is ſuppoſed to take its riſe from thence [y]. But the more general tradition of the eaſt is, that paradiſe was in *Serendib*, or rather *Selandiv* (D), that is, the iſland of

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[s] Vid. MARRACC. in Alc. p. 24.
[t] See before, p. 66.
[u] HYDE de rel. vet. Perſ. c. 33. p. 400.
[w] Vid. D'HERBELOT, p. 378, & 361.
[x] Vid. BERNIER.
[y] Vid. HYDE, ubi ſupra, c. 10. p. 172, &c.

(D) Div, in the *Malabaric* tongue, ſignifies an iſland.

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*Selan*, or, as we corruptly call it, *Ceylon*, or *Zeilan* (E) [z]. The *Arab* writers alſo take notice of ſeveral paradiſes, as that of *Iram* or *Aram*, in *Yaman* or *Arabia Felix*, built by *Shaddâd*, the ſon of *Ad*, who being deſtroyed, together with his people, by a divine judgment, his palace and gardens, wherein he exceedingly prided himſelf, were rendered inviſible (though preſerved to this day), and never ſeen but by GOD's particular permiſſion; which favour one *Colabah* pretended to have received in the reign of the khalif *Moawiyah* [a]; and another planted by the *Molâhidah*, or *Iſmaelians*, a race of princes called by the *Europeans Aſſaſſins*, in a valley in *Curdiſtân*; which was deſigned, by its delightfulneſs, to raviſh the perſons to whom it was ſhewn, and make them believe it was in the prince's power to place them in paradiſe; and, in hopes of that felicity, to engage them in an implicit obedience to all his commands, and to commit any villainy which he ſhould judge conducing to his deſigns.

NOR were the antient heathens themſelves without ſome obſcure tradition concerning a paradiſe, or rather ſeveral paradiſes, in the earth; but they generally placed them out of our continent; in the ocean, or beyond it, or in another hemiſphere; as the garden of the *Heſperides*, the *Fortunate Iſlands*, *Ogygia*, and *Taprobane* [b], and the like; which as they were all characterized like ſo many paradiſes, ſo they were all ſeated out of this continent by their geography, and deſcriptions of them. From which tradition, and the general inclination of the chriſtian fathers, as well as profane authors, to place paradiſe in the ſouthern hemiſphere, or beyond the equinoctial, a late learned man [c] was induced to believe the ſame thing; though he ſuppoſed the whole earth, before the fall, to be in an eminent degree paradiſiacal.

[z] Vid. D'HERBELOT, ubi ſup. p. 378. [a] Vid. eund. p. 51, &c. [b] Vid. DIODOR. SIC. l. ii. p. 173. [c] Dr. BURNET in his theory, l. ii. c. 7.

(E) It is ſurpriſing, that Mr. *Le Clerc* ſhould take *Serendib* for *Madagaſcar* (1).

(1) *Comment. in Geneſ.* c. viii. p. 72.

SECT.

## SECT. II.

### *Of the fall of man.*

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GOD, having placed *Adam*, immediately after his formation, in the garden of *Eden*, whose situation we have been endeavouring to discover, to dress and to keep it, gave him leave to eat freely of the fruit of every tree in the garden, except only that of the tree of knowlege of good and evil, which he strictly commanded him not to taste, upon pain of death, the certain consequence of his disobedience [f].

Adam *placed in paradise, and forbidden the tree of knowlege.*

THE first thing which *Adam* did, after his introduction into paradise, and the very day of his creation, was to give names to all the beasts and birds, which presented themselves before him, not only for that purpose [g], but to perform their homage, as it were; and make *Adam* sensible, that there was none among them fit to be a companion for him [h].

*He names the beasts and birds.*

AFTER this, GOD, having formed *Eve* out of the side of *Adam*, as he slept, brought her to him; who, knowing her to be *bone of his bone, and flesh of his flesh*, took her for his wife, and lived with her, free from any sense of shame, though they were both naked [i].

*Takes Eve to wife.*

How long they continued in this happy condition, is very uncertain: it is probable they did not immediately transgress the divine command; but it should seem, by the narration of *Moses*, that their fall was not long after their creation. The *Jews* in general, and most of the Christian fathers, believe it to have been on the very day they were created [k]; but this is next to impossible; for a day would be a great deal too short for the several actions, that must on that supposition have been comprised in it. Besides, GOD himself, after the sixth day was past, declared (as at the end of the preceding days) every thing to be very good; which is not reconcilable with truth, if sin, the greatest evil, had then entered into the world. Some therefore conjectured, that this calamity happened the eighth day [m], and others the tenth, of the world's age; supposing that, in commemoration thereof, the great day of expiation, being the tenth day of the year, was instituted in

*The continuance of the state of innocence.*

[f] Genes. ii. 15, &c. [g] Genes. ii. 19. [h] Ibid. ver. 20. [i] Ibid. ver. 21, &c. [k] Vid. EDWARDS's survey, vol. i. [l] Genes. i. 31. [m] EDWARDS, ubi supra.

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after-times [n]. If we can ſubſcribe to the opinion of thoſe who make a day and a year to have been the ſame before the fall [o], there is indeed no difficulty in ſuppoſing it even on the ſixth day.

*The fall, as related by Moſes.*

THE fall of man is ſuccinctly related by *Moſes*, in the following manner [p]: that the ſerpent, being more ſubtle than any beaſt of the field, aſked the woman, whether it was true, that GOD had not granted her and her huſband leave to eat of every tree in the garden? to which ſhe anſwered, that GOD had allowed them to eat of all, except only the fruit of the tree in the midſt of the garden; which he commanded they ſhould not taſte, nor ſo much as touch, leſt they ſhould die. The ſerpent replied, that they ſhould not die; for GOD knew the virtue of the tree; and that, ſo ſoon as they eat of it, their eyes would be opened, and they become like gods, knowing good and evil. Whereupon *Eve*, ſeeing the fruit tempting to the view, and deſirable to make one wiſe, took of the fruit of it, and eat; and gave alſo to her huſband of it, and he did eat. Immediately the eyes of both were opened, and they, knowing they were naked, ſewed fig-leaves together, and made themſelves aprons. After this, *Adam* and *Eve*, hearing the voice of GOD walking in the garden in the cool of the day, hid themſelves among the trees; but, on GOD's calling for *Adam*, he excuſed himſelf for not appearing, becauſe he was naked. Upon this, GOD demanded of him, who it was that told him he was naked, and whether he had diſobeyed his command, in eating the forbidden fruit? *Adam* did not increaſe his guilt by denying it; but confeſſed, that the woman had offered him the fruit, and he had taſted it. She, being examined likewiſe, acknowleged what ſhe had done; but ſaid the ſerpent had ſeduced and deceived her. GOD then proceeded to judgment: he firſt curſed the ſerpent above all beaſts, and condemned him to go on his belly, and eat the duſt; adding, that he would put enmity between him and the woman, and their ſeveral offſpring; and that the ſeed of the woman ſhould bruiſe the ſerpent's head, who ſhould bruiſe the other's heel. The woman was puniſhed with the pain of childbirth, and put in ſubjection to her huſband; and, as to the man, GOD curſed the ground for his ſake, declaring, that it ſhould bring forth thorns and thiſtles, and

[n] Vid. USHER. ad ann. mundi 1. & BAYLE dict. hiſt. art. Abel, rem. A. [o] Vid. WHISTON's theory, l. ii. p. 96, &c. [p] Geneſ. iii. 1, &c.

that

that he ſhould earn his bread by the ſweat of his brow, till he returned to the duſt from whence he was taken. And at laſt, GOD, having cloathed them both with ſkins, turned them out of the garden, leſt they ſhould take of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever: and, to prevent any attempt to return to their former habitation, he placed cherubims at the eaſt of the garden, and a flaming ſword, which turned every way, to guard the paſſage to the tree of life.

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THIS conciſe account being, at firſt view, incumbered with ſome improbabilities, ſeveral learned and pious men have been inclined to believe the whole ought to be taken in an allegorical ſenſe, and not according to the ſtrictneſs of the letter; alleging for their excuſe, that the antients, and particularly the eaſtern nations, had two different ways of delivering their divinity and philoſophy, a popular, and a myſterious or hidden one: of which dubious ſort of ſtyle the Scripture often makes uſe, in explaining natural things; ſometimes in accommodating itſelf to the capacities of the people, and at other times to the real, but more veiled truth; and that, to obviate the many difficulties which occur in the literal hiſtory of this ſad cataſtrophe, the ſafeſt way is, to underſtand it as a parabolical ſtory, under which the real circumſtances are diſguiſed and concealed, as a myſtery not fit to be more explicitly declared.

*Some objections to the letter of that relation.*

THE firſt objection made to the letter of this hiſtory is in relation to the ſerpent, and particularly the improbability of his having the uſe of ſpeech, and rational diſcourſe; for, to ſuppoſe an evil ſpirit, or the devil, made uſe of the organs of this animal, has no foundation in the text of *Moſes*, who attributes the ſeduction of *Eve* to the natural craftineſs of the ſerpent only. Beſides, the very ſpeech of ſuch an animal, if *Eve* had taken it to be dumb, muſt have ſo frighted her, that ſhe would ſcarce have ſtaid and entered into a conference with it. And if the ſerpent had originally the gift of ſpeech, but loſt it, as a puniſhment of his crime in ſeducing the woman, *Moſes* would ſurely not have paſſed it over in ſilence, and mentioned ſo ſmall a penalty as going on his belly, and licking the duſt; the meaning of which words it is not eaſy to explain, unleſs we ſay, that the ſerpent did before walk upright, or on four feet; for, if he crept from the beginning, it ſeems ridiculous to impoſe, as a puniſhment for a crime, what he was by nature ſubject to.

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As to the trees, the nature of them both seem to have been very extraordinary: the tree of life, it is said, had the virtue to prolong life considerably, if not for ever. But if the longævity or immortality of men had depended only on one tree, what if *Adam* had not sinned? how could his posterity, when they were dispersed over the whole earth, have been able to come and gather fruit from this tree? or how could one tree have sufficed all mankind; The nature of the tree of knowlege is still more difficult to conceive; it seems to have instilled into our first parents a new sense of shame and modesty, to which, before the fall, they were utter strangers. But a very different virtue is intimated to have been in the tree, that, on eating of it, a man became as a god, knowing good and evil.

SOME further objections have been also made to this history; as the slightness of the crime for which so terrible a punishment has been laid on mankind (for which reason some have thought *Moses*'s design in this relation was to authorize the rigour of his own laws); the improbability of *Adam* and *Eve*'s sewing fig-leaves together without thread or needle, and of GOD's making them coats of skins, and consequently by himself, or (as is more decent to suppose) by an angel, killing and flaying the animals; and the needless precaution of placing cherubims to guard the entrance of the garden, lest the exiles should endeavour to repossess themselves of it by fraud or force [q].

CONCLUDING, therefore, that these things will not bear a literal construction, an allegorical or figurative sense has been put on this whole account: and it is pretended, that the history of the fall exhibits the defection of the soul; the serpent represents concupiscence; the man, to whom he durst not apply himself, is the picture of reason; and the woman, whom he so easily seduced and overcame, is the emblem of sense; and so on [r].

*The literal sense defended.*

BUT though it cannot be denied, that some of the antient philosophers affected such an allegorical way of writeing, to conceal their notions from the vulgar, and keep their learning within the bounds of their own school; yet it is apparent *Moses* had no such design; and, as he pre-

[q] Sic vacat exiguis rebus adesse Deo. Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. ii. c. 7. See also PHIL. Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 36. MAIMON. more nevoch. part ii. c. 30. [r] See SAURIN's dissertations.

tends

tends only to relate matters of fact, just as they happened, without art or disguise, it cannot be supposed, but that this history of the fall is to be taken in a literal sense, as well as the rest of his writings.

As to the particular objections which have been mentioned, and first as to the serpent; it is answered, that, as *Moses* contents himself with relating facts as they appeared, without any comment or explication, he makes the serpent, it is true, who was the visible instrument, to have been the seducer of the woman, and says nothing of the latent efficient cause: for which reason some of the antient *Jews* were of opinion, that the whole passage is to be understood of a real serpent, which creature they supposse had originally the gift of reason and speech; so that *Eve* might well have understood him (F). Others, thinking this too difficult of belief, have imagined, that it was not a real serpent, but only the devil under that name: but this opinion is no less liable to exception. For though the devil is frequently styled in Scripture the serpent, and the *old serpent*; yet, why he should be called *the most subtle beast of the field*, we cannot conceive; neither will the punishment inflicted on the serpent suffer us to doubt but that a serpent's body, at least, was employed in the transaction.

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*The tempter was the devil, who abused the body of the serpent.*

THE most common, therefore, and indeed the only probable opinion is, that it was the devil, some wicked and malicious spirit (probably the chief of those beings), who envied the happiness of mankind, and was thereupon resolved to bring them into the same miserable condition with himself, and his apostate companions; and that, to effect his purpose, he made use of a serpent's body (G), as the most proper organ to carry on his fraud with success. And this seems reasonable, not only from the improbability of a brute beast's over-reaching mankind in their highest

(F) *Josephus* supposes, that all creatures at that time used the same language; and that the serpent, conversing familiarly with *Adam* and *Eve*, excited by envy of their happiness, maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of knowlege; for which, among other punishments, he was deprived of the use of speech, and of his feet, and obliged ever after to crawl upon the ground (1). Of the same opinion are *Aben Ezra*, and others.

(G) The *Arabs*, before *Mohammed*, believed, that the devils were transformed into serpents (2).

(1) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 1. §. 4. (2) *Reland. de rel. Moham. l.* ii. *p.* 271.

pitch

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pitch of understanding, but from the attestation of other parts of Scripture, where the devil is called *the old serpent* [t]; and is by our Saviour himself said to have been *a murderer from the beginning*, or the first creation, alluding to his mischievous destruction of mankind at that time; the author of the book of *Wisdom*, who was well acquainted with the doctrines of the Jewish church, also telling us, that, *by the envy of the devil, death came into the world* [u].

*Why he made choice of that creature.*

WHY the devil should chuse the body of a serpent rather than that of any other creature, was probably on account of that subtlety attributed to him by *Moses*; which may not, perhaps, so much denote the craft and insidiousness, as the familiar and insinuating nature, of this creature (H). That the serpent before the fall was mild and gentle, and more familiar with man than any other creature; and that he did not then creep on the ground, but went erect (I); and had, by his engaging behaviour, gained, in some measure, the good-will of our first parents; is not only the sentiment of *Jews* [x] and *Christians* [y], but seems likewise to have some foundation in Scripture: for when GOD says, that he will put enmity between the serpent and the woman, and between his seed and her seed, it must be implied, that there was some kind of friendship between them before.

IT is no way unreasonable therefore to suppose, that this creature was beloved both by *Adam* and *Eve*: she especially might be delighted with it; she laid it perhaps in her bosom, adorned her neck with its windings, or made it a bracelet for her arms. So that its being so intimate with the woman, made it the properer instrument for the devil's purpose; who, sliding into it, might wantonly play before her, until he insensibly brought her to the forbidden

[t] Revel. xii. 9. Ibid. xx. 2. [u] Wisd. ii. 24. [x] JOSEPH. antiq. ubi supra. [y] BASIL. homil. de paradiso. DAMASCEN. de orthodox. fid. lib. ii. c. 10.

(H) The *Mohammedans* have a tradition, that the devil, offering to get into paradise, to tempt *Adam*, was not admitted by the guard. Whereupon he begged of the animals, one after another, to carry him in, that he might speak to *Adam* and his wife; but they all refused him, except the serpent, who took him between two of his teeth, and so introduced him (3).

(I) The *Mohammedans* also say, that the serpent was then of a beautiful form, and not in the shape he now bears (4).

(3) *See Marracc. in Al Koran, p.* 22. (4) *Vid. ibid.*

tree;

tree; and then, twisting round its branches, might take of the fruit, and eat, to shew her, by experience, that there was nothing of death contained in it, before he began to bespeak her; and his speech might be the less surprising to her, because she might probably think (as he might positively affirm), that this new-acquired faculty proceeded from the virtue of the fruit. Year of the world 1. Year before Christ 4004.

*Of what kind the serpent probably was.*

But this conjecture is still more probable, if we will but allow, that the serpent, whose body the devil possessed, was not of a common ordinary species, but something like that flying fiery sort, which, as we are told, are bred in *Arabia* and *Egypt*. They are of a shining yellowish colour like brass; and, by the motion of their wings, and vibration of their tails, reverberating the sun-beams, make a glorious appearance. Now if the serpent, whose body the devil abused, was of this kind (though perhaps of a species far more glorious), it was a proper creature for his purpose: for these serpents are called in Scripture *seraphs* or *seraphim*[z], and gave name to those bright angelical beings, which we commonly understand by that appellation; it being very probable, from the representations of them tolerated in the Jewish church, that the angels, when they ministred to *Adam* and *Eve*, were wont to put on certain splendid forms; some of them the form of cherubim, or beautiful flying oxen, and others the shape of seraphim, winged and shining serpents. The devil therefore might usurp the organs of one of these shining serpents, which, by his art and skill in natural causes, he might improve into such a surpassing brightness, as to represent to *Eve* the angelical appearance or shechinah (K) to which she was accustomed; and, having done this, it was no wonder, that he so easily deceived her.

However this be, it is reasonable to suppose, that it was some beautiful creature, whom *Eve* took to be an angel that wished her well, while he discoursed with her. For it is impossible to conceive, that she should be so simple and ignorant, as to think that beasts could speak, much less that they knew more of God's mind than herself: nor seems it credible, that she could be deceived but by a creature which appeared so gloriously as to make her mistake it for an heavenly minister, who might come to explain to

[z] Numb. xxi. 6.

(K) This seems to be the opinion of *Tertullian*, when he tells us, that *Eve* gave attention to the serpent, as to the Son of God, &c. (1).

(1) *De præscript. hæret. p.* 220.

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her the divine command. And, if we observe in what manner the tempter addresses himself to her (L), we shall find this supposition confirmed.

*His accosting* Eve.

It is not improbable [a], that the seducer, before he spoke to *Eve*, represented himself as one of the heavenly court, who came to congratulate the happiness that God had bestowed on them in paradise; which was so great, that he could not easily believe he had denied them any of the fruit of the garden: he desired therefore to be satisfied from her own mouth of the truth of what he pretended to have heard; and, as the woman acquainted him with the whole prohibition, he first suggests, that she mistook the meaning of it; that death could not be the punishment of so small a fault; and, to flatter her ambition, deludes her with a false promise, that, on eating the fruit, which he pretended had a sovereign quality to illuminate the understanding, and advance the other faculties of the soul, she and her husband should immediately become as angels, nay, as gods; and their happiness be inconceivably great, and independent on any but themselves.

This seems to have been the purport of the serpent's words, by which he gained the ear of *Eve*; and she, allured by the beauty of the fruit, and pushed on by curiosity and vanity, could not resist the temptation; and, when she had eat, was so far from being sensible of her condition, that, fansying herself already in possession of the chimerical happiness which had been promised her, she invited her husband to partake with her. And he, it is probable, after some reluctance, was prevailed on, by her charms and endearments, to violate the command, contrary to his sense of duty, and to share the fate which God's indignation for her transgression should bring upon her [b].

The sentence denounced on the serpent cannot seem strange, if we consider how different his original form was from his present; and that God probably intended the debasement of that once glorious creature, not so much

[a] See Bishop Patrick's commentary. [b] See Stackhouse's body of divinity, p 284, &c.

(L) The learned *Abravanel* supposes the whole to be only dumb shew; and that the serpent did not speak at all, neither did *Eve* say any thing to it; but that, being a very nimble and active creature, it got upon the tree of knowlege, took and eat of the fruit; that *Eve*, having seen it several times do so, and not die, concluded with herself, that the said fruit did not occasion death, and that it might not only be grateful to the taste, but procure them that knowlege, which God seemed to have grudged them (2).

(2) *Stackhouse's body of divinity, p. 287.*

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to expreſs his indignation againſt the beaſt, as to make it a monument of man's unhappy fall, and a teſtimony of his diſpleaſure againſt ſin: nor could this be unjuſt; the mere inſtrument of an enormous crime being deteſtable, and often deſtroyed by human laws; and this great change in the ſerpent, perhaps, not felt, at leaſt, not diſtinguiſhed or conceived by him as a misfortune [c].

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*The account of the two trees not incredible.*

In reference to the two trees, which ſeem to be ſo very extraordinary, it is but reaſonable to imagine there was a wide difference between the ſtate of innocence, and our preſent condition; and conſequently, that there were ſome things conſonant to the firſt ſtate, which are very incongruous to our preſent. Now of thoſe *Moſes* has mentioned but a few, and, among them, theſe trees. As to the tree of life, nothing can be more agreeable to a ſtate of innocence, which ſeems to imply a ſtate of immortality; and ſomething was requiſite to make men immortal, when their bodies were not ſo; and what can be ſuppoſed more effectual than the fruit of ſuch a tree! When God had deſigned, that mens bodies ſhould never yield to death, it ſeems but reaſonable he ſhould direct them to the eating of ſuch a fruit, whoſe juice was of that ſpirituous nature, as to impregnate their blood with an indefatigable vigour, and to keep them up in conſtant youth, without pain, diſeaſe, or weakneſs, till ſuch time as he ſhould tranſlate them to a better world (M). Whether this tree was the only one of the ſpecies, is uncertain; but if it was, it is probable, that, had there been no lapſe, many of them would have been tranſplanted to other parts of the world, as the innocent offspring had increaſed; and, when mankind had ſinned, it is likely God would have deſtroyed this ſpecies out of the world, as now grown uſeleſs and inconſiſtent with the curſe and puniſhment of man. And of this tree the heathens ſeem to have had ſome traditional notion, when they ſpeak of the *nectar* and *ambroſia*, which maintained the

[c] See Nicholls's conf. vol. i.

(M) It is the joint opinion of the beſt antient writers, both *Jewiſh* and *Chriſtian*, that in caſe our firſt parents had continued in their obedience, they would, after ſuch a time of trial as the divine wiſdom ſhould think convenient, have been tranſlated or removed from earth to heaven; and that their poſterity likewiſe would have been liable to no ſorrow or miſery of any kind, but poſſeſſed of conſtant happineſs, and, in their ſeveral courſes and ſucceſſions, taken up into a heavenly paradiſe (1).

(1) *See Bull's ſtate of man before the fall. Barcepha de parad. part* i. *c.* 22.

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immortality of their gods, and moly, which was the great panacea, or univerſal medicine celebrated by the poets [d].

THE tree of the knowlege of good and evil is conceived to have been ſo called, either becauſe it had really a virtue to open man's underſtanding, and to make him diſtinguiſh between good and evil; or elſe, becauſe the eating of it would eventually teach him the difference between the *good* of obedience, and the *evil* of tranſgreſſion [e]: but others ſuppoſe it ſo called, merely from the devil's pretending it had a virtue to confer knowlege, having received its name from the unfortunate deception; though it be, in a preceding paſſage, called the tree of knowlege of good and evil, by way of anticipation: and, as to GOD's ſaying, *Behold, the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil*; that is taken to be a bitter irony, to upbraid man with his fooliſh diſobedience and diſappointment [f].

BUT what particular tree this tree of knowlege was, has been a matter of much conjecture; the vine, the apple, the common, and *Indian* fig-tree [g] (N), and wheat, though no

[d] Idem ibid. [e] Vid. BARCEPHAM de parad. part i. c. 19. EDWARDS's ſurvey, vol. i. [f] Vid. NICHOLLS, ubi ſupra. [g] Vid. BARCEPHAM, ubi ſup. p. 48.

(N) *Goropius Becanus* is moſt confident, it was the *Indian* fig-tree; which notion, however, he did not borrow from *Moſes Barcephas*, as Sir *Walter Raleigh* ſuppoſes (2). The chief reaſons urged why it ſhould be this tree, are, 1. The goodneſs of the fruit, and fairneſs of the tree. 2. The breadth of its leaves, very commodious for hiding the nakedneſs of *Adam* and *Eve*, which it is ſuppoſed they would cover as ſoon as ever they perceived it; and therefore from the forbidden tree, that being the next at hand. 3. The largeneſs and thickneſs of the tree, very proper to conceal them, as they imagined, from the preſence of GOD. But here *Becanus*, from the words of the vulgate verſion, *in medio ligni*, imagined they hid themſelves in the body of the tree itſelf, though the ſtem of the *Indian* fig-tree, notwithſtanding the extravagant ſize given it by ſome authors, be not very large. As Sir *Walter Raleigh*, who had himſelf ſeen many of theſe trees in *America*, has given a deſcription of them, we think it worth while to tranſcribe it: "They grow, "ſays he, in moiſt grounds, "and in this manner: After "they are firſt ſhot up ſome

(2) *Barcepha takes it, indeed, to have been the fig-tree; but does not join the word* Indian *to it, as we can find.*

"twenty

no tree, have all put in their claims (O): and though the generality are for the common fig-tree, yet what *Moſes* has ſo induſtriouſly concealed, is above the power of any to diſcover. *Philo* the *Jew*, according to his cuſtom, allegorizes what is ſaid of both theſe trees, ſuppoſing that no ſuch ever were, nor ever will be, in the world [m] (P).

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*The trial by forbidding a fruit, rational.*

THAT the trial of man's obedience ſhould be by ſuch a prohibition as is mentioned by *Moſes*, ſeems perfectly rational, and adapted to the ſtate of innocence: no moral precept could have been at all proper for that purpoſe, becauſe there was then ſcarce a poſſibility of their tranſgreſſing any ſuch: it muſt therefore have been ſome in-

[m] PHILO Jud. de mundi opificio, p. 35.

" twenty or thirty foot in " length (ſome more, ſome leſs, " according to the ſoil), they " ſpread a very large top, having no bough nor twig in the " trunk or ſtem; for from the " utmoſt end of the head-" branches, there iſſueth out a " gummy juice, which hangeth " downward like a cord or fi-" new, and within a few months " reacheth the ground; which " it no ſooner toucheth, but it " taketh root; and then, being " filled, both from the top " boughs, and from his own " proper root, this cord maketh " itſelf a tree exceeding haſtily. " From the utmoſt boughs of " theſe young trees there fall " again the like cords, which " in one year, and leſs (in that " world of perpetual ſpring), " become alſo trees of the big-" neſs of the nether part of a " lance, and as ſtrait as nature " and art can make any thing; " caſting ſuch a ſhade, and making ſuch a grove, as no other " tree in the world can do. " Now one of theſe trees, conſidered with all his young " ones, may, indeed, ſhroud four " hundred, or four thouſand " horſemen, if they pleaſe; for " they cover whole valleys.—— " But that they bear any ſuch " huge leaves, or any ſuch de-" licate fruit, I could never " find (3)."

(O) The *Mohammedans* have the like different opinions among them, relating to this tree: ſome affirm, it was an ear of wheat; others, a fig-tree; and a third party, a vine (4).

(P) Thoſe who admire allegorical interpretations, will have the forbidden fruit to have been no other than the ſenſual act of generation, for which the puniſhment inflicted on the woman was, the pain of childbirth (5). But this opinion has not the leaſt foundation in the words of *Moſes*; eſpecially, if we conſider, that *Adam* knew not his wife till after their expulſion out of paradiſe.

(3) *Hiſt. of the world, part* I. *book* i. *c.* 4. §. 2. (4) *Vid. Marract. in Alc. p.* 22. (5) *Vid. Barcepham de parad. ubi ſup. Leon Hebreu, philoſophie d'amour, dial.* iii. *p.* 620, *&c.*

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different action, neither good nor evil in itself, but so far only as it was commanded or forbidden. And what so natural and agreeable to the state of our first parents (considering they were to live all their lives in a garden) as the forbidding them to eat of the fruit of a certain tree in that garden? a tree near at hand, and which might give them, every moment, an opportunity of shewing their observance of the divine command, by their abstaining from it [n].

*And the punishment consequently just.*

And this takes off the objection against the punishment inflicted on man for his disobedience, as too severe, and no way proportionable to the offence: for we are deceived, if we suppose, that good and evil is only in the nature of the thing, and not in the commands and prohibitions of God. And, considering this crime to have been a downright rebellion against God, and committed against the cleareſt conviction of conscience, with other aggravating circumstances; it will appear to have been a crime so heinous, that nothing, now-a-days, can be supposed to resemble it.

*The circumstances of the apron and coats explained.*

No sooner was the intoxicating juice of the forbidden tree gone off, and the criminals began to return to their senses again, but the eyes (Q) of their understanding were opened, and they perceived their own nakedness (R), and

[n] See Stackhouse's body of divinity, p. 281. Nicholls's confer. ubi supra.

(Q) The expression, that *the eyes of them were opened*, occasioned a popular belief, that *Adam* and *Eve* were blind till they had transgressed; which imagination St. *Austin* has taken the pains to refute (1).

(R) By perceiving their nakedness, a late writer conceives, no more is meant, than that they were sensible of their transgression. Thus after the golden calf was consecrated, *Moses* is said to have seen the people *naked* (Exod. xxxii. 25.). And in the new testament γυμνὸς is sometimes taken for a sinner. Others, indeed, suppose, that the fruit of this forbidden tree provoked our first parents to lust, and some indecent motions of the body: for, according to the modesty of the Hebrew tongue, *nakedness* may well enough denote an irregular appetite to venereal pleasures (and this is the opinion of St. *Austin*, mentioned hereafter). But our author thinks this conjecture is without any manner of foundation; and that it is hard to conceive how *Adam* and *Eve* should not know themselves to be naked before their fall; or why they should be more ashamed of their nakedness then,

(1) *August. de civit. Dei, l.* xiv. *c.* 17.

and the foul degradation of their nature; to conceal which, as far as they were able, they twiſted or platted the flexible branches of the fig-tree round their waiſts; ſo that the broad leaves, hanging down, might ſerve them inſtead of aprons: for we muſt not imagine, that they ſewed the leaves together, as taylors do their cloth, which is more than the words of *Moſes* imply (S).

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JUDGMENT being paſſed on all that were concerned in this unhappy affair, it is ſaid, that GOD, before he drove *Adam* and *Eve* out of paradiſe, cloathed them with ſkins; which it is conceived is not neceſſarily to be underſtood, as if GOD himſelf, or even an angel, made the coats; it being common for the *Hebrew* tongue verbally to attribute things to GOD, which are not done by his immediate act, but by his direction, or even by the permiſſion of his ordinary providence. So that it is probable, *Adam* and *Eve* only received inſtructions how to make them [o].

*The cherubim and flaming ſword, what.*

AS to the cherubim and flaming ſword placed to guard the way of the tree of life, there are ſeveral opinions concerning them. They who place paradiſe in the ſouthern hemiſphere, conceive the ſword to have been no more than the torrid zone, which, in the parallel ſituation the earth is then ſuppoſed to have had, muſt have been a region of flame intolerably hot, like a furnace, and, conſequently, impaſſable; its incompaſſing the whole earth ſufficiently anſwering the *Moſaic* deſcription [p], that it turned every way. Others have thought it to have been a wall, or circle of fire, incompaſſing paradiſe [q] (T); and that this flame was an accenſion,

[o] Ibid. [p] TERTULLIAN. apolog. cap. 47. Vid. BURNET's theory, book ii. c. 7. Theor. ſacr. telluris, l. ii. c. 6.
[q] Pſeudo-anſelm. elucid. c. 15.

than they were before. When they were the only inhabitants of the world, their bed, under the canopy of heaven, was equally as chaſte as if it had been covered, and incloſed; and therefore this nakedneſs of theirs muſt, in his opinion, be underſtood in a figurative ſenſe (1).

(S) The original word חפר, which is tranſlated *ſewed*, ſignifies no more than to *put together*, to *apply*, or *fit*; in which ſenſe it is uſed *Job* xvi. 15. and *Ezek.* xiii. 18. And עלה, which we render *leaves*, ſignifies, alſo, branches of trees, ſuch as were fit to make booths, or bowers; *Nehem.* viii. 15. (2).

(T) The words commonly rendered *flaming ſword*, are, in the original, the *flame of cutting*,

(1) *Le Clerc's diſſertat.*
(2) *Dr. Nicholls's conf. ubi ſupra.*

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cension of some inflammable matter round about the garden, which excluded all comers to it, till the beauty of it was defaced: which opinion may be more probable to them who place paradise about *Babylon*, where there is such an abundance of naphtha and bitumen, and where there are fields, which, even yet, at some time of the year, seem all on fire. And if it be objected, that the cherubims had nothing to do with such a wall; it is answered, that it is usual for the Scriptures to express all extraordinary works of GOD by angels; as to call a plague, or famine, a destroying angel; and the like [r]. Some rabbins [s] are of opinion, that this flaming sword was an angel; which they found on that passage where it is said, that GOD maketh his angels spirits, and his ministers a flaming fire [t]. And hence it has been imagined, that this flaming sword, which was esteemed by the *Jews* a second angel, was of a different kind from the cherubim, *viz.* a seraph, or flaming angel, in the form of a flying fiery serpent, whose body vibrated in the air with lustre, and may be fitly described by the image of such a sword [u].

*The effects of the fall, on man, and on the ground.*

HAVING thus examined the circumstances of the fall, it may be proper to consider the effects it had upon our first parents, and their posterity, and also upon the ground, which was cursed for their sake.

THE unhappy pair did not, indeed, die immediately; but they became subject to death, which continually hung over their heads; the time they had to live being but as the space between a criminal's condemnation and his execution. They had lost GOD's favour, and forfeited paradise: the necessaries of life were now to be gotten by hard labour of the man, and child-birth was to be attended with great pain in the woman: so that the remembrance of their past happiness, and the prospect of the innumerable miseries to which they had made themselves, and their off-spring, obnoxious, must needs fill them with regret and despair. For since they could not, by generation, transmit any thing to their posterity, but what they had themselves; their de-

[r] NICHOLLS, ubi supra. [s] Vid. MAIMONID. more nevoch. p. i. cap. 49. [t] Psalm civ. 4. [u] TENNISON of idolatry.

*ting*, or *division*, or a *dividing flame*: for the same word which signifies a *sword*, signifies, also, *division*; and is, in the new testament, translated both ways (1).

(1) *See Matth.* x. 34. *& Luke* xii. 51. *Nicholls, ubi sup.*

scendants

ſcendants were deſtined, in like manner, to undergo the troubles of life, and the pains and agonies of death, the neceſſary conſequences of *Adam*'s tranſgreſſion: nor is there in this, any injuſtice; we being thereby deprived only of what he had no title to. But that we are thereby become the objects of GOD's wrath, and deſerving eternal damnation, by the imputation of the guilt of *Adam*'s ſin (which is the doctrine of St. *Auſtin* and his diſciples, thence named *Supralapſarians*), has ſeemed, to many, a very harſh opinion, and to reflect on the goodneſs and juſtice of GOD. Year of the World, 1. Year before Chriſt, 4004.

As this is a point greatly controverted among divines [x], and foreign to our preſent deſign, we ſhall only ſay, that the general manifeſt depravity and corruption of human nature, ſo very different from what we muſt ſuppoſe it to have been in its original ſtate, would induce us to believe it the effect of our firſt parents tranſgreſſion; whereupon, unruly paſſions and appetites got that ſuperiority over, and influence on our wills, which reaſon alone ought to have; and this might be poſſibly occaſioned, in ſome degree at leaſt, by the infirmities which our bodies neceſſarily contracted, by proceeding from ſuch a root, and by the great change brought on the earth, air, and other elements, by the curſe. For whatever the antients have ſaid of the plenty and happineſs of the golden age, ſeems chiefly to have been ſome broken notions and traditions of man's firſt eſtate in paradiſe, and of that univerſal harmony wherein the world, and all things, would have continued, had not his fall introduced a change. The fruits of the earth were at firſt ſpontaneous; and the ſoil, without being torn and tormented, ſatisfied the wants and deſires of man; but, upon his apoſtaſy from GOD, as a puniſhment for his ſin, GOD curſed the ground, which immediately brought forth thorns and thiſtles: for we muſt not ſuppoſe, with ſome, that the original fertility of the earth continued till the deſtruction brought upon it by the univerſal deluge. The deluge was, indeed, the completion of the curſe, but ſome conſiderable effects of it appeared before; otherwiſe, how could *Adam* be ſaid to eat bread in ſorrow, and in the ſweat of his face, all the days of his life? As the earth was impoveriſhed on man's tranſgreſſion, ſo the air, and other elements, became diſordered, in ſome meaſure unwholſome, and ſometimes fatal. Hence proceeded famines, peſtilences, earthquakes, ſtorms, and all manner of natural calamities,

[x] See STACKHOUSE's body of divinity, p. 295, &c.

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which caused an innumerable variety of diseases and distempers [y].

But, in order to give a more clear idea in what degree and manner nature became impaired by the fall, it may be proper to consider the constitution of man's body (for what concerns his soul is not properly within the compass of this design), and of the earth in that primitive state; and by what means they were reduced to their present condition.

*The change in the constitution of man.*

As to the constitution of man's body, it appears, that nakedness was then no inconvenience or shame; and, consequently, there was no sense of any need to cover it. Those inclinations which provide for the propagation of mankind, were, it seems, so regular, and so intirely under the command of reason, that not so much as an apron was esteemed necessary to hide those parts which all the world have since thought proper to conceal [z]. But some have imagined, that, in case man had persevered in his state of innocence, there would have been no matrimonial commerce, but mankind would have been otherwise propagated (V); and this the antient fathers were inclined to believe, from their prepossession in favour of the merits and excellency of celibacy [a]. This opinion St. *Austin* combated by very strong arguments [b]; such as the benediction of God, and his command to increase and multiply; the distinction of the sexes preceding the fall; and the absurdity of supposing sin to have been necessary for the propagation of mankind. Yet he agrees, that, in the state of innocence, the work of generation would have been carried on without any mixture of passion, or loss of virginity; and that man would then have proceeded to the propagation of his species, whenever he judged it requisite, without any incitement of lust. In the primitive state, also, the temper of the human body seems to have been more soft, pliable, and alterable, than now it is: some sorts of fruits and food were able to cause a mighty change therein,

[y] Vid. Stackhouse, ubi sup. [z] Vid. Whiston's theory, book iii. p. 238. [a] Vid. Salian. annal. tom. i. p. 174. Cornel. à Lapide, in Gen. ii. Barcepham de parad. part. i. c. 25. [b] August. de civit. Dei, l. xiv. c. 21, &c.

(V) *Paracelsus* was so firmly persuaded of this, that he maintained *Adam* and *Eve* to have been created without the parts of generation; which afterwards grew out of their bodies, like excrescences (1).

(1) *Apud Vossium de philos. cap. 9. p. 71.*

either

either to fix and adapt it to its present condition, or discompose and disorder it. Thus the fruit of the tree of life had the virtue of rendering the body permanent and immortal, on the one hand; and that of the tree of knowlege, of bringing upon it diseases, corruptions, and mortality, on the other: but the first effect of this latter fruit is supposed to have been the revolt of the parts subservient to generation, which, it is pretended, appears from the shame which immediately seized those who had tasted it (W). And, to say the truth, since man, in his fallen state, was unable to conform himself to the dictates of reason, love was necessarily to be introduced into the world; for otherwise it is not conceived how mankind could have subsisted: so that the passions were then raised, in order to induce men to do that to satisfy their appetites, which before they did merely from prudential considerations [c].

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THERE was also a considerable difference between the condition of the woman before the fall, and that which she has since been in; particularly, she was then in a state of greater equality with the man, and little more subject to sorrow in the propagation of posterity than he [d]. Nay, the very animals seem to have been, at that time, in a state of greater capacities and operations; nearer approaching to reason and discourse, and partakers of higher degrees of perfection and happiness than they have been ever since [e].

*The change in the constitution of the earth how effected, according to Dr. Burnet;*

WHEREIN the fecundity and amenity of the primitive earth consisted, and by what means it became so much altered for the worse, is difficult to be determined. It is, indeed, presently accounted for, if we have recourse to the divine interposition, and suppose that the sterility of the earth, and malignity of the air, and the general depravation of nature, was effected by GOD, or his subordinate agents. But to assign a probable natural cause of such effects, is not so easy. Dr. *Burnet*'s notion is, that the fertility and paradisiacal state of the first earth was intirely owing to a perpetual equinox, the consequence of the situation of its axis, which he supposes to have been then parallel to the axis of the ecliptic, in which it was carried about the sun with the other planets. And that it really had such a situation, he

[c] Vid. BAYLE, dict. hist. art. Eve, rem. F. [d] Vid. WHISTON's theory, book iii. p. 239. [e] Ibid. p. 240.

(W) Some rabbins, also, seem to have attributed this to the natural quality of the forbidden fruit (1).

(1) *Vid. Bayle, dict. hist. art. Eve, rem. C.*

thinks,

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thinks, needs no other proof than its own evidence; for it is the immediate result and common effect of gravity or libration, that a body left freely to itself, in a fluid medium, should settle in such a posture as best answers to its gravitation: and the first earth being uniform, regular, and every way equally balanced [f], there was no reason why it should incline at one end, more than the other, towards the sun. And this position he supposes the earth kept till the deluge, when it was so broken and divided, according to his hypothesis, that it lost its equal poise; and the centre of its gravity changing, one pole became more inclined to the sun, and the other more removed from it; and so the parallel situation, which it had before, was changed to an oblique one; whence proceeded the variety of seasons, and those irregularities in the temperature of the air, which have since obtained [g]. But this does not account for the immediate effect of God's curse on the earth, which, as has been observed, must by no means be deferred so late as to the flood.

*—and Mr. Whiston.*

To avoid this difficulty, Mr. *Whiston* has supposed, that the earth, in its primitive state, had no diurnal motion about its own axis, but only an annual motion about the sun; so that the sun and planets then rose in the west, and set in the east, contrary to what they have ever since done (X).

[f] See the introduction, p. 76, 77.

[g] Burnet's theory of the earth, book ii. c. 3.

(X) This, he thinks, may have been the foundation of that story in *Herodotus* (1), who tells us, that the sun, in the space of eleven thousand three hundred and forty years, four times inverted his course, and rose in the west. But what he mainly depends on, is that discourse in *Plato* (2), where relating some very antient traditions (as he expressly says they are, and delivered by our first parents to their posterity) about the primitive state of things, he says, that there was a great change made in the heavenly motions, the sun and other stars formerly setting in the same place where they now rise, and rising where they now set; which change he attributes to God, who sometimes directs the motion of the universe himself, and, at other times, after so many periodical revolutions as he sees fitting, leaves it; whereupon it is, as it were, spontaneously carried about by a motion contrary to the former. And this change *Plato* reckons the greatest, and most intire, of any the heavenly bodies undergo.

(1) *Herodot. l.* ii. *c.* 142. (2) *Plato, in politic. p.* 274, 275.

On

On this ſuppoſition, as well as the former, there would alſo be a perpetual equinox through the world, which characters the fathers uſually applied to the paradiſiacal ſtate, and the antient Heathens to the golden age [h]. The great change, therefore, which was made in nature, at the fall, he takes to be the commencing of a new motion, or rotation of the earth about its preſent axis: by this means, the poles of the world, which, to the firſt inhabitants of the earth (dwelling near the interſection of the antient ecliptic with the preſent northern tropic), were neither conſiderably elevated nor depreſſed, ſuddenly changed their ſituation; the northern pole appeared to be elevated above, and the ſouthern depreſſed below the horizon: and the courſe of the heavens ſeemed bent, or inclined to the ſouthern parts of the world (Y). And the probable mechanical cauſe of this commencement of the earth's diurnal motion, after its annual had continued ſome time, aſſigned by him, is, the impulſe of a comet, with little or no atmoſphere, or of a central ſolid hitting obliquely upon the earth along ſome parts of its preſent equator; from which impulſe, both the annual orbit of the earth would be altered, and a vertiginous motion, about a new and real axis, would certainly commence. And he obſerves, that, in all probability, this comet was of the bigneſs of one of the ſmall ſecondary, rather than of the large primary planets: for otherwiſe, by its cauſing vaſt tides in the abyſs, after it was paſſed by, it would have occaſioned many more alterations in the

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[h] Vid. Burnet's theor. l. ii. c. 1, & 10. Archæol. l. ii. c. 5, & 6.

(Y) The inclination of the earth is much inſiſted upon by the antients. *Plutarch* tells us, that *Leucippus* was of opinion, the earth fell towards the ſouth, becauſe of the rareneſs of thoſe parts; the northern regions being grown rigid and compact, while the ſouthern were ſcorched, or on fire (1). *Democritus* and *Empedocles* gave nearly the ſame reaſon for it; and *Diogenes* and *Anaxagoras* ſpecify the very time when this happened; *viz.* after the firſt coalition of the world, and the production of animals out of the earth: and they thought this inclination was, probably, the effect of providence, on purpoſe that ſome parts of the world might become habitable, and others uninhabitable, by reaſon of the frigid, torrid, and temperate climates thereof (2).

(1) *Plut. de placit. philoſ. l.* iii. *c.* 12. (2) *Idem ibid. l.* ii. *c.* 8.

earth

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earth than we have reaſon to believe happened at that time[i] (Z).

BUT, beſides the impreſſion of this new motion, another effect of ſuch a colliſion of a comet would be the change of the earth's orbit from an ellipſis, as it was before the fall, to a perfect circle. For Mr. *Whiſton* ſuppoſes the reduction of the very oblong eccentrical orbit of the earth into a circular one, which he thinks it had before the deluge, was gradual, and not done all at once; the greateſt part at the commencing of the *Moſaic* creation, and the reſt at the commencing of the diurnal motion. All this being ſuppoſed, and that providence adjuſted all circumſtances ſo as ſhould be moſt for the advantage of the regions adjoining to paradiſe, where, alone, *Adam*, and the other creatures, dwelt in this ſtate; we ſhall have the earth revolving in a moderately eccentrical ellipſis, without any diurnal rotation, about the ſun, in the ſpace of a year: we ſhall have ſome diameter of the earth, which paſſed near paradiſe, parallel to the longer axis of its ellipſis, and the place of paradiſe reſpecting nearly the ſame fixed ſtars with the *perihelion* of the ellipſis. Which being again ſuppoſed, we may obſerve, that as a circular orbit is much the beſt for a globe inhabited all round (as the earth was deſigned to be after the fall), that providing equally for the convenience of both hemiſpheres; ſo is this elliptic orbit the beſt for a globe inhabited but in one place, as the earth was in its primitive ſtate; this providing, peculiarly, for the hap-

[i] WHISTON's theory, book ii. p. 98, &c.

(Z) That the diurnal motion did not begin till ſome time after the annual, Mr. *Whiſton* imagines to be evinced from the late diſcovery (as it is called) of an internal magnet freely moving within the earth, and from which all the variations of the magnetic needle are ſuppoſed to ariſe. The poles of this interior magnet, being, as they ſuppoſe, diſtant from the earth's axis, ſlowly change their places in reſpect of the external earth, by a motion weſtward: whence he concludes, that the incloſed magnet, or nucleus, has not attained the ſame velocity with the exterior parts in their diurnal revolution, becauſe the impulſe by which the diurnal motion was firſt impreſſed upon the external earth, has not yet been ſo perfectly communicated to the internal magnet, as to equal the firſt motion impreſſed, and ſtill preſerved, by the ſuperior parts of the globe (1).

(1) *Vid. Dr. Halley's theory of the variation of the magnetic needle, Philoſ. Tranſ.* N° 195.

pineſs of that particular ſpot, where, alone, the living part of the creation was to reſide. For the heat of the day-time would gradually increaſe before, and decreaſe after noon, but yet would never be over-violent; becauſe the increaſe of the heat, by the ſun's riſing higher and higher above the horizon in the forenoon, or ſpring, would be prevented, in a great meaſure, by the earth's real receding from him, and approaching nearer his *aphelion*, during the ſame time: and *vice verſâ* in the afternoon, or ſummer, which would render the ſtate of the air more equal and uniform. And thus, alſo, the too long duration of the night would be intirely avoided: for the whole night-time would then bear a ſmall proportion to the day, and amount, perhaps, to no more than two months; out of which muſt be deducted the two twilights, each of near a fortnight, which would reduce the darkneſs of the night itſelf to about a ſingle month; out of which, another fortnight is to be ſtill deducted, for the time of the moon's being above the horizon, and enlightening the earth: ſo that, at laſt, if the moon's *crepuſcula* be allowed for, as they ought to be, we ſhall ſcarce have a week of pure darkneſs, in the whole year, to the great comfort and advantage of this truly-paradiſiacal ſtate[k]; wherein there would be a conſtant warmth, without the frequent interpoſition of cold; an air perfectly clear and homogeneous, and ſuſceptible of the utmoſt power of the ſolar heat; and the ſeaſons equable, or gradually diſtinguiſhed from one another; with other natural conſequences. But ſo ſoon as man had rendered himſelf unworthy of that happy ſtate, and GOD had pronounced a curſe on the ground, preſently the earth began a new and ſtrange motion, and revolved from weſt to eaſt upon its own axis: the ſucceſſion of day and night returned frequently, while the annual motion, performed on a different axis, diſtinguiſhed the ſeaſons, and, in conjunction with the diurnal, deſcribed the equator and the tropics; by which, and the polar circles, the face of the earth was diſtinguiſhed into zones, with reſpect whereto, the particular regions of the earth changed their ſituation; ſo that paradiſe, which was before near the middle, or ecliptic, was now beyond the northern tropic. The figure of the earth, which was before truly ſpherical, degenerated into an oblate ſpheroid; the torrid zone riſing about fifteen or ſixteen miles upwards, and the frigid one ſubſiding as much downwards. The *compages* of the upper earth, and of its

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[k] Ibid. p. 114, &c.

*ſtrata*,

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*ſtrata*, became, thereby, chapped and broken, and ſo carried up the warm ſteams from beneath, ariſing from the hot central ſolid, to particular receptacles and *volcanos*, which before ſerved, in a more equal and uniform manner, to heat and invigorate the intire earth, and its productions [1]. In theſe, and other circumſtances, was the ſtate of nature altered for the worſe on the fall, according to this gentleman's theory.

## SECT. III.

### *The chronology from the creation to the deluge ſtated.*

BEFORE we enter on the hiſtory of the antediluvian world, it will be neceſſary, that we ſhould ſettle the chronology of this period.

As *Moſes* has not ſet down the particular time of any tranſaction before the flood, except only the years of the fathers age, wherein the ſeveral deſcendants of *Adam*, in the line of *Seth*, were begotten, and the length of their ſeveral lives; all we can do, in this period, is, to endeavour to fix the years of the lives and deaths of thoſe patriarchs, and the diſtance of time from the creation to the deluge.

AND this might be eaſily done, if there were no varieties in the ſeveral copies we now have of *Moſes*'s writings, which are, the *Hebrew*, the *Samaritan*, and the *Greek* verſion of the *Septuagint*: but as theſe differ very conſiderably from one another, learned men are much divided in their opinions, concerning the chronology of the firſt ages of the world; ſome preferring one copy, and ſome another.

THAT the reader may the better judge of the variations in the three copies in this period, we ſhall, in the following table, ſubjoin the numbers of each; to which we take the liberty to add thoſe of *Joſephus*, as corrected by Dr. *Wells* and Mr. *Whiſton*, the numbers in the preſent copies of that hiſtorian being greatly corrupted.

[1] Ibid. book iv. p. 353, &c.

A TABLE

## *A* TABLE *of the years of the antediluvian patriarchs.*

| | Their ages at their sons birth. | | | | Years they lived after the sons birth. | | | Length of their lives. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heb. | Sam. | Sept. | Jos. | Heb. | Sam. | Sept. | Heb. | Sam. | Sept. |
| *Adam*, - - | 130 | 130 | 230 | 130 | 800 | 800 | 700 | 930 | 930 | 930 |
| *Seth*, - - - | 105 | 105 | 205 | 105 | 807 | 807 | 707 | 912 | 912 | 912 |
| *Enos*, - - - | 90 | 90 | 190 | 90 | 815 | 815 | 715 | 905 | 905 | 905 |
| *Cainan*, - - | 70 | 70 | 170 | 70 | 840 | 840 | 740 | 910 | 910 | 910 |
| *Mahalaleel*, - | 65 | 65 | 165 | 65 | 830 | 830 | 730 | 895 | 895 | 895 |
| *Jared*, - - | 162 | 62 | 162 | 62 | 800 | 785 | 800 | 962 | 847 | 962 |
| *Enoch*, - - | 65 | 65 | 165 | 65 | 300 | 300 | 200 | 365 | 365 | 365 |
| *Methuselah*, - | 187 | 67 | 187 | 187 | 782 | 653 | 802 | 969 | 720 | 696 |
| *Lamech*, - - | 182 | 53 | 188 | 182 | 595 | 600 | 565 | 777 | 653 | 753 |
| *Noah* was aged at the Flood, | 600 | 600 | 600 | 600 | | | | | | |
| To the Flood, | 1656 | 1307 | 2262 | 1556 | | | | | | |

To this table it will be neceſſary, in order to explain the conſequences of theſe variations, to add ſeparate chronological tables, ſhewing in what year of his contemporaries the birth and death of each patriarch happened, according to the computation of each of the ſaid three copies.

*A Chro-*

## *A Chronological* TABLE *of the years of the patriarchs, according to the computation of the* Hebrew.

| | Years of the world, | Years of *Seth*, | Years of *Enos*, | Years of *Cainan*, | Years of *Mahalaleel*, | Years of *Jared*, | Years of *Enoch*, | Years of *Methuselah*, | Years of *Lamech*, | Years of *Noah*, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Adam* created, | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Seth* born, - | 130 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Enos* born, - | 235 | 105 | | | | | | | | |
| *Cainan* born, | 325 | 195 | 90 | | | | | | | |
| *Mahalaleel* born, | 395 | 265 | 160 | 70 | | | | | | |
| *Jared* born, - | 460 | 330 | 225 | 135 | 65 | | | | | |
| *Enoch* born, - | 622 | 492 | 387 | 297 | 227 | 162 | | | | |
| *Methuselah* born, | 687 | 557 | 452 | 362 | 292 | 227 | 65 | | | |
| *Lamech* born, | 874 | 744 | 639 | 549 | 479 | 414 | 252 | 187 | | |
| *Adam* dies, - | 930 | 800 | 695 | 605 | 535 | 470 | 308 | 243 | 56 | |
| *Enoch* tranſlated, | 987 | 857 | 752 | 662 | 592 | 527 | 365 | 300 | 113 | |
| *Seth* dies, - | 1042 | 912 | 807 | 717 | 647 | 582 | | 355 | 168 | |
| *Noah* born, - | 1056 | | 821 | 731 | 661 | 596 | | 369 | 182 | |
| *Enos* dies, - | 1140 | | 905 | 817 | 745 | 680 | | 453 | 266 | 84 |
| *Cainan* dies, - | 1235 | | | 910 | 840 | 775 | | 548 | 361 | 179 |
| *Mahalaleel* dies, | 1290 | | | | 895 | 830 | | 603 | 416 | 234 |
| *Jared* dies, - | 1422 | | | | | 962 | | 735 | 548 | 366 |
| *Japhet* born, | 1556 | | | | | | | 869 | 682 | 500 |
| *Shem* born, - | 1558 | | | | | | | 871 | 684 | 502 |
| *Lamech* dies, | 1651 | | | | | | | 964 | 777 | 595 |
| *Methuselah* dies, | 1656 | | | | The Flood, | - - | | 969 | | 600 |

## *A Chronological* TABLE *of the years of the patriarchs, according to the computation of the* Septuagint.

| | Years of the world, | Years of *Seth*, | Years of *Enos*, | Years of *Cainan*, | Years of *Mahalaleel*, | Years of *Jared*, | Years of *Enoch*, | Years of *Methuselah*, | Years of *Lamech*, | Years of *Noah*, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Adam* created, | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Seth* born, - | 230 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Enos* born, - | 435 | 205 | | | | | | | | |
| *Cainan* born, | 625 | 395 | 190 | | | | | | | |
| *Mahalaleel* born, | 795 | 565 | 360 | 170 | | | | | | |
| *Adam* dies, - | 930 | 700 | 495 | 305 | 135 | | | | | |
| *Jared* born, - | 960 | 730 | 525 | 335 | 165 | | | | | |
| *Enoch* born, - | 1122 | 892 | 687 | 497 | 327 | 162 | | | | |
| *Seth* dies, - - | 1142 | 912 | 707 | 517 | 347 | 182 | | | | |
| *Methuselah* born, | 1387 | | 852 | 662 | 492 | 327 | 165 | | | |
| *Enos* dies, - | 1340 | | 905 | 715 | 545 | 380 | 218 | | | |
| *Lamech* born, | 1474 | | | 849 | 679 | 514 | 352 | 187 | | |
| *Enoch* tranſlated, | 1487 | | | 862 | 692 | 527 | 365 | 200 | | |
| *Cainan* dies, - | 1535 | | | 910 | 740 | 575 | | 248 | 61 | |
| *Noah* born, - | 1662 | | | | 867 | 702 | | 375 | 188 | |
| *Mahalaleel* dies, | 1690 | | | | 895 | 730 | | 403 | 216 | 28 |
| *Jared* dies, - | 1922 | | | | | 962 | | 635 | 448 | 260 |
| *Japhet* born, - | 2162 | | | | | | | 875 | 688 | 500 |
| *Shem* born, - | 2164 | | | | | | | 877 | 690 | 502 |
| *Lamech* dies, - | 2227 | | | | | | | 940 | 753 | 565 |
| *Methuselah* dies, | 2256 | | | | | | | 969 | | 594 |
| The Flood, - | 2262 | | | | | | | | | 600 |

*A Chronological* TABLE *of the years of the patriarchs, according to the computation of the* Samaritan *pentateuch.*

| | Years of the world, | Years of *Seth*, | Years of *Enos*, | Years of *Cainan*, | Years of *Mahalaleel*, | Years of *Jared*, | Years of *Enoch*, | Years of *Methuselah*, | Years of *Lamech*, | Years of *Noah*, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Adam* created, | 1 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Seth* born, - | 130 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Enos* born, - | 235 | 105 | | | | | | | | |
| *Cainan* born, - | 325 | 195 | 90 | | | | | | | |
| *Mahalaleel* born, | 395 | 265 | 160 | 70 | | | | | | |
| *Jared* born, - | 460 | 330 | 225 | 135 | 65 | | | | | |
| *Enoch* born, - | 522 | 392 | 287 | 197 | 127 | 62 | | | | |
| *Methuselah* born, | 587 | 457 | 352 | 262 | 192 | 127 | 65 | | | |
| *Lamech* born, | 654 | 524 | 419 | 329 | 259 | 194 | 132 | 67 | | |
| *Noah* born, - | 707 | 577 | 472 | 382 | 312 | 247 | 185 | 120 | 53 | |
| *Enoch* translated, | 887 | 757 | 652 | 562 | 497 | 427 | 365 | 300 | 233 | 180 |
| *Adam* dies, - | 930 | 800 | 695 | 605 | 535 | 470 | | 343 | 276 | 223 |
| *Seth* dies, - | 1042 | 912 | 807 | 717 | 647 | 582 | | 462 | 388 | 335 |
| *Enos* dies, - | 1140 | | 905 | 815 | 745 | 680 | | 553 | 486 | 433 |
| *Japhet* born, - | 1207 | | | 882 | 812 | 747 | | 620 | 553 | 500 |
| *Shem* born, - | 1209 | | | 884 | 814 | 749 | | 622 | 555 | 502 |
| *Cainan* dies, - | 1235 | | | 910 | 840 | 775 | | 648 | 581 | 528 |
| *Mahalaleel* dies, | 1290 | | | | 895 | 830 | | 703 | 636 | 583 |
| *Jared*, *Methuselah*, and *Lamech*, die, - | 1307 | | The Flood, | | 847 | | | 720 | 653 | 600 |

To the varieties exhibited in the two laſt tables, others might be added, by admitting the various readings of ſome numbers in the *Samaritan* and *Septuagint*: for, as to the *Hebrew* copies, there is here a conſtant agreement among them (A).

THE manuſcript from which the *Samaritan* pentateuch was publiſhed (B), agrees exactly with the *Samaritan* num-

(A) It is obſervable, that the *Hebrew* numbers were exactly the ſame when the two Talmuds were compoſed; and that the *Chaldee* paraphraſe of *Onkelos*, which is allowed to have been written about the time of our Saviour, does alſo agree with the *Hebrew* chronology.

(B) This MS. was written *A. D.* 1404 (1).

(1) *Vid. Joan. Marin. in præf. ed. Septuag. Gr. Lat. Paris,* 1618.

bers

bers given by *Eusebius* [a]. But St. *Jerom* tells us [b], that, in his time, there were some *Samaritan* copies, which make *Methuselah* 187 years old at the birth of *Lamech*, and *Lamech* 182 at the birth of *Noah*, just as the *Hebrew* does. Now if these numbers be approved as the true original numbers, the interval from the creation to the flood will be 1556 years (C); differing from the *Hebrew* computation but 100 years, in the age of *Jared* at the birth of *Enoch*: and if this last be allowed to be a mistake of the transcriber, by his dropping a number, and writing 62 instead of 162, as has been suspected, the *Samaritan* will be perfectly reconciled with the *Hebrew*, and all difference between them vanish (D).

Year of the world 1. Year before Christ 4004.

THERE are, indeed, some other variations in the *Samaritan* numbers, as given by *Eusebius*; but as they are plainly owing to the negligence of the copier, or the printer, we think it needless to trouble the reader with them.

SCALIGER, on the authority of an old *Samaritan* chronicle, having at the end a table of the years of the patriarchs to the time of *Moses*, would correct two of the *Samaritan* numbers in *Eusebius*; *viz.* instead of 65, the age of *Mahalaleel* when he begat *Jared*, he thinks it should be 75; and instead of 67, the age of *Methuselah*, when he begat *Lamech*, he would have it 77 [c]. By which alterations, he reckons 20 years more to the flood than *Eusebius* and the manuscript; that is, 1327 (E). But as he acknowleges the table, whereon he grounds these corrections, contains some great absurdities, it seems unreasonable to

[a] In chronic. Græc. p. 3, 4.
[b] In quæst. in Genes.
[c] SCALIGER in Græc. Euseb. p. 403.

(C) Mr. *Whiston*, allowing of these two corrections, which are supported by the attestation of *Josephus*, follows this computation in his chronological table (1).

(D) This is the hypothesis of father *Tournemine*, who, in his *Samaritan* chronology, reckons 1656 years to the deluge.

(E) It is remarkable, that *Scaliger*, taking the *Samaritan* numbers to be brought down no lower than to the birth of *Noah*, computes 1947 years to the flood, according to that chronology; wherein he is again mistaken 20 years, in the adding of the 600 years of *Noah*'s life to the former number. And he, at the same time, quarrels with *Syncellus* for not committing the same fault (2).

(1) *See also his essay towards restoring the true text of the old test. &c. p.* 23.
(2) *Scalig. in Græc. Euseb. p.* 403.

Year of the world 1. Year before Christ 4004.

oppose it to the joint authority of *Eusebius*, and the *Samaritan* manuscript [d].

As to the Septuagint, in the common editions of that version, the age of *Methuselah* at the birth of *Lamech* is 167; and consequently the sum of this period, according to them, is no more than 2242. But in this case *Methuselah* will outlive the flood 14 years; and we may well wonder, with *Eusebius* [e], where he was preserved. To obviate this objection, we are told, that, in some copies, *Methuselah* is said to have lived but 782 (not 802) years after the birth of *Lamech*, and no more than 949 in all [f]. But the *Alexandrian* manuscript intirely takes away the difficulty, by giving the same number in this place with the *Hebrew*.

Pezron is of opinion, that the age of *Lamech*, at the birth of *Noah*, should be but 182, as it is both in the *Hebrew* and in *Josephus*, supposing, with St. *Austin*, that the present number is the error of the scribe, who first copied the original Septuagint manuscript in *Ptolemy*'s library. So that he computes 2256 years to the flood. And, if this correction be admitted, and one more mentioned also by St. *Austin* [h], *viz.* that *Lamech* lived 595 years after the birth of *Noah*, and not 565, as in the present copies, there will then remain no other difference between the Septuagint and the *Hebrew* than 600 years added to the ages of the six patriarchs when they begat their sons [i], and *Methuselah* will, conformably to the *Hebrew* and *Samaritan*, die in the year of the flood.

As we have chosen to follow, in this edition, the chronology of the learned *Usher*, grounded on the *Hebrew* whole numbers, after the flood, we have done the same in our calculations in this period; which may, with very little trouble, be reduced to the chronology of the *Samaritan* or Septuagint, by those who prefer the accounts of those copies.

[d] Vid. Luc. Capelli chronol. sacr. [e] Chron. Græc. p. 4. [f] Ibid. [g] Augustin. de civit. Dei, l. xv. c. 13. [h] Ibid. [i] Vid. Pezron, l'antiquité des tems retablie, p. 57. & Capelli chronolog. sacr.



SECT.

## SECT. IV.

### *The history of the antediluvian patriarchs.*

WHERE *Adam* dwelt after his expulsion from paradise, is uncertain; but it is likely he did not remove far off (F). He now consummated his marriage with *Eve*, which, as the words of *Moses* seem to imply, he had not done before the fall [k] (G). The eldest son of *Adam*, named Year of the world 1. Year before Christ 4004.

[k] Genes. iii. 24. iv. 1.

(F) The eastern tradition is, that *Adam* went into *India* (2), and did penance on the mountain thence named *Pico de Adam*, in the isle of *Ceylon*, for several years. Some rabbins pretend, that he was separated from *Eve* for 130 years, and lived with another woman named *Lilith*, formed out of the ground like himself; during which time he begat dæmons on her, as the devils did on *Eve* (3). *Maimonides* supposes, that by those dæmons were meant only wicked and impious men, as the race of *Adam* were before *Seth*, whom he is therefore said to have begotten in his own likeness, and after his image (4). The *Mohammedans* say, that, when they were cast down from paradise, *Adam* fell on *Ceylon*, and *Eve* near *Joddah* in *Arabia*; and that, after a separation of 200 years, *Adam* was, on his repentance, conducted by the angel *Gabriel* to a mountain near *Mecca*, where he found, and knew his wife, the mountain being thence named *Arafat*; and that he afterwards retired with her to *Ceylon*, where they continued to propagate their species (5).

(G) Yet some rabbins, as R. *Solomon Yarhi*, and R. *Moses Haddarshan* (6), were of a contrary opinion. Others of them indeed went much farther, as father *Bartolocci*, assures us, whose words we subjoin (to shew what abominable imaginations some men are capable of), but desire to be excused the translating of them *De protoparente Adamo ita siniſtre sentiunt, ut ipsum etiam nefariæ incontinentiæ, quod referre pudet, insimulent; & ante Evæ forma-*

(2) *Vid. Eutychii annal. p.* 15. *D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. p.* 55.
(3) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. patriarch. tom.* i. *p.* 112. *& Bartolocc. bibl. rabbin. tom.* i. *p.* 291.
(4) *Maim. more nevoch. p.* i. *c.* 7.
(5) *Vid. D'Herbel. ubi supra.*
(6) *Vid. Heidegg. p.* 111.

Year of the world 1. Year before Christ 4004.

named *Cain*, was born probably in the first year of the world; and his second, *Abel* (H), the year following (I). When they were grown up, they betook themselves to distinct employments; the former of them to husbandry, and the latter to the keeping of sheep P. And their inward dispo-

P Genes. iv. 2.

*tionem omnia jumenta feraſque campi carnaliter cognoviſſe aiunt* (7).

(H) Some rabbins imagined, that *Cain* and *Abel* were twins (which *Calvin* (8), also supposed), but that *Cain* was the offspring of the devil, or *Sammael*, who first lay with *Eve*; and that she afterwards, superfetation, conceived *Abel* by *Adam* (9). Some heretics fansied both *Cain* and *Abel* to have been the issue of the devil (10).

(I) The name *Cain* signifies an *acquisition*, or *possession*, being derived (though not very regularly) from the verb קנה *kana*, *to acquire*. *Abel*, or rather *Hebel*, signifies *vanity*, and not *mourning*, as *Josephus* (1) and *Eusebius* (2) suppose.

The *Arab* authors say, that before *Cabil* (for so they call *Cain*) *Adam* had a son named *Abd'alhâreth*, on the following occasion. When *Eve* was big with her first child, the devil came to her, and asked her if she knew what she carried within her, and which way she should be delivered of it. She, being unable to give an answer to this question, went in a fright to *Adam*, and acquainted him with the matter; who, not knowing what to think of it, grew sad and pensive. Whereupon the devil appeared to him, and told him, that, as he knew the mysterious name of God, he would, in virtue thereof, by his prayers, obtain of God, that *Eve* might be safely delivered of a son in his (*Adam*'s) own likeness, provided he would promise to call his name *Abd'alhâreth*, or *the servant of al Hareth* (which was the devil's name in heaven), instead of *Abd'allah*, or the servant of God, as *Adam* had designed. This *Adam* and his wife agreed to, and accordingly gave the child that name, upon which it immediately died (3). The parents are taxed with this in the koran, as an act looking towards idolatry (4). But the whole story seems to have no other foundation, than *Cain*'s being called by *Moses Obed adamah*, i. e. *a tiller of the ground*, which might be translated by the *Arabs Abd'alhâreth*.

(7) *Bartolocc. ubi sup. p.* 75. (8) *Vid. Corn. à Lapide in Genes.* iv. 2. (9) *Bartolocc. ubi supra.* (10) *Vid. Epiphan. hæres.* 40. (1) *Antiq. l.* xi. *cap.* 6. (2) *De præp. ev. l.* ii. (3) *Vid. D'Herbelot. bibl. orient. p.* 438, *&c. Selden. de jure nat. &c. l.* v. *c.* 8. *Maracc. in Alcoran. p.* 291. (4) *Al Koran, c.* 7. *v.* 189, *&c.*

*Abu'l*

diſpoſitions were ſtill more different, *Cain* being wicked and avaritious, but *Abel* juſt and virtuous [q].

In proceſs of time the two brothers brought their reſpective offerings to God (K), *Cain* of the fruit of the ground, and *Abel* of the firſtlings of his flock, and of the fat thereof (L); but they met with very different ſucceſs: for God had reſpect to, or accepted, the offering of *Abel*, Cain *and* Abel, *their offerings.*

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[q] Joseph. ant. l. i. c. 2.

*Abu'lfaragius* (5) ſays *Cain* was born in the thirtieth year of the world, with a twin ſiſter, whom that author calls *Klimia*, *Eutychius* (6) *Azrûn*, and others *Kalmanna*; and that, thirty years after, *Abel* was born with a twin ſiſter alſo, named *Lebûdha*, or *Leſûra*, by *Eutychius* (who ſays *Leſûra* was her *Greek* name), *Owain*, and by others *Delborah* (7).

(K) It has been ſuppoſed by ſome (but without any ground), that they brought their offerings to *Adam*, to offer for them (8).

The oriental tradition makes theſe ſacrifices to have been offered, and *Cain*'s malice excited againſt his brother, on the following occaſion. When they were grown up, in the one hundred and thirtieth year of the world, according to *Abu'lfaragius*, *Adam* propoſed to *Eve*, that *Cain* ſhould marry *Abel*'s twin ſiſter, and *Abel Cain*'s. But this *Cain* refuſed to agree to, inſiſting to have his own ſiſter, who was the handſomeſt of the two. *Adam* hereupon was greatly diſpleaſed, becauſe it was againſt the divine command, that he ſhould marry his twin ſiſter (for, it being the common opinion, that marriages ought not to be had in the neareſt degrees of conſanguinity, ſince *Cain* and *Abel* muſt neceſſarily marry their ſiſters, it ſeemed reaſonable to ſuppoſe they ought to take thoſe of the remoter degree); and ordered his ſons to make their offerings, before they took their wives, referring the diſpute, probably, to God's determination. But while they went up the mountain for that purpoſe, the devil put it into *Cain*'s head to rid himſelf of his brother; for which wicked intent, his ſacrifice was not accepted; and they were no ſooner come down from the mountain, than he fell on *Abel*, and killed him with a ſtone (9). Thus was a woman, according to this ſtory, the occaſion of the firſt quarrel in the world; *Nam fuit ante Helenam, &c.*

(L) The opinion of thoſe who think *Abel* did not kill or offer

(5) *Al Koran, p.* 6. (6) *Pag.* 15. (7) *Vid. Pererium in Geneſ.* iv. 1. *Heidegg. hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 112. (8) *Vid. Heidegg. ubi ſupra, p.* 117. (9) *Abu'lfarag. p.* 6, 7. *Eutych. p.* 15, 16.

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*Abel*, but *Cain*'s he did not accept (M). At this preference, *Cain* was so enraged, and transported with envy, against his brother, that he could not help shewing it by his countenance. God however condescended to expostulate the matter with him, and asked him what reason he had to be angry; since, if he did well, he should be accepted; and he could blame none but himself for what was the consequence of his own ill behaviour; and, in particular, he could not justly be angry with *Abel*, who had no design to supplant him, and should always pay him the respect due to an elder brother. But this admonition had so little effect on *Cain*, that, on a convenient opportunity, when they were together in the field, he rose up against *Abel* his brother, and slew him (N) [r], and buried his body, in hopes of concealing the murder [s].

Abel *murdered.*

After

[r] Genes. iv. 3—8. [s] Joseph. ubi sup.

the animals themselves, but only their milk and wool, will be considered hereafter, when we inquire into the origin of sacrifices.

(M) Though the difference put by God between the two offerings can be attributed to nothing but the wickedness and ill disposition of *Cain*, and the righteousness and faith of *Abel* (10); yet it has been imagined, that *Cain*'s ill success was owing to some defect in his offering, or his presenting the worst part of it to God, and reserving the best to himself. The reason given by *Josephus* (11) is very frivolous: he says, that God was more delighted with *Abel*'s offering, as being the spontaneous production of nature; and displeased with *Cain*'s, because it was forced by the art and industry of a covetous man (12).

In what visible manner God declared his acceptance of *Abel*'s offering, is not expressed by *Moses*. The common opinion is, that fire from heaven descended on the sacrifice, and consumed it, but did not touch *Cain*'s. This is supported by the version of *Theodotion*, who translates the word שעה, which we render *had respect unto*, ἐνεπύρισεν, *he set on fire*; the usual sign whereby God has been pleased to testify his approbation in other instances. The *Mohammedans* likewise affirm the same thing (13). And the heathens themselves boasted of the like extraordinary marks of the divine favour in some particular places (14).

(N) Before the commission of the fact, *Moses* tells us, accord-

(10) *Vid. Heb.* xi. 4. (11) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 2. (12) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 120. (13) *Vid. Maracc. in Alcoran, p.* 229. (14) *See Bayle dict. hist. art. Egnatia.*

ing

AFTER the commiſſion of this horrid fact, *Cain*, being queſtioned

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ing to the *Engliſh* tranſlation, that Cain *talked with* Abel *his brother*. The words ſtrictly ſignify, Cain *ſaid unto* Abel his *brother:* after which there is a blank ſpace left in the *Hebrew* copies, as if ſomething was wanting. The *Samaritan* pentateuch and ſeptuagint verſion ſupply this, by adding the words *Let us go into the field:* but the *Jeruſalem Targum*, and that of *Jonathan ben Uzziel*, have obliged us with the whole converſation. Says *Cain*, "There "is no future judgment, nor "judge, nor life after this, nor "reward for the juſt, nor pu-"niſhment for the wicked: "the world was neither cre-"ated, nor is governed, by the "mercy of GOD; foraſmuch as "thy oblation was accepted, "and mine rejected." To which *Abel* anſwers, "There is a fu-"ture judgment, and a judge, "and a life to come: there is "both a reward for the juſt, "and a puniſhment for the un-"juſt: the world was created, "and is governed, by the "mercy of GOD. And, be-"cauſe my works are better "than thine, therefore was my "oblation accepted, and thine "rejected." Upon which enſued the quarrel which ended in *Abel*'s murder: An ill beginning of religious controverſy! *Mohammed* has alſo, in his koran (1), inſerted the debate between the two brothers, ſomewhat to the ſame purpoſe.

The time, place, and manner of this murder are all uncertain. It happened, very probably, not long before the birth of *Seth*, who *was appointed inſtead of* Abel: but St. *Auſtin* (2) will not allow *Seth* to be the next ſon which *Eve* had after *Abel*'s death; ſuppoſing that expreſſion to mean no more, than that *Seth* ſucceeded that righteous perſon in his virtue and piety. Some are of opinion, that *Adam* aſſigned his ſons their ſeveral employments in the fiftieth year of the world (as *Euſebius* ſays he did); that *Cain* and *Abel* made their offerings *A. M.* 100; and that, thirty years after, *Abel* was killed. But neither reaſon nor Scripture lead us to believe, that *Cain* concealed his reſentment ſo many years. (3). The place where *Abel* was ſlain, according to an antient tradition, is ſaid to be ſtill ſhewn at the foot of an hill near *Damaſcus* (4). As to the manner wherein *Cain* committed this murder, there is a great variety of opinions. *Eutychius* and the *Arabs* ſay, he ſtruck him on the head with a ſtone; ſome *Jews* tell that he tore him in pieces with his teeth; others, that he killed

(1) *Chap.* v. *ver.* 33, &c. (2) *De civit. Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 15. (3) *See Bayle dict. hiſt. art. Abel, rem.* C. (4) *Vid. Heidegg. hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 126.

him

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Cain's *punishment.*

questioned by God about his brother, returned an evasive answer, that he knew not what was become of him, churlishly asking, *If he was his brother's keeper?* But God soon convinced him, that what he had done was not hid from him; and, as a punishment, condemned him to be a fugitive and a vagabond on the earth, and to till an ungrateful soil, which should not reward his labour with the plenty and increase he had before experienced. This sentence, though it fell short of the heinousness of his guilt, was yet thought too severe by *Cain*, who complained, that *his punishment was greater than he could bear*; since he was to be banished from the presence of God, and from his near relations; and, being a vagabond and friendless, would be in danger of being killed by the next that should meet him (K). But God told him, that whoever slew *Cain*, vengeance

him with the jaw-bone of an ass, which is the weapon the painters generally put into *Cain*'s hand: some arm him with a fork: St. *Chrysostome* with a sword; St. *Irenæus* with a scythe; and *Prudentius* with a pruning-hook (5).

Whether *Abel* was a married man, or not, has been disputed. Some of the antient fathers have maintained the affirmative (6), as did also some heretics called *Abelians* (7). But it is improbable he should continue single, if he lived to be near one hundred and thirty: the world wanted peopling too much to allow any room for such continency. Nor do St. *Jerom* and St. *Austin* (8) seem to doubt of his being married, tho' *Moses* makes no mention of his offspring.

The rabbins, and some Christians (9) say, that *Adam* and *Eve* mourned for *Abel* one hundred years, during which time they lived separate: *Adam* particularly in a valley near *Hebron*, thence named *the valley of tears* (10). The inhabitants of *Ceylon* pretend, that the salt lake on the mountain of *Colombo* was formed by the tears which *Eve* shed on this occasion (11).

(K) These words of *Cain* are variously interpreted. The first sentence, which our version renders, *My punishment is greater than I can bear*, some translate, *My sin is greater than can be forgiven* (for עון signifies *iniquity* rather than *punishment*, and נשא *to forgive* as well as *to bear*); and others interroga-

(5) *Vid. Bayle ubi sup. rem.* G. (6) *Basil. & Ambros. apud Corn. à Lapide in Genes.* iv. & v. (7) *Vide Bayle dict. hist. art. Abeliens.* (8) *Vide Salian. annal. tom.* i. *p.* 184. (9) *Eutych. p.* 16. (10) *Vid. Salian. ubi sup. p.* 190. (11) *Vide Chevreau hist. du monde, tom.* iv. *p.* 255.

vengeance ſhould be taken on him ſevenfold; and, the more effectually to ſecure him from that apprehenſion, was pleaſed to give him a ſign (L) (probably by ſome ſenſible miracle), Year of the world 129. Year before Chriſt 3875.

tively, *Is my ſin too great to be forgiven?* which laſt is the ſenſe followed by the *Hebrew* expoſitors, and ſeems to be the beſt (12). The latter words, in the *Engliſh* tranſlation, *And it ſhall come to paſs, that every one that findeth me ſhall ſlay me*, have alſo been rendered, *I wiſh that any perſon that finds me may kill me* (13).

That there were ſuch numbers of men in the world at the time of *Abel*'s murder, that *Cain* might juſtly apprehend ſome danger from them, will appear from the calculations hereafter made of the increaſe of mankind before the flood. Mr. *Bayle* (14) thinks, that *Cain* was not ſo much afraid of his kindred, the deſcendants of of *Adam* (though he might juſtly fear the reſentment of *Abel*'s children, if he left any), but of ſome ſtrangers whom he apprehended he ſhould meet in his baniſhment, where he would be friendleſs, and have none to ſupport him; and therefore ſuppoſes, that, in his fright, he either did not conſider there were no men but what were the offſpring of his father, or elſe feigned an apprehenſion, to move God's compaſſion. But we conceive there will be no occaſion for either of thoſe ſuppoſitions, if we conſider in how few deſcents the degrees of kindred, at leaſt of affection, decreaſe, and at length vaniſh; and that *Cain* might juſtly be looked on, even among his relations, as a common enemy. Not to mention the vaſt numbers of men, which he could not but think would, in a few years, overſpread the earth, and have probably little knowlege of, or reſpect for him.

(L) This is the true ſenſe of this paſſage, and not that God *ſet a mark upon* Cain (1), according to the common expoſition; in purſuance of which, many ridiculous conjectures have been made as to this imaginary mark. Some ſay, that God ſtigmatized *Cain* on the forehead with a letter, which was to ſerve him as a paſſport, being taken either from the name of *Abel* (2), or the ineffable name of God (3), or from the word *repentance*; that every one might perceive *Cain* had repented. Others ſay this mark conſiſted of three letters, which compoſed the name of the *Sabbath* (4); or elſe that it was the ſign of the croſs (5). Others ſuppoſe, that *Abel*'s dog was given him as a conſtant companion, either to warn people not to attack him (6), or

(12) *See Shuckford's connection, vol. i. p. 6.* (13) *Lightfoot, vol. i. p. 3.* (14) *Dict. hiſt art. Cain, rem. A.* (1) *Vid. Shuckford, p. 8.* (2) *Veteres Hebræi apud Genebrard.* (3) *R. Solom. Yarbi. Vid. Salden. otia theol. p. 345.* (4) *In Tanchumá, fol. 4.* (5) *Salden. ubi ſup.* (6) *Ibid.*

to

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miracle), that none that met him ſhould take away his life [t].

*He goes into baniſhment, and builds a city.*

CAIN, ſoon after this unfortunate affair, having wandered about for ſome time, at length ſettled with his wife and family in the land of *Nod*, where he built a city, and called it, after the name of his ſon, *Enoch* [u].

WHERE the land of *Nod* (which word ſignifies *wandering*) was ſituate, is uncertain. *Moſes* places it, according to our tranſlation, *on the eaſt of* Eden; and it has been obſerved, that *Ptolemy* mentions a city called *Anuchtha* in *Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtân*, a country lying eaſtward from *Chaldea*: which ſituation, and the near reſemblance of the name *Anuchtha* to the original *Hanokh* (for *tha* is ſuppoſed to be only the *Chaldee* termination), induced the learned *Huet* to believe it to be the ſame with that built by *Cain*. But it ſeems very improbable, that the city of *Enoch*, built before the flood, ſhould either withſtand the deluge, or retain its antient name, after ſo great an alteration of the face of things. Beſides, *Suſiana* being a very fertile and pleaſant country, it is not likely *Cain* ſhould be baniſhed thither, but rather to ſome

[t] Geneſ. iv. 9—15. [u] Ibid. ver. 16, 17.

to prevent his taking any dangerous road (7). Others ſay, that his face was covered with leproſy (8). Others, that the mark was nothing but a wild aſpect, with bloody eyes, which rolled in an horrid manner (9). Moſt of the fathers imagined, that his body continually trembled to that degree, that he could not get his victuals to his mouth (10). The Septuagint verſion favours this opinion; for, inſtead of a *fugitive and a vagabond*, they have tranſlated στένων καὶ τρέμων, *lamenting and trembling*; and the *Hebrew* words do indeed import a reſtleſſneſs and uneaſineſs of mind, with which *Cain* is ſuppoſed to have been afflicted all his life (11). Some ſay, that, where-ever he ſtopped, the earth ſhook and trembled around him (12). Others pretend, that GOD inſpired him with extraordinary courage, and rendered him void of all fear. And another notion, as well founded as any of the former, is, that *Cain* had an horn grew on his forehead, to warn folks to avoid him (13).

(7) *Corn. à Lapide in Geneſ.* iv. (8) *Salden. ubi ſup.* (9) *Vid. Salian. annal. tom.* i. *p.* 192. (10) *Procopius in Geneſ.* iv. *Vid. etiam Hieronym. epiſt.* CXXV. *ad Damaſ.* (11) *Vid. Eutych. p.* 16. (12) *Apud Salden. ubi ſup.* (13) *Apud Salian. ubi ſup. Vid. Bayle dict. hiſt. art. Cain, rem.* B. & *Heidegg. hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 129.

barren

barren and desolate land, remote from the place of his nativity, and separated by mountains, or other natural obstructions, from the commerce of his relations. For which reason *Grotius* and *Junius* are of opinion, that the country into which *Cain* retired was the desert *Arabia*; but that lying on the west, and not on the east of *Eden*, to remove so formidable an objection, it is said, that the words, which we translate *on the east of* Eden, signify no more than *before*, or *over-against* Eden, as the Septuagint have rendered it [w].

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WHEN *Cain* built this city, cannot be conjectured by any circumstance recorded by *Moses*; but it is probable he did it not till many years after his banishment, and when his posterity was greatly increased. *Philo* supposes he also built six other cities, named *Maich*, *Jared*, *Tebe*, *Jesca*, *Selet*, and *Gebat*; but what foundation he had for it, we cannot conceive [x].

JOSEPHUS says, that the punishment inflicted upon *Cain* was so far from effecting any amendment in him, that he grew worse, and became a reprobate to all sense of goodness, indulging himself in all manner of pleasures, though he wronged his neighbours to procure them; that he got together abundance of wealth by rapine and violence, encouraging his followers in luxury and robbery, and becoming their instructor in evil courses; that he first corrupted that simplicity wherein men had till then lived, by the invention of measures and weights, changing their innocence of life, which was happily ignorant of such things, and their greatness of mind, into fraud and cunning; and that he also first set bounds to fields and possessions, and walled the city which he had built, obliging his dependents to live in a community [y], the better, it is probable, to secure their ill-gotten wealth.

*Grows more wicked.*

SOON after the murder of *Abel*, and probably the next year, his loss was made up to his parents in another son they had, whom *Eve* named *Seth*, that is, *appointed*, because he was *appointed instead of* Abel, *whom* Cain *slew* [z].

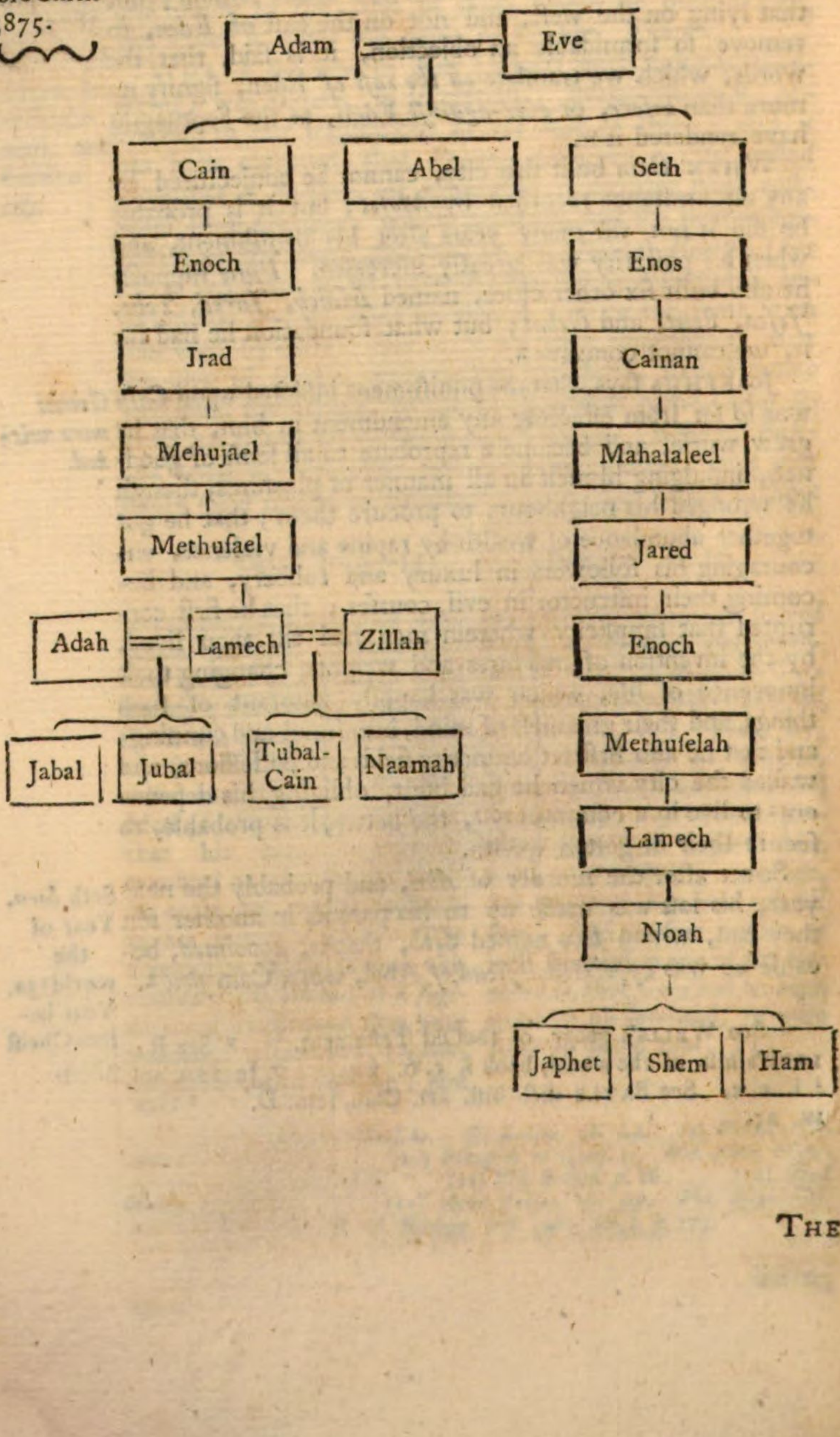
Seth *born.* Year of the world 130. Year before Christ 3874.

[w] See WELLS's geogr. of the Old Testament. [x] See RALEGH's hist. of the world, book i. c. 6. § 4. [y] JOSEPH. ant. l. i. c. 2. See BAYLE dict. hist. art. Cain, rem. D. [z] Gen. iv. 25.

As

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As the whole progeny of *Adam*, of whom we have any mention in Scripture, were the descendents of *Cain* and *Seth*, it may be proper to give the following genealogical table of the antediluvians:




THE

THE ſacred hiſtorian, confining himſelf chiefly to the line of *Seth*, from whence *Noah* was deſcended, has acquainted us with very few particulars relating to that of *Cain*; nor can we thence form any conjectures how long he (M), or any of his deſcendants lived. All that we have recorded is, that *Lamech*, the fifth in deſcent from him, married two wives, *Adah* and *Zillah* [a], which is obſerved to be the firſt known inſtance of polygamy: that by the former he had two ſons, *Jabal*, who was the firſt that dwelt in tents, and fed cattle (N); and *Jubal*, the inventor of muſic;

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*Of the line of* Cain.

[a] Geneſ. iv. 19.

(M) There is an oriental tradition, which was believed by ſeveral chriſtians in St. *Jerom*'s time (1), that *Cain* was accidentally killed by *Lamech*, one of his own poſterity: for they ſay, that *Cain*, being old and dim-ſighted, and in continual terror on account of the murder he had committed, uſed to wander up and down in the woods, and one day ſat down in a thicket to reſt himſelf; and that *Lamech*, who was alſo blind, being a hunting, attended by a youth (whom ſome will have to be his ſon *Tubal-Cain*), either himſelf heard a ruſtling, or was informed by the lad, that there was ſomething in the buſhes which he took to be a wild beaſt; and thereupon, letting fly an arrow, he ſtruck *Cain* (for it proved to be him) to the heart; when he came to know what he had done, he in a rage fell upon his conductor, and killed him alſo (2). Others relate the latter circumſtances differently, and ſay, that he killed *Cain* with a ſtone which he flung at him; and the youth, ignorantly, as he clapped his hands in ſorrow for what he had done (1). And this they ſay was the occaſion of thoſe words of *Lamech* to his wives, mentioned in a following note. This accident ſome place in the ſeven hundred and thirtieth year of *Cain*'s age (2), others in the years of the world ſeven hundred and one, or eight hundred ſeventy-five (3). According to *Toſtatus*, *Cain* lived near eight hundred years (4). There are ſome, who fix his death in the year of the world nine hundred and thirty-one, and pretend, that he was knocked on the head by the fall of an houſe (5). *Paul de Burgos* makes him periſh in the deluge (6); and there are others who ſay he killed himſelf (7).

(N) This ſeems to be under-

(1) *Vid. Hieronym. in epiſt. ad Damaſ. ſheleth hakkab, p. 92. Ebn al Amid, p. 7. annal. tom. i. p. 214. abbregé chronol. citing Cedrenus, Syncell. p. 11. iv. ver. 23, 24. teola, in elencho hæreſ. p. 63.*

(2) *R. Gedaliah in Shal-*
*Vid. Eutych. p. 22.*
(1) *Elmacin. or rather*
(2) *Eutych. ubi ſup.*
(3) *Apud Salian.*
(4) *Apud eund. ibid.*
(5) *St. Romuald.*
(6) *Apud Pererium in Geneſ.*
(7) *Armeni apud Guiden. Carmelitam, citante Pra-*

flood,

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music; and, by the other, a son named *Tubal-Cain*, who found out the art of forging and working of metals (O); and a daughter named *Naamah* [b], supposed by some [c] to have invented spinning and weaving (P): and that, on some occasion or other, *Lamech* made a speech to his wives [d], the explication of which has greatly puzzled the interpreters (Q).

[b] Ibid. ver. 20, 21, 22. [c] R. Lipoman. in catena, & Genebrard. in chron. Vid. Vossium de idolol. l. i. c. 17.
[d] Genes. iv. 23, 24.

How-

stood, as R. *Sol. Yarhi* explains the passage, of feeding cattle in the desert, and removing with their tents and herds from place to place, as they found pasture, which is the way of life of the *Arabs*, thence called *Scenitæ*: for others, and in particular *Abel*, followed a pastoral life before *Jabal* (8).

(O *Josephus* (9) commends *Tubal-Cain* (whom he calls *Thobel*) for his great strength, and skill in war; to the perfecting of which art he probably contributed by the invention of arms.

(P) Some imagine *Naamah* to have been the wife of *Noah* (10), others of *Ham* (11); and that she, being saved from the destruction of the deluge, was therefore mentioned by *Moses*. Her name signifies *delightful*, or *beautiful*; and her person is said to have been so charming, that *Aza* and *Azael*, two angels, fell in love with her, and begat on her dæmons called *Gedim* (12).

Many authors, from some affinity in the names and inventions of these children of *Lamech*, have thought *Jubal* to have been the *Apollo*, *Tubal-Cain* the *Vulcan*, and *Naamah* the *Venus* or *Minerva* of the heathens. And, not to omit *Jabal*, it has been imagined he was their *Pales* (13). But these are at best suppositions only, and very precarious ones too, as will be shewn in a more proper place.

*Josephus* makes the whole number of *Lamech*'s issue by his two wives to be seventy-seven (14).

(Q) His words, according to our translation, are; *Hear my voice, ye wives of* Lamech, *hearken unto my speech: for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If* Cain *shall be avenged sevenfold, truly* Lamech *seventy-and-seven-fold.* Almost to the same purpose are the Septuagint, Vulgate, and *Syriac* versions; and they are commonly explained by

(8) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. Ipatr. tom.* i. *p.* 141. (2) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 2. (10) *Berechist. Rabba. R. Sol. Yarhi.* (11) *Cumberland's rem. on Sanchoniatho, p.* 107. (12) *In libro Zohar.* (13) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 141, *& seq.* (14) *Joseph. antiq. l.* i. *c.* 2.

the

HOWEVER, we are assured by other historians [e], and it is highly probable, that the posterity of *Cain* were enormously wicked, exceeding their father, if possible, in all manner of villainies; every succeeding generation growing worse than the former, and becoming wholly addicted to rapine and brutish lusts. This reprobate race is generally supposed to be meant by *Moses* under the designation of *men*, and the *daughters of men*, as the other family of *Seth* is by that of the *sons of* GOD [f]. Year of the world 235. Year before Christ 3769.

SETH had this year a son named *Enos*; about which time it is thought, that his descendants, who were as eminent for piety and virtue, as those of *Cain* were for the reverse, had the appellation we have just mentioned given them. For it is conceived, that those words [g], which in our translation are rendered *Then began men to call upon the name of the* LORD, properly signify, *Then men began to be called by*, or *after the name of the* LORD, that is, *the sons* Enos *born.*

[e] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. i. c. 2. EUTYCH. p. 25. EBN AL AMID, &c. [f] Vid. HEIDEGG. ubi supra, p. 136. [g] Genes. iv. 26.

the above-mentioned tradition *Lamech*'s unfortunately killing *Cain*, and the youth that attended him; which being an undesigned act, he had reason to think he deserved a much less punishment than *Cain* (15).

Others take these words to be a thrasonical menace of *Lamech* (whom they suppose to be a vindictive impious person), spoken on occasion of some quarrel he had with his wives; and that the sense is, *I will* or *would kill a man if he wounded me, and a young man if he hurt me*, &c. (16).

The *targums* of *Onkelos*, and *Jonathan ben Uziel*, and the *Arabic* translation, read the passage interrogatively, or negatively, *Have I slain a man*, that is, *I have not slain a man, that I should bear the guilt, or be punished for it; nor have I killed a young man, that my seed should be destroyed for it.* And it is thought *Lamech* spoke them on occasion of some terror or apprehension his family was in, lest *Abel*'s murder should be revenged on them; which fear he shews to be groundless, because he had done nothing to deserve any ill treatment (17). This interpretation seems the most reasonable, but cannot be depended on; the speech being introduced by *Moses* very abruptly, and without any connection with what precedes or follows it.

(15) *Vid. Perer. in locum. Bayle dict. hist. art. Lamech. rem.* D, E. (16) *Vid. Heidegg. ubi sup. p.* 140. (17) *See Shuckford's connection, vol. i. p.* 10, *&c.*

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*of* GOD [h]. But some take the words, according to the former version, to mean, that then the public worship of GOD was first set up; and proper ceremonies, and stated times, appointed for that service [i]: and others, particularly the *Jews*, suppose they intimate, that idolatry, or the deifying of men, had its rise about this time, either adhering to the latter version, or translating the passage thus, *Then men profaned in calling upon the name of the* LORD [k] (R).

OF the three next descendants of *Seth*, *Cainan*, *Mahalaleel* and *Jared*, and of *Methuselah* and *Lamech*, the grandfather and father of *Noah*, *Moses* has recorded no more than their several ages. The oriental authors commend them, as they do *Seth* and *Enos*, for their piety, and the salutary injunctions they left behind them, forbidding their children all intercourse with the race of cursed *Cain* [l].

Enoch *translated.*

ENOCH, the son of *Jared*, and father of *Methuselah*, was a person of most extraordinary piety, *walking with* GOD, as the Scripture expresses it, for at least the last three hundred years of his life: as a reward for which

[h] Vid. HEIDEGG. hist. patr. tom. i. p. 148. SHUCKFORD's connect. vol. i. p. 41. [i] PERER. DRUSIUS, MERCERUS, &c. Vid. SIMSON chron. col. 56. [k] Vid. SELDEN. de diis Syris, proleg. c. 3. [l] Vid. EUTYCH. p. 20, &c. ELMACIN.

(R) The interpretation of *Onkelos* is, *Then men left off calling upon the name of the* LORD; as if the worship of GOD began then to be neglected.

Some of the *Jews* (particularly *Maimonides*) have gone so far as to charge *Enos* himself with being the author of idolatry, and inventing images, by whose mediation men might address themselves to GOD (1).

But the introduction of the idolatrous worship of the heavenly bodies and angels is, by the *Sabians*, the professors of it, referred to *Seth* himself. They give him also a son called *Sabi*, from whom the sect seems to have taken its name, unless it be rather derived from צבא *saba*, or *the host of heaven*, the objects of their worship: of this sect we shall take occasion to speak more particularly hereafter, observing only in this place, that they call the book, which contains the fundamentals of their religion and morality, *the book of* Seth; and reckon the patriarch *Enoch* also among the propagators of *Sabiism* (2).

(1) *Vid. Hottinger. smegma orient. p.* 230. *Heidegg. ubi sup. p.* 148.
(2) *Vid. Pocock. specim. hist. Arab. p.* 138.

exem-

exemplary behaviour in so corrupt an age, he was taken up by GOD into heaven, without tasting death [m] (S).

[m] Genes. v. 22, & 24.

(S) *Moses* expresses it thus; *And* Enoch *walked with* GOD, *and he was not: for* GOD *took him.* Which passage the writer of the epistle to the *Hebrews* paraphrases in this manner; *By faith* Enoch *was translated, that he should not see death; and was not found, because* GOD *had translated him; for before his translation he had this testimony, that he pleased* GOD (3). By which words it seems plain, that *Enoch* did not die, but suffered only such a change as was necessary to fit him for the place whither he he was going (4). Yet several of the *Jews* believe he actually died (5).

The Jewish commentators suppose *Enoch* was carried into the terrestrial paradise (6). Of the same opinion were some of the Christian fathers (7). And it has been imagined, that both he and *Elias* will return from thence, at the coming of *Antichrist*, with whom they are to wage war (8). But these notions are justly rejected by the most judicious interpreters. The vulgate translation of an apocryphal book says, indeed, that *Enoch* was translated into paradise: *Henoch placuit Deo, & translatus fuit in paradisum, ut det gentibus pœnitentiam* (9); but it has been observed, that the *Greek* says only, that he was *translated*, without making any mention of paradise.

The *Koran* mentions the assumption of *Enoch* (10), who is there called *Edris*, which name is derived from דרש, in *Hebrew, to inquire into*; and in *Arabic, to read, or study with attention*; and was given him for his supposed eminent learning, and great knowlege. The Mohammedan commentators say, that *Edris* is now alive in one of the seven heavens, being carried thither after he had tasted death; but that GOD restored him to life (11).

The learning of *Enoch*, and particularly his skill in the mathematical sciences, has been celebrated by *Jews*, *Christians*, and *Mohammedans*.

The *Jews* say, he first invented letters, and became acquainted with the signs of heaven (12). They call him *Metatron* (13), though some take this to be a name of the angel *Gabriel* (14), which the targum of *Jonathan* seems to interpret by the following words, *the great scribe*: but *Buxtorf*

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(3) *Heb.* xi. 5. (4) *Vid.* 1 *Corinth.* xv. 50. (5) *Aben Ezra, Hispani, &c. apud Heidegg. ubi sup. p.* 169. (6) *Kimbi in lib.* ii. *reg.* ii. 1. (7) *Irenæus, Procop. Gazæus, Justin. Martyr. apud Heidegg. p.* 171. *See also Abu'lfarag. p.* 7. (8) *Heidegg. ibid.* (9) *Eccluſ.* xliv. 16. (10) *Al Koran, cap.* xix. *ver.* 54, 55. (11) *Jallal'oddin, &c.* (12) *Vid. Hotting. ſmegma orient. p.* 239. (13) *Jucbaſin, p.* 5. *Zebar ex midraſh Ruth. fol.* 81. (14) *Vid. Hyde de rel. vet. Perſar. p.* 263.

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THAT *Enoch* was a prophet, and that some prophecy of his was preserved, either in writing, or (as is most probable) by tradition, even to our SAVIOUR's time, appears, from the passage quoted thence by St. *Jude* [n]. However, the piece under the title of *The Scripture or prophecy of*

[n] Jude ver. 14, 15.

(15) is rather inclined to think it signifies the *embassador*, or messenger of GOD; and is the same with the *Latin* word *metator* (16).

The *Greek* Christians supposed *Enoch* to be the same with the first *Egyptian Hermes*, who dwelt at *Sais*; that he first discoursed of superior substances, and foretold the deluge: and that he built the pyramids, engraving thereon the figures of artificial instruments, and the elements of the sciences; fearing lest the memory of them should perish in that general destruction (17). *Eupolemus* (18) also attributes the invention of astronomy to *Enoch*, and says, he was the same with *Atlas*, to whom the *Greeks* ascribe the same thing. *Origen* (19) mentions a book attributed to *Enoch*, different from his prophecy, containing secrets concerning the names of the parts of heaven, and of all the stars and constellations, which is said to be extant among the *Ethiopians*, in their tongue (20). The learned Mr. *du Peirese* used his utmost endeavours to get it from thence, but to no purpose (21).

The Mohammedan authors say, that *Edris* received thirty books of revelations from GOD, wherein the secrets of the most occult sciences were written; and that he found out the use of the pen, the needle (for they pretend he was a taylor, and the first of the trade), arithmetic, and astronomy. They also tell us, he was the first who took up arms for religion, or the cause of GOD: for, being sent to preach to, and reclaim the posterity of *Cain*, who refused to give ear to him, he thereupon made war upon them, carrying their wives and children into slavery. The same authors say, that *Enoch* was the innocent cause of idolatry; for one of his friends, missing him after his assumption, at the suggestion of the devil, made a statue of him, to which he paid peculiar honours, which in time degenerated into a superstitious adoration (1).

Father *Bartolocci* has endeavoured to shew, from the testimony of the more antient *Jews*, that *Enoch*, surnamed *Edris*, was a different person from the antediluvian *Enoch*; and that he lived many ages after him (2).

(15) *In lexico talmud.* (16) *Vid. Heidegg. hist patr. tom.* i. *p.* 167. (17) *Abu'lfarag. p.* 9. (18) *Apud Euseb. de præp. ev. l.* ix. *c.* 17. (19) *Homil.* xxviii. *in lib. Numer. & in Anacepb. l. de principe.* (20) *Genebrard. chronol. p.* 14. (21) *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p.* 310. (1) *Vid. Reland. de relig. Moham. p.* 22. *D'Herbelot ubi sup. Abu'lfarag. p.* 10. (2) *Bibl. rabbin. t.* 2. *p.* 845.

Enoch,

Enoch, of which we have ſome fragments extant (T), is allowed to be a manifeſt forgery; though ſeveral of the fathers had a better opinion of it than it deſerves [o]. Many paſſages are quoted thence in that very antient writing, the teſtament of the twelve patriarchs; and it is alſo cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus* [p]. St. *Auſtin* makes mention of the Scripture of *Enoch*, but denies it to be genuine [q]. And when *Celſus* objected its authority to *Origen*, he replied, that the books attributed to *Enoch* were not looked upon by the church, as divine writings [r]. That there was a book, under the name of *Enoch*, in the hands of the *Jews*, appears, from its being referred to in their antient book *Zohar* [s]. Year of the World, 235. Year before Chriſt, 3769.

ADAM, having ſeen a numerous poſterity iſſued from his own loins (U), after a life of nine hundred and thirty years (W), paid that natural debt to which he had, by his diſobedience, ſubjected himſelf and them [t]. That he repented of his ſin, and made his peace with GOD, is very reaſonable to believe (X), notwithſtanding Year of the world 930. Year before Chriſt 3074. Adam *dies*.

[o] TERTULLIAN de habitu mulier. IRENÆUS, CYPRIAN, LACTANTIUS, &c. [p] In eclogis ex prophet. p. 801, 808. [q] De civit. Dei, l. xv. c. 23. & l. xviii. c. 38. [r] ORIGEN. contra Celſ. l. v. [s] Vid. HEIDEGG. hiſt. patr. tom. i. p. 176. [t] Geneſ. v. 5.

(T) Theſe fragments were firſt publiſhed by *Joſeph Scaliger*, in his notes on the *Greek chronicon* of *Euſebius* (3); and afterwards, more correctly, by *J. Goar*, in his edition of the chronography of *George Syncellus* (4). We ſhall give the reader the ſubſtance of them by-and-by.

(U) Beſides *Adam*'s three ſons named by *Moſes*, and the ſuppoſed twin-ſiſters of *Cain* and *Abel* (5), we are told he had two daughters, one named *Aſuam*, or *Saue*, who married *Cain*, and the other *Azura*, who was the wife of *Seth* (6).

(W) The oriental authors are ſo exact, as to fix the very day and hour of the death of *Adam*, and alſo of ſeveral of the other patriarchs (7). But we preſume our omitting thoſe niceties will not be judged a fault.

(X) The *Jews* ſay, both *Adam* and *Eve* were very penitent (8); and that he, in particular, was ſo exceedingly afflicted for his ſin, that he had died of grief, had not GOD ſent

(3) *P.* 404, *&c.* (4) *P.* 11, *&c. and p.* 24, *&c.* (5) *See before, p.* 151. *in the notes.* (6) *Syncellus ex parva Geneſ. p.* 11. *and Sethiani hæretici, apud Epiphan. l.* i. *p.* 287. (7) *Vid. Eutych. p.* 19, *&c. Elmacin. p.* 6, *&c.* (8) *Vid. R. Eliezer Pirke, c.* 20. *R. Gedal, p.* 92.

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withstanding the uncharitable opinions of some to the contrary (Y).

WHERE he was buried, cannot be collected from Scripture. St. *Jerom* [u] seems to approve of the opinion of those who imagine he was buried at *Hebron* (Z), in the

[u] HIERON. in Matth. xxvii.

*Conjectures concerning the place of his burial.*

the angel *Raziel* to comfort him (9). They even acknowlege him to have been favoured with the gift of prophesy; and that he foretold the flood (10). The *Mohammedans* also do not only reckon him among the prophets, but make him one of the six (the others being *Noah*, *Abraham*, *Moses*, *Jesus*, and *Mohammed*) who introduced a new dispensation; and say, that GOD gave him ten books of revelations, containing laws, promises, threatnings, and prophecies (11); which notion, perhaps, they borrowed of the *Jewish* authors, who pretend, that *Adam* wrote the book intituled *Sepher Jesira*, or *the book of the creation* (which others attribute to *Abraham*), and certain treatises *of the deity* (12). Some rabbins make him to have been the author of the ninety-second psalm; and in some manuscripts the *Chaldee* title of that psalm imports it to be the hymn which the first man sang on the sabbath-day (13). *Eusebius Nieremberg* (14) has been credulous enough to give us two hymns, faithfully copied from the revelation of *Amadeus* in the library of the *Escurial*, as the genuine compositions of *Adam*; one being that which he repeated on his first interview with *Eve*, and the other the penitential psalm sung by them after the fall.

(Y) A certain heretical sect, named Tatianites, affirmed, he was damned (15).

(Z) This is offered to be proved by this passage of Scripture, according to the vulgate translation, *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariath-arbe: Adam maximus ibi inter Enacim situs est* (16). But the name *Adam* is unwarrantably inserted in the text, the *Hebrew* plainly signifying (as the other versions render it), that *Hebron* was formerly called *Kerjath Arba*, or *the city of* Arba, who had been a great man among the *Anakims*. There is, however, another origin of that antient name of *Hebron* given by some writers, who, taking the word *Arba*, which also signifies *four*, in that sense, and not for a proper name, say, that city was so called, because four couple were there buried, *viz.* *Adam* and *Eve*, *Abraham* and *Sarah*, *Isaac* and *Rebecca*, and *Jacob* and *Leah* (17).

(9) *Lib. Jesira. Vid. Reuchlin. de arte cabalistica, p.* 8. (10) *Joseph. antiq. l.* i. *c.* 2. (11) *Vid. Hotting. hist. orient. p.* 15. *Reland. de rel. Moham. p.* 21. (12) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 314. (13) *Gaspar Schottus techn. curiosa, p.* 556. (14) *Apud Schottum, ibid.* (15) *Vid. Epiphan. hæres.* 46. *Euseb. hist. eccles. l.* iv. *p.* 27. (16) *Josh.* xiv. 15. (17) *R. Eliezer Pirke, c.* 20. *Vid. Heidegg. ubi sup. p.* 106.

cave

cave of *Macpelah*, or the *double cave*, which *Abraham*, many ages after, bought for a burying-place for himſelf and family [w]. The oriental Chriſtians ſay, that when *Adam* ſaw death approaching, he called *Seth*, *Enos*, *Canaan*, and *Mahalaleel*, to him; and ordered them to embalm his body with myrrh, frankincenſe, and caſſia, and depoſit it in a certain cave on the top of a mountain, which he had choſen for the repoſitory of his remains, thence named the cave of *al Konuz* [x] (A). The primitive fathers generally believe, that he died in the place where *Jeruſalem* was afterwards built; and that he was interred on mount *Calvary* [y], in the very ſpot whereon CHRIST was crucified (B); which opinion

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[w] Geneſ. xxiii. 3, &c. [x] EUTYCH. annal. p. 19. ELMACIN. p. 6. [y] Vid. SALIANI annal. tom. i. p. 225.

(A) From the *Arabic* kanaza, *to lay up privately*, as treaſure, *&c.* Some *Jews* ſay, that this precaution was ordered by *Adam* to be taken, leſt his poſterity ſhould make his relics an object of idolatry (2).

The eaſtern Chriſtians add, that he farther directed his family, that when they were obliged to leave the neighbourhood of paradiſe, they ſhould take his body with them, and place it in the midſt of the earth; becauſe thence ſhould come his ſalvation, and that of all his poſterity (3). Which order, it is ſaid, was repeated by *Lamech* to his ſon *Noah*, with this addition, that he ſhould take, with the body, gold, frankincenſe, and myrrh, as offerings; and appoint one of his ſons to attend the corpſe to and at the new ſepulchre, who was to be a religious perſon, and unmarried; was to ſhed no blood, nor offer any ſacrifices but bread and wine only; was to be cloathed in ſkins, and ſhould neither cut his hair, nor pare his nails, and was to be called the prieſt of GOD; meaning thereby *Melchizedek* (4). And this *Noah* and *Melchizedek* are ſaid to have performed.

(B) This opinion may be reconciled with the preceding, if we ſuppoſe the body was removed to *Golgotha* after the flood, in purſuance of the above-mentioned orders. *Jacobus Edeſſenus* ſays (5), that *Noah* carried the bones of *Adam* with him into the ark; and, when he came out of it, he divided them among his ſons, giving the ſkull to *Shem*, who, coming into *Judæa*, repoſited it in the ſepulchre of *Adam* on mount *Calvary*.

A commentator has an odd ſtory, which is abſurdly enough fathered on ſome *Jews*; that *Seth*, at the command of an angel, put into *Adam*'s mouth, when he was interred, a ſeed of the tree of knowlege, which

(2) *R. Eliezer, ubi ſup. Juchaſin, p.* 5. (3) *Eutych. p.* 19.
(4) *Idem, p.* 32. (5) *Apud Barcepham de parad. part.* i. *c.* 14.

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opinion opened a large field for rhetorical flourishes and allusions [z]. The *Mohammedans* will have *Adam*'s sepulchre to have been on the mountain *Abu-kabis*, near *Mecca*; and the antient *Persians* in *Serendib* or *Ceylon*, where it was for some time, as they pretend, guarded by lions [a].

THE time of the death of *Eve*, the mother of all living (C), is not intimated in Scripture; but there are some who venture to tell us, that she outlived her husband ten years [b].

AFTER the death of *Adam* the eastern writers say that *Seth*, with his family, separated themselves from the profligate race of *Cain*, and removed to the mountain where *Adam* was buried, which they chose for their habitation; *Cain* and his family remaining below, in the valley where *Abel* was slain [c]. But how this near neighbourhood is consistent with Scripture, which plainly intimates *Cain*'s banishment into a country at some considerable distance from the residence of *Adam*, and his posterity by *Seth*, we cannot conceive: unless it should be supposed, that *Cain*, or his descendants, left their own settlements to dispossess *Seth* and his offspring; or else, that the posterity of both were, by this time, so greatly increased, that, after gradually extending their borders on both sides, they at length met, and

[z] See BAYLE dict. hist. art. Adam, rem. L. [a] Vid. D'HERBELOT. bibl. orient. p. 56. [b] Apud SALIAN. t. i. p. 231. [c] EUTYCH. p. 19.

afterwards grew to be a tree; and that CHRIST's cross was made of it (6).

To accompany this story, we shall add two more of the same stamp, though not so properly belonging to this place. One is, that *Eve* broke a branch from the tree of knowlege, of which she made a cudgel, and by that cogent argument prevailed on her husband to eat of the forbidden fruit (7): the other, that *Seth* planted a branch of the tree of life, which had been either brought to *Adam* by an angel, or begged by *Seth* at the gate of paradise; and that the same becoming a tree, *Moses* afterwards, from that tree, took his rod, with which he performed so many miracles; the bough, with which he made sweet the bitter waters of *Marah*; and the pole, whereon he fixed the brazen serpent (8).

(C) From whence she had her name, which is properly written *Hawwah*, and derived from the root חיה *haya*, *to live* (9).

(6) *Corn. à Lapide in Genes.* ii. 9. *citing Pinedo.* (7) *Apud Salden. otiæ theol. p.* 607. (8) *Vid. eund. p.* 608. *& Moebium de æneo serpente,* (9) *Genes.* iii. 20.

ſtreightened each other. However this be, the eaſtern tradition is, that the progeny of *Seth* lived in the ſaid mountain in great ſanctity and purity of manners (D). Their conſtant employment was, praiſing GOD, from which they had few or no avocations; for their only food was the fruits of the trees which grew on the mountains; ſo that they had no occaſion to undergo any ſervile labours, nor the trouble of ſowing, or getting in harveſt: they were utter ſtrangers to envy, injuſtice, or deceit. Their only oath was by *the blood of* Abel; and they every day went up to the top of the mountain to worſhip GOD, and to viſit the body of *Adam*, as a means of procuring the divine bleſſing [d].

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HOWEVER, what time they had to ſpare, in theſe happy circumſtances, they ſeem to have employed in cultivating their minds, and in ſublime ſpeculations; while the children of *Cain*, ſeeking no farther than preſent convenience and pleaſure, were taken up with improving agriculture, and inventing mechanical arts, and muſical inſtruments. For it is ſaid, that the offſpring of *Seth*, by contemplation of the heavenly bodies, laid the foundations of the ſcience of aſtronomy; and, leſt their inventions ſhould be forgotten, or loſt, before they were publicly known, underſtanding, from a prediction of *Adam*'s, that there would be a general deſtruction of all things, once by the rage of fire, and once by the violence and multitude of waters, they made two pillars, one of brick, and the other of ſtone, and engraved their inventions on each of them, that if the pillar of brick happened to be overthrown by the flood, that of ſtone might remain; which, *Joſephus* [e] tells us, was to be ſeen, in his time, in the land of *Siriad* (E).

How

[d] EUTYCH. p. 20. ELMACIN. p. 6. [e] JOSEPH. ant. l. i. c. 2.

(D) Our authors, if we may credit them, tell us, that paradiſe was ſo little higher than the mountain, that the children of *Seth* could hear the voices of the angels celebrating the praiſes of GOD, and even join with them in that ſervice (10).

(E) Where this land of *Siriad* was, is a great diſpute. The name is variouſly written in the manuſcripts, κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σιριάδα, and Συριάδα; by others Σίριδα (1), and by *Euſtathius* Σῆιριὰδ; which laſt ſeems the more correct. Some

(10) *Elmacin. p.* 6. *Eutych. p.* 20. *vetus interpr.*

(1) *Malela, Glycas, Cedrenus, &* place

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*The defection of the sons of* Seth.

How long the descendants of *Seth* continued thus religious, and imitators of their father's virtue, is uncertain. *Moses* says, *That when men began to multiply on the face of the earth, and daughters were born unto them, the sons of* God *saw the daughters of men, that they were fair; and they took them wives of all which they chose* [f]. By which it appears, that the beginning of their corruption was, their marrying into the wicked family of *Cain*; by which means, their manners were soon debauched, and, at length, dege-

[f] Genes. vi. 1, 2.

place it in *Syria*; others (2), with a little more probability, have taken it to be the same with *Seirath* mentioned in Scripture (3), and suppose the פסילים *pesilim*, which the *English* translation renders the *quarries*, near *Gilgal*, in the tribe of *Ephraim*, were the ruins of *Seth*'s stone pillar. Yet others (4) understand those *pesilim*, or τὰ γλυπτὰ, *the sculptures*, as the *Septuagint* translate the word, to have been certain idols, lately set up there by *Eglon*.

But the more certain opinion is (5), that the *Siriadic* land was in *Egypt*: for we are told, that *Manetho* extracted his history from certain pillars there, whereon inscriptions had been made by *Thoth*, or the first *Mercury*, in the sacred letters and dialect; but were, after the flood, translated from the sacred dialect into the *Greek* tongue, but written in the sacred letters, and laid up in books by the second *Mercury*, in the sacred recesses of the *Egyptian* temples (6). These pillars were in subterraneous caverns near *Thebes*, and beyond the *Nile*, not far from the sounding statue of *Memnon*, in a place called *Syringes* (7), which are described to be certain winding apartments under-ground, and which (as it is said) those who were skilled in antient rites, foreseeing the coming of the deluge, and fearing lest the memory of their ceremonies should be obliterated, built and contrived in vaults dug with vast labour in several places; cutting on the walls many sorts of birds and beasts, and innumerable kinds of animals, which they called hieroglyphic letters (8). And that *Seth* was not a name unknown to the *Egyptians*, appears from *Plutarch*, who tells us, that they constantly called *Typhon*, which was a *Greek* name, *Seth* (9); and hence, it is probable, *Josephus* was led into the mistake of ascribing these pillars to the son of *Adam*.

(2) *Vossius de* LXX *interpr. p.* 271. *& de ætat. mundi. c.* 10. *Marsham canon. chron. p.* 39. (3) *Judg.* iii. 19, 26. (4) *Chytræus, &c.* (5) *Vid. Dodwell. dissert. de Sanchun. p.* 26, 36. *Fabric. biblioth. Gr. l.* i. *c.* 11. *Stilling fleet orig. sacr. l.* i. *c.* 2, *& alios.* (6) *Syncell. p.* 40. (7) *Pausan. l.* i. *p.* 78. (8) *Ammian. Marcell. l.* xxii. *p.* 232. (9) *Plut. de Isid. & Osir. p.* 351. *&* 357.

nerated

nerated so far, that *the wickedness of man was very great in the earth, and every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was only evil continually* g. *Josephus* writes, that the family of *Seth* persevered in the true worship of GOD, and in the pursuit of virtue, for seven generations; after which, in process of time, they neglected both, shewing twice as much eagerness after wickedness, as they had formerly shewn zeal for virtue: by which means, they drew down on themselves the indignation of GOD h. Year of the world 930. Year before Christ 3074.

THE oriental writers place the beginning of this defection somewhat sooner, in the days of *Jared* i, and in his fortieth year k; when, they say, one hundred of the sons of *Seth*, hearing the noise of the music, and riotous mirth of the *Cainites*, agreed to go down to them from the holy mountain; and, on their arrival among them, were so captivated with the beauty of the women, who were naked, that they immediately defiled themselves with them l. And so these sons of *Seth* perished, by whoring with the daughters of *Cain*: for when they offered to return again to their former abode, the stones of the mountain (it is said) became like fire, and permitted them to pass no farther m. The lubricity of the *Cainites* is described in very strong terms. The men neighed after the women like horses, and the women, in the same manner after the men, committing whoredom, and all manner of filthiness, promiscuously with one another in public; the old women being, if possible, more brutish and lewd than the young. The fathers lay with their daughters, and the young men with their mothers; so that the children could not distinguish their parents, nor the parents their children.

THE appellation of the sons of GOD, given by *Moses* to the children of *Seth*, led *Josephus* n, *Philo Judæus* o, and several of the fathers p, into a strange interpretation of this passage; as if the angels, who are also called in Scripture the sons of GOD q, were thereby asserted to have had to do with women, and to have begotten on them the *The opinion of those who suppose angels defiled themselves with women.*

g Ibid. ver. 5. h JOSEPH. ant. l. i. c. 3. i ELMACIN. p. 9. EUTYCH. p. 27. k ABU'LFARAG. p. 8. Vid. etiam EPIPHAN. hæres. l. i. l Idem ibid. m EUTYCH. p. 27. n Jos. ubi sup. o PHILO Jud. de gigant. p. 284. p JUSTIN. M. TERTULLIAN. ATHENAG. CLEMENS ALEXANDR. EUSEB. LACTANTIUS, AMBROSIUS, & alii apud Sixtum Senens. bibl. S. l. v. annot. 77. SULP. SEVER. hist. sacr. l. i. p. 8.
q Job i. 6. ii. 1. xxxviii. 7.

insolent

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insolent and impious race we shall mention immediately (F). This supposition, we think, needs no refutation, being utterly repugnant to the notions we have of the nature of those spiritual beings, who are neither married, nor given in

(F) This opinion seems to have been originally occasioned by some copies of the *Septuagint*, which, in the days of St. *Austin*, had in this place *the angels of God* (1). *Lactantius* supposes the angels, who were guilty of this enormity, had been sent down by God to guard and take care of mankind; and, being indued with free-will, were charged by him not to forfeit the dignity of their celestial nature, by defileing themselves with the corruptions of the earth; but that the devil, at length, enticed them to debauch themselves with women. He adds, that being not admitted into heaven, by reason of the wickedness into which they had plunged themselves, they fell down to the earth, and became the devil's ministers: but that those who were begotten by them, being neither angels nor men, but of a middle nature, were not received into hell, no more than their parents were into heaven. Hence arose two kinds of dæmons, celestial and terrestrial. These are unclean spirits, the authors of whatever evils are committed, and whose prince is the devil (2). From hence, very probably, proceeded the notions of *incubi*, or dæmons, who are supposed to have carnal knowlege of women (3).

But the fancy of angels defiling themselves with women, has been greatly propagated by that forgery we have mentioned above, intituled the prophecy of *Enoch*. The fragments we have still extant of which, give a more particular history of these imaginary transactions. Wherefore we shall here insert an extract of those fragments, though some particulars might, perhaps, be more properly reserved for another place.

When men were greatly increased, they had daughters of such excellent beauty, that the *egregori*, or watching angels (4), fell in love with them, and proposed to one another, that they should go down, and chuse themselves wives of the daughters of men: to which *Semiazas*, their prince, replying, that he was apprehensive they would not go through with the affair, but leave him to bear the guilt alone, they all swore, and bound themselves under imprecations, that they would not recede from their resolution. The number of these *egregori* was two hundred, who, in the days of *Jared*, descended on the top of mount *Hermon*, which was so called from the oath they had taken. Their princes were twenty, whose names (if the readers have any curiosity to know them) follow:

(1) *August. de civit. Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 23. (2) *Lactantius de orig. err. l.* ii. *c.* 15. (3) *Vid. August. ubi supra, c.* 65. (4) *See p.* 101. *before, in the notes.*

Semi-

in marriage [r]; though it be hard to accuſe, as ſome have done [s], thoſe who have fallen into this miſtake, of hereſy

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[r] Matth. xxii. 30. Luke xx. 35. [s] PHILASTRIUS BRIXIENSIS adv. hær. cap. 108. CHRYSOST. homil. xxii. in Geneſ. c. v.

*Semiazas*, their chief,
*Atarcuph*,
*Araciel*,
*Chobabiel*,
*Orammame*,
*Ramiel*,
*Sampſich*,
*Zaciel*,
*Balciel*,
*Azalzel*,

*Pharmarus*,
*Amariel*,
*Anagemas*,
*Thauſael*,
*Samiel*,
*Sarinas*,
*Eumiel*,
*Tyriel*,
*Jumiel*,
*Sariel*.

Theſe, and the reſt of them, in the year of the world one thouſand one hundred and ſeventy, took themſelves wives, and began to commit lewdneſs with them, which they continued to do until the flood; and the women bore to them three generations. The firſt generation were the giants, the giants begat the *nephilim*, and the *nephilim* thoſe named *eliud*; and they were multiplied according to their ſtature, and taught themſelves, and their wives, magic and inchantments. The tenth of their princes, named *Azalzel*, taught them to make ſwords, breaſt-plates, and inſtruments of war; as alſo, the working of metals, particularly gold and ſilver, and faſhioning various ornaments for the women: he alſo inſtructed them in the preparing of coſmetics, the poliſhing of precious ſtones, and the art of dying. Theſe things the ſons of men provided for themſelves and their daughters, and they tranſgreſſed; and alſo ſeduced thoſe that were virtuous among them, and wickedneſs prevailed greatly on the earth. *Semiazas*, the chief of theſe angels, taught the force of poiſonous roots and herbs; *Pharmarus* the eleventh, charms and incantations; the ninth aſtroſcopy; the fourth aſtrology; the eighth aeroſcopy; the third the ſigns of the earth; the ſeventh thoſe of the ſun; the twentieth thoſe of the moon; and, in like manner, each of them revealed certain ſecrets to their wives and children. Afterwards, the giants began to devour human fleſh; by which means, the number of men daily decreaſing, thoſe that remained cried to heaven againſt their cruelty, and beſought GOD to remember them. This the four archangels hearing, looked down upon the earth, and beholding a great deal of blood ſhed thereon, and that all manner of impiety and diſorder was committed, made their report thereof to GOD, and, at his command, bound the princes of thoſe tranſgreſſors, and threw them into the abyſs, there to be kept to the day of judgment (5). *Uriel*, in particular, was ſent to *Noah*, the ſon of *Lamech*,

(5) *Ex primo libro Enoch. apud Syncellum, p.* 11, 12, 13. *Vid.* 2 *Pet.* ii. 4.

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and blaſphemy. Others, indeed, and particularly ſeveral of the *Jewiſh* writers, by the ſons of GOD, underſtand the fallen angels (G), who, ſeeing the daughters of *Cain* walking

*mech*, to acquaint him, that the whole earth was to be deſtroyed by a deluge, and inſtruct him by what means to eſcape it. *Raphael* was ordered to bind *Azael* [*Azalzel*] hand and foot, and to throw him into darkneſs, in the deſert of *Dudael*, and to lay him upon ſharp ſtones, and cover him with darkneſs, that he might dwell therein for ever, being deſtined to the puniſhment of fire on the day of judgment. The words which follow, directing him to heal the earth of the wounds cauſed therein by the ſecrets revealed by the *egregori*, are ſomething dark, and deſerve not the trouble of an explication. *Gabriel*'s charge was, to deſtroy the giants, the ſons of the *egregori*, by exciting them to mutual and inteſtine wars, that they might fall by each others hands; and *Michael* was commanded to bind *Semiazas*, and the reſt of his companions, and to lead them, after they had ſeen the ſlaughter of their beloved ſons, to the utmoſt parts of the earth, where they were to be confined for ſeventy generations, till the conſummation of all things, and the day of judgment, when they were to be thrown into the gulph of fire. The giants, being begotten by a mixture of ſpirit and fleſh, were condemned to become evil ſpirits, doing miſchief upon the earth, appearing as ſpectres, and taking no food; but were to riſe with mankind at the general reſurrection. Therefore from the day of the ſlaughter of the giants, the *nephilim*, the mighty men of the earth, and the great men of renown, the ſpirits which went forth from their ſouls, as from fleſh, were to continue their miſchievous employments till the laſt day. It was alſo decreed, that mount *Hermon*, where thoſe angels mutually bound themſelves by an oath, ſhould never be without ſnow and cold till the day of judgment, when it ſhould melt like wax. Mankind are alſo threatened with a general deſtruction, and that their life ſhould be but one hundred and twenty years (6).

This is the ſubſtance of thoſe fragments, many parts of which are ſo greatly corrupted, that it is difficult to make ſenſe of them; but the beſt is, the loſs is not great.

(G) Two of them were, *Aza* and *Azael*, mentioned before (7). *Shamhozai* (whoſe name comes very near that of *Semiazas*) was another; he was the companion of *Azael*, and begat on ſome woman *Hiyah* and *Hhiyah*, who begat *Sihon* and *Og*. *Shamhozai* is ſaid to have repented of his crime; and in penance for the ſame, to have hung himſelf up between heaven and earth, in which poſture

(6) *Ex eod. ibid. p.* 24, 25, 26. (7) *Pag.* 160. *in notis.*

he

ing in the nakedneſs of the fleſh, and painting their eyes like whores, wandered after them, and took wives from among them [t].

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WHILE we are on this head, it may not be amiſs to mention another opinion, more reaſonable than the laſt, which is embraced by the *Jewiſh* interpreters [u]: they ſuppoſe, that, by the ſons of GOD, in this place, are meant the princes, great men, and magiſtrates of thoſe times, who, inſtead of uſing their authority to puniſh and diſcountenance vice, were themſelves the greateſt examples and promoters of lewdneſs and debauchery; taking the daughters of men, or the inferior and meaner ſort of people, and debauching them by force (H).

[t] R. ELIEZER, c. 23. [u] Targumim ONKELOS & BEN UZZIEL. R. SOL. YARHI, ABEN EZRA, *&c.*

he ſtill remains; but *Azael*, continuing impenitent, preſides over the womens toilets (8), and is the ſame with the goat *Azazel*, mentioned by *Moſes* (9). A fourth of theſe debauched angels, named *Mahzael*, is ſaid to have lain with *Ham*'s wife, about the time of the flood; and *Sihon*, it is pretended, was the iſſue of that adultery (10).

Theſe antient traditions concerning angels were not unknown to *Mohammed*. The *koran* (11) mentions two, named *Harut* and *Marut*, who taught magic at *Babel*. Theſe, the commentators ſay, were ſent down to be judges on earth; which office they executed with integrity for ſome time, till *Zohara*, or the ſtar *Venus*, deſcended, and appeared before them in the ſhape of a beautiful woman, bringing a complaint againſt her huſband (though others ſay, ſhe was really a woman). As ſoon as they ſaw her, they fell in love with her, and endeavoured to prevail on her to ſatisfy their deſires; but ſhe flew up again to heaven, whither the two angels alſo returned, but were not admitted. On the interceſſion of a certain man, they were allowed to chuſe whether they would be puniſhed in this life, or in the other; whereupon they choſe the former, and now ſuffer puniſhment, accordingly, in *Babel* (12). This ſtory was taken directly from the *Perſians*, who make mention of two rebellious angels, of the ſame names, now hung up by the feet, with their heads downward, in the territory of *Babel* (13).

(H) To ſupport this interpretation, they tell us, that the verb לקח, which is generally rendered *to take*, ſignifies alſo, *to raviſh*, or *take by violence*.

(8) *Bereſhi Rabba in Geneſ.* vi. 2. (9) *Levitic.* xvi. 8. (10) *Juchaſin.* (11) *Cap.* ii. *ver.* 102, *&c.* (12) *Vid. Maracc. in alcor.* p. 44. (13) *Vid. Hyde de rel. vet. Perſar. c.* 12.

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*The issue of the* Sethites, *and the daughters of* Cain, *and their impiety.*

THE example of these sons of *Seth*, who, tempted by the allurements of the daughters of *Cain*, first left their seat of innocence, was afterwards followed by others, who from time to time descended in great numbers from the holy mountain, and took them wives, in like manner, of that profligate and abandoned race [w]. From these unhappy marriages issued a generation, which seem to have been no less extraordinary for their great stature and strength, than for their monstrous impiety and injustice. *There were in those days giants* (I) *in the earth* [x], who being, most pro-

[w] EUTYCH. p. 27. [x] Genes. vi. 4.

(I) The *Hebrew* word is נפילים *nephilim*, from נפל *naphal, to fall*; which derivation is urged in defence of that opinion, which makes them incarnate spirits, or the fallen angels, under the shape of men (14). The targum of *Ben Uzziel* agrees with this interpretation, and names two of those angels, then conversant on earth, *viz. Shambazai* and *Uzziel*. But the root signifies, also, *to fall upon, to rush with violence*, &c. According to which sense, *Symmachus* translates *nephilim* βιαίους, and *Aquila* ἐπιπίπτοντας. The other translations generally render it *giants*.

Some take these *nephilim* to have been men of ordinary stature, and so called on account only of their enormous impiety, rapaciousness, and insolence (15); which, as it seems, was the opinion of *Josephus* (16). But others, with greater reason, believe, they were also of extraordinary stature and strength (1); the word *nephilim* being manifestly used elsewhere in Scripture (2) to denote men above the common size. Not but that it may also signify those that *fall away, apostates* (3).

That there were, in these antient times, men of a gigantic size and strength, is a thing very credible, both from later instances in historians, sacred and profane, and modern instances in our own times (4). But we must not hence conclude, as some have done, that mankind in general were, in the first ages, of a much larger stature than they are at present (5); giants being manifestly spoken of as rarities, and the wonders of their time, though their number seems to have been much greater before the flood.

The opinion of *J. Bolduc* (6), the capuchin, is too singular to be omitted. He sup-

(14) *Vid. Paul. Burgens. in loc.* (15) *Philo Jud. de gigant. Goropp. Becanus in gigantomach. Temporarius.* (16) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 3. (1) *Vid. August. de civit. Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 4. *Chrys. in loc. Theodoret. quæst.* 48. *in Genes. R. Sol. Yarhi, Abenezra.* (2) *Numb.* xiii. 32, 33. (3) *See* 2 *Kings* xxv. 11. *Jerem.* xxxvii. 13. *and* xxxviii. 19. (4) *Vid. Derham's physico-theol. b.* v. *c.* 4. *Grew's cosmol. sacr. b.* i. *c.* 5. §. 25. (5) *Vid. Homer. Virgil.* (6) *In tract. de ecclesia ante legem.*

poses,

probably of *Cain*'s race, both by father and mother, and born before the conjunction of the two families (K), made use of their superior power to spoil and tyrannize over the weaker. And the same course of life was followed by the mongrel offspring, who signalized themselves also by robberies and oppressions, and *became mighty men, which were of old, men of renown*[y].

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MANKIND running thus headlong into all manner of vice, and the posterity of *Seth*, who had, for some ages, retained their integrity, becoming at length, by their imprudent alliance with the race of *Cain*, infected with the same contagion of profaneness and immorality, so that all sorts of wickedness began to overspread the earth; and this, notwithstanding the frequent admonitions they pro-

*The 120 years of God's forbearance.*

[y] Genes. vi. 4.

poses, that the different words by which giants seem to be intended in Scripture, as *nephilim*, *rephaim*, *zuzim*, *gibborim*, *enakim*, *zamzummim*, *elim*, &c. do not, for the most part, denote the uncommon size, but the strength and excellence of the piety and truth of the holy patriarchs, the first propagators of mankind, and divine worship. The *nephilim*, in particular, he imagines to be those who were distinguished from others, in that they worshipped GOD by *falling down*, or prostration; in the same manner as the fathers of the order of St. *Francis* of *Assisi* are remarkable for adoreing in the same posture, and kissing the earth before the host.

Some authors have inquired into the original cause of this monstrous stature of the giants. St. *Cyril* thinks it a judgment of GOD on the lust of their parents (7). They who suppose them to be the issue of the fallen spirits, say, it was by their artful promoting and raising the lechery and pleasure of the women with whom they had to do (8). Some attribute it to the vigour of the sons of *Seth* (9); while others make *Seth*'s descendants in general to have been of a very large size, and those of *Cain*, on the contrary, of a less (10).

(K) This the words of *Moses* seem to imply; *There were giants* (says he) *in the earth in those days; and also after that, when the sons of* GOD *came in unto the daughters of men, and they bare children to them*, &c. So that there appear to have been two distinct races of *nephilim*; one of which arose pretty early in the world, being of the posterity of *Cain*; and another, which began some ages after, being the issue of the sons of *Seth* by the daughters of *Cain* (11); and both of them probably continued to the flood.

(7) *Lib.* iii. *in Genes.*
(8) *Vid. Fr. Vales. de sacra philos. c.* 8.
(9) *Vid. Heid. hist. patr. t.* i. *p.* 202.
(10) *Chrysost. in loc. Eutych.*
(11) *Vid. Heid. ubi supra, p.* 185.

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bably received by persons from time to time sent by GOD; the divine vengeance might with justice have been immediately executed on so perverse a generation: but GOD, out of his great mercy, was pleased to grant them a convenient time for repentance, no less than one hundred and twenty years; during which space, but no longer, his spirit should *strive with man*[z], or endeavour to awaken and reclaim them from their wicked course of life (L).

Noah *preaches.*

AMIDST this general corruption, one man, however, was found to be just and perfect in his generation (M), walking

[z] Ibid. ver. 3.

(L) This passage of Scripture is variously interpreted: the *English* translation seems to give the true sense of the *Hebrew*; but the *Septuagint*, *Vulgate*, and *Syriac* versions, render the word ידון (which we translate *strive with*) *continue*, or *dwell in*; supposing the meaning to be, either that GOD's spirit of admonition, or forbearance, would not always wait on man; or else, that the spirit, or breath of life, should not always continue in him; that is, no longer than the space of one hundred and twenty years, after which, if he continued impenitent, he should be destroyed. And this is the sense of *Onkelos*. The *Jews* have much useless learning in their comments on this text (12). But they who infer from hence, that the standard of man's life was now reduced and limited to one hundred and twenty years (13), are manifestly mistaken; for that reduction was not made immediately after the flood, nor till the days of *Moses*. And St. *Peter* plainly approves the other sense, when he observes, that *the long-suffering of* GOD *waited in the days of* Noah, *while the ark was preparing* (14): yet this notion spread even among the Heathen writers (15).

(M) From this expression some *Jews* would infer, that *Noah* was a good man comparatively speaking only, in respect of the great wickedness of the rest of the world; but that, had he lived in *Abraham*'s time, he would have had but a small share of reputation for virtue (16). But this unjust surmise, had it any foundation in the words of *Moses*, is refuted by the testimony of *Ezekiel* (17), who names him as one of the three that had been most eminent for righteousness, and should save their lives by their own merits, in the most universal calamities. It is true, they give another reason for

(12) *Vid. eund. ibid. p.* 343, *&c. Philo de gigant. Procop. in locum.* (13) *Joseph. antiq. l.* i. *c.* 3. (14) 1 *Pet.* iii. 20. *Vid. Augustin. de civit. Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 24. (15) *Vid. Treb. Pollion. in Claud.* (16) *Philo Jud. de Abraham, p.* 354. *R. Sol. Yarbi in locum.* (17) *Chap.* xiv. 14, 18.

their

walking with GOD [a]. This extraordinary person was *Noah* (N), the son of *Lamech*, who, not thinking it sufficient to be righteous himself, unless he did his utmost to turn others likewise to righteousness by admonition, as well as example, became a preacher [b] to the abandoned race among which he lived, employing both his counsel and authority to bring them to a reformation of their manners, and to restore the true religion among them (O). But all he could do, was to no purpose, for they continued incorrigibly obstinate: so that, at length (as *Josephus* [c] tells us), finding himself and family in imminent danger of some violence in return for his good-will, he departed from among them, with his wife and children.

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ON his departure, it is probable, they fell into greater disorders than before; having now none to controul, or their opinion, *viz.* because *Noah* did not intercede for the old world, as *Abraham* did for *Sodom*. *Mankind incorrigible.*

[a] Ibid. ver. 9. [b] 2 Pet. ii. 5. [c] Antiq. l. i. c. 3.

(N) *Lamech* gave his son this name, which signifies *comfort*: for *this same*, says he, *shall comfort us concerning our work, and toil of our hands, because of the ground which the* LORD *hath cursed*. Which words not expressing the means by which *Noah* was thus to comfort his friends, some writers have thence inferred, that he invented the tools and instruments of husbandry (1).

(O) The eastern Christians say, that, when GOD ordered *Noah* to build the ark, he also directed him to make an instrument of wood, such as they make use of in the east, at this day, instead of bells to call the people to church, and named, in *Arabic*, *nakus*, which he was to strike three times every day, not only to call together the workmen that were building the ark, but to give him an opportunity of daily admonishing his people of the impending danger of the deluge (2).

The *Mohammedans* likewise agree to make *Noah* a prophet, and, as has been observed, one of the six principal ones (3), though he had no written revelations delivered to him (4). The *koran* mentions his preaching to those of his time in several places (5). Some of their writers pretend, he was sent to convert *Zohak*, one of the *Persian* kings of the first race, who refused to hearken to him. He then went to preach GOD's unity publicly, but could make no more proselytes than eighty, who went with him into the ark (6).

(1) *Yarbi in loc. Zohar, parash.* 1. (2) *Eutych. annal.* p. 37.
(3) *See before*, p. 166. *in the notes.* (4) *Vid. Reland. de rel. Moham.* p. 34.
(5) *Cap.* xi. *ver.* 26. *cap.* xxvi. *ver.* 105, &c. (6) *Vid. D'Herbel. bibl. orient* p. 675.

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even to trouble them with unwelcome advice. *Moses* assures us, that *the wickedness of man was great in the earth, and that every imagination of the thoughts of his heart was continually evil*[d]; and that *the earth was corrupt and filled with violence, all flesh* (P) *having corrupted his way upon the earth*[e]. Which words leave no room to inquire into the particular crimes of the antediluvian world, which seems to have been over-run with a complication of all manner of debauchery and wickedness, and above all with violence and injustice towards one another. Whether idolatry was practised before the flood, is a question we shall discuss elsewhere; but the eastern authors are for the affirmative, and say the children of *Seth* were seduced to it by the *Cainites*[f].

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THINGS being in this state, GOD, as the sacred historian pathetically expresses it, *repented that he had made man upon earth, and it grieved him at his heart*[g]. And the time of forbearance being elapsed, he passed the sentence of their utter destruction by a flood of waters; and not only of them, but of the beasts of the earth, and every creeping thing, and of the fowls of the air[h], which became involved in the calamity of their masters. But *Noah found grace in the eyes of the* LORD[i], who had before, probably at the beginning of the one hundred and twenty years, acquainted him with his design of bringing a deluge on the earth; and, as a means to preserve him and his from that calamity, directed him to make an ark, or vessel, of a certain form and size, capable of containing not only himself and family (for he had three sons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, who were all married before the flood), but such numbers of animals of all sorts, which were liable to perish in the flood, as would be sufficient to preserve the several species, and again replenish the earth, together with all necessary provisions for them[k]. All which *Noah* performed, and so, by GOD's peculiar favour and providence, he and those that were with him, escaped this tremendous and

*The whole world destroyed by a flood, except* Noah *and his family.*

[d] Genes. vi. 5. [e] Ib. ver. 11, 12. [f] EUTYCH. annal. p. 31. [g] Genes. vi. 6. [h] Ib. ver. 7. [i] Ib. ver. 8. [k] Ib. ver. 14, &c.

(P) The oriental writers agree in making this defection so universal, that at last, they say, there was none left in the holy mountain of all *Seth*'s race, except only *Noah* and his wife, and his three sons and their wives (7).

(7) *Eutych. annal. p.* 35.

other-

otherwise general destruction; which event, the most extraordinary that is recorded in history, and deserving our greatest attention, must be the subject of a future discourse, after we shall have taken a view of what the profane writers offer us towards the history of this period.

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## SECT V.

### *The profane History before the Flood.*

BESIDES the particulars in the preceding section, taken from the writings of *Moses*, the only records to be depended on in these early times, we have some farther accounts relating to this period transmitted to us by antient writers; particularly those of the *Phœnician*, *Babylonian*, and *Egyptian* antiquities, which we must not omit, leaving however the reader to judge of their credibility.

*Accounts of antediluvian affairs besides that of Moses.*

SANCHONIATHO, who wrote the *Phœnician* antiquities (Q), began his history from the origin of the world and of mankind; but his work being apparently written with a design to apologize for idolatry[1], instead of deducing the history (as *Moses* has done) from *Adam* in the line of *Seth*, the worshippers of the true GOD, he has, according to the most probable hypothesis (R), given us that of the idolatrous line of *Cain*; that the religion which this author, or those he transcribed, patronized, might appear to be introduced by the elder branch, a circumstance which they might think gave it no small lustre and reputation.

Sanchoniatho's Phœnician *history.*

IN the following extract from the remaining fragments of this author, we might justly be surprised to find not so much as the least mention of the deluge, did we not consider that destruction was a judgment on the idolatrous world, with which the professors of the true religion probably reproached the heathens, and which the latter were therefore desirous to conceal, to bury, if possible, the very memory of so extraordinary a monument of divine vengeance, and their own shame.

[1] See the introd. p. 24.

(Q) The credit of the fragments we have remaining of this work, and the age of its author, are inquired into in the preface.

(R) *Viz.* That of bishop *Cumberland*, the substance of whose remarks the reader will find in the following notes.

*Generation* I. SANCHONIATHO, having delivered his cosmogony, or generation of the other parts of the world [m], begins his history of mankind with the production of the first pair of mortals [n], whom *Philo*, his translator, calls *Protogonus* and *Æon* (S), the latter of whom found out the food which is gathered from trees.

*Generation* II. THEIR issue were called *Genus* and *Genea* (T), and dwelt in *Phœnicia*: but when great droughts came, they stretched

[m] Vid. ibid. p. 23, 24. [n] Vid. ibid. p. 95.

(S) That these two were *Adam* and *Eve*, appears not only from their being the first of human kind, but also from their names, Πρωτόγονος, *the first produced*, and Αἰὼν, *life*, (which is the signification of that word in the feminine gender, the masculine article τὸν prefixed to it in the original being a mistake of the transcriber); the latter of them bearing a near resemblance to *Eve*, both in sense and sound. What our author immediately mentions of the woman's first gathering from trees, seems to allude to *Eve*'s first eating the forbidden fruit (1).

(T) *Genus*, abating the termination, makes a fair approach in sound to the name of *Cain*; and by its signification seems very proper to denote the man who was the first-begotten in the ordinary course of nature. The *Greek* word γενέα, whence the *Latin geno* comes, being also probably derived from קנה *Kana* (*K* and *G* being letters of the same organ, and consequently easily changed into each other), the root from which the name of *Cain* was formed. *Genea* may signify only the wife of *Genus*, as *Caia* does the wife of *Caius* in the civil law (2).

As to what follows, that *Cain* and his wife dwelt in *Phœnicia*, this seems repugnant to the *Mosaic* history, where *Nod* is said to be on the east of *Eden*. But it may not be impertinent to add what has been observed, that there was a city in *Canaan* call'd *Cain*, within the bounds assign'd to the tribe of *Judah* (3). In the best maps it is situated not far from the sea, on a promontory lying within the country which the *Philistines* kept long in their possession; and it is not likely that any who owned themselves derived from *Seth*, should build a city, and then brand it with the odious name of *Cain*: but it is possible it might be either built by some of his family before the flood, and its ruins be repaired afterwards, still keeping his name; *Joppa*, another city in that neighbourhood, being also said to be more antient than the deluge (4). Or it might be built by the old *Philistines* before *Joshua*'s time; and they being descended from *Mizraim*,

(1). *Vid.* Grot. *de veritate relig. Christ. in notis ad lib.* i. § 16. *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 218, &c. (2) *Cumberl. ibid. p.* 219, &c. (3) *Josh.* xv. 57. (4) *Plin. nat. hist. l.* v. *c.* 13.

might

ſtretched forth their hands to heaven towards the ſun (U), for him they thought the only god and lord of heaven, calling him *Beelſamen*, which in *Phœnician* is *lord of heaven*, and in *Greek Zeus*. For we, ſays our author, not vainly, have frequently diſtinguiſhed thoſe names, but with reſpect to the later ſignification of names accruing to them from later things; which the *Greeks* not knowing, have conſtrued otherwiſe, being deceived with the ambiguity of their ſignifications.

AFTERWARDS from *Genus*, the ſon of *Protogonus* and *Æon*, other mortal iſſue was begotten, whoſe names were *Phos*, *Phur*, and *Phlox*, that is, *Light*, *Fire*, and *Flame* (W). Theſe found out the way of generating fire by the rubbing of pieces of wood againſt each other, and taught men the uſe thereof. Theſe begat ſons of vaſt bulk and height, whoſe names were given to the mountains on which they ſeized: ſo from them were named mount *Caſſius* and *Libanus*, *Antilibanus* and *Brathys* (X). *Generation* III. *Generation* IV.

might, though falſly, believe, as *Sanchoniatho* reports, that he was of *Cain*'s line, and thence might call this city by his name (5).

(U) This ſeems to have been the firſt introduction of idolatry, which began with the worſhip of the ſun; ſeveral of *Cain*'s deſcendants added other methods of idolatrous worſhip, diſtinctly ſet down by this author. They proceeded to deify the ſeveral parts of nature, and men after their death, and even to conſecrate plants ſhooting out of the earth, which the firſt men, or thoſe in the elder ages, judged to be gods, and worſhipped, as thoſe that ſuſtained the lives of themſelves and their poſterity, as well as of their anceſtors: to theſe they made their meat and drink offerings; which *Sanchoniatho* ſays, were the devices of worſhip agreeing with the weakneſs and want of boldneſs in their minds (6).

(W) *Hebrew* names like theſe, though unuſual among us, are mentioned in after-times in Scripture; as, *Ur*, *Uri*, *Beor*, and *Lehabim*, which ſignify *fire* and *flames*, and anſwer *Philo*'s well enough. It is ſuppoſed they were ſo called from their inventing the method of kindling and uſing fire (1).

(X) This generation were inhabitants and lords in the great mountains which took their names from them. So *Seir*, a name of *Eſau*, is ſuppoſed to have been given to the mountain which he poſſeſſed, tho' it be proleptically given to that country before his birth (2).

(5) *Cumberl. ubi ſup. p.* 229, *&c. ubi infra.* (1) *Cumberl. ubi ſup. p.* 237. (6) *Sanchon. apud Euſeb.* (2) *Vid. eund. ibid.*

*Generation* V.

OF these last were begotten *Memrumus* and *Hypsuranius* (Y), but they were so named by their mothers, the women of those times, who without shame lay with any man they could light upon (Z). *Hypsuranius* inhabited *Tyre*, and he invented the making of huts of reeds and rushes, and the *papyrus*. He also fell into enmity with his brother *Usous* (A), who first invented a covering for his body out of the skins of the wild beasts which he could catch. And when violent tempests of winds and rains came, the boughs in *Tyre* being rubbed against each other, took fire, and burnt the wood there. And *Usous* having taken a tree, and broke off its boughs, first was so bold as to venture upon it into the sea. He also consecrated two rude stones, or pillars, to fire and wind, and he worshipped them, and poured out to them the blood of such wild beasts as had been caught in hunting (B). But when these

(Y) *Bochart* makes these two but one person, reading Memrumus, *who is also called* Hypsuranius, the latter name seeming to be a translation of the first, which *Bochart* thinks has lost a syllable, *mem* being left instead of *samen*, or שמים *shamaim*, signifying *heaven*, to answer Οὐράνιος, in *Philo*'s translation, as *rum* does ורם, or *high*. *Scaliger* thinks it only put instead of מנרום *minrum*, *from on high*. Bishop *Cumberland* derives it with less change from רום *rum*, and מים *Maim*, signifying *waters from on high*, or issue from above (3).

(Z) The immorality of the womens prostituting their bodies, so plainly confessed by our author, agrees with the intimation which *Moses* gives concerning the debauchery of these ages, and the general corruption of the world which ensued upon it.

(A) *Usous* is thought to be the same with עוץ *Ous*, i. e. *strong*, a name long after given to the son of *Aram*, whom *Josephus* calls *Ouses*, and we write *Uz*; the termination in *Josephus* only differs from *Philo*'s *Ousous* (4).

(B) The wind and fire, to which these two pillars were consecrated, seem to have been those violent ones that had burnt the wood. This is the oldest instance of worshipping these lower sort of naturally immortal gods; which it is probable were worshipped, because the fire and winds are of kindred to celestial or ethereal matter. The *Greek* does not expressly say that the blood of the wild beasts was poured out, but it is conceived necessary so to understand the words σπενδειν εκ θηρίων, because there is nothing

(3) *Idem ibid. p.* 231. (4) *Idem ibid. p.* 238.

else

theſe were dead, thoſe that remained, conſecrated to them ſtumps of wood and pillars, worſhipping them, and kept anniverſary feaſts unto them (C).

MANY years after this generation, came *Agreus* and *Halieus* (D), the inventors of the arts of hunting and fiſhing, from whom huntſmen and fiſhermen are named. *Generation* VI.

OF theſe were begotten two brothers, the inventors of iron and of the forging thereof: one of theſe, called *Chryſor* (E), the ſame with *Hephæſtus*, or *Vulcan*, exerciſed himſelf *Generation* VII.

elſe in them, beſides their blood, which can be poured out as a libation. This is therefore obſerved to be the firſt offering of blood to inferior deities. And becauſe this was that of hunted wild beaſts, of whoſe blood no great quantity could be gotten to be poured out of veſſels; we may infer that *Uſous* offered ſome part of their fleſh, with their blood dropping out of their limbs. And ſince there is no reaſon to doubt but he eat part of what he had taken in hunting, as he offered part; this is the firſt example of eating fleſh before the flood: and the reſtriction under which it was afterwards granted to *Noah*, ſeems to intimate, that the wild antediluvian ſons of *Cain* had fallen into the barbarity of eating raw and bloody fleſh, forbidden therefore to *Noah* and his poſterity, both in the caſe of ſacrifice and of ordinary diet, to prevent all correſpondence with their ſavage practices (5).

(C) Here is the connection of the worſhip of men after death, with that of the parts of nature. But it does not appear any ſacrifice or prayer was as yet made to them as gods, as is expreſly ſaid hereafter of *Vulcan*.

(D) Theſe names are *Greek*, and therefore *Philo*'s tranſlation of ſome eaſtern names of like import. All that can be underſtood of this age is, that the arts or employments here mentioned were then much improved; for *Uſous* was a huntſman before.

Though the connection of this generation with the preceding be expreſſed more ambiguouſly than any other in the whole pedigree, by the words *after much time*, which may occaſion a doubt whether this generation was the immediate offſpring of the laſt or not; yet if we conſider how far ſome of the antediluvians were advanced in years before their children were born, we muſt allow that no argument can be built thereon for the negative. And an interpolation of other generations cannot be admitted without owning ſo many more generations in *Cain*'s line before the flood, which would make his line to have more links in it than *Seth*'s, a circumſtance we have no reaſon to believe 6.

(E) *Bochart*'s origination of this name from חרש-אור *Chores-ur*, which he renders Πυριτεχνίτης, *an artificer by fire*,

(5) *Idem ibid. p.* 239, 240.

(6) *Idem ibid. p.* 242, &c.

himſelf in words, and charms, and divinations; and he found out the hook, bait, and fiſhing-line, and boats ſlightly built; and he was the firſt of all men that ſailed: wherefore he alſo was worſhipped after his death for a god, and they called him *Zeus Michius*, or *Jupiter* the engineer (F); and ſome ſay his brothers invented the way of making walls of brick.

*Generation* VIII. AFTERWARDS from this generation came two brothers, one of which was called *Technites*, or the *artiſt*, the other, *Geinus Autochthon* (G), *the home-born man of the earth*. Theſe found out to mingle ſtubble, or ſmall twigs, with the bricky earth, and to dry them in the ſun; and ſo made tiling.

*Generation* IX. BY theſe were begotten others, of which one was called *Agrus* [field] and the other *Agrouerus*, or *Agrotes* (H) [huſbandman], who had a ſtatue much worſhipped, and a temple

*fire*, is not improbable. Yet biſhop *Cumberland* rather derives it from a ſimple root חרץ *Charas*, *to beſtir one's ſelf vigorouſly*, *to cut*, &c. from whence χρῦσος, *beaten or cut gold*, is allowed to come, and why not *Chryſor?* ſince it differs only in termination, and compoſitions muſt not be admitted in eaſtern words without neceſſity.

This *Chryſor* is the firſt man our author informs us of, who was worſhipped as a god after his death; a plain confeſſion, that ſuch worſhip was not from the beginning. It is remarkable, that as this ſort of idolatry began in the eighth generation, and the flood was drawing near in the next generation but one, ſo it is more than probable, that all or moſt of thoſe who were concerned in this firſt deifying of men, if they lived to be any thing near the age of their contemporaries of *Seth*'s line, were drowned therein (1).

(F) The original is *Diamichius*. But our learned biſhop chuſes to divide the word, and and derives *Michius* from מחי *machi*, *a machine* (2).

(G) *Technites* ſeems to be a tranſlation of the eaſtern name *malachi*, from מלאבה *Malaca*, *workmanſhip*, *art*. The other, *Geinus*, ſignifying *earthy*, has ſome affinity with *Epher* and *Ephron*, *Canaanitiſh* names, and probably uſed by *Sanchoniatho* (3).

(H) This generation is remarkable, becauſe to the men thereof, the firſt ſtatue, or idol to be worſhipped, and the firſt temple we read of, was erected in *Phœnicia*; a ſmall temple, or rather tabernacle, it was, like that of *Moloch* and his ſtar *Chiun*, or *Remphan* (4), and drawn by oxen, in the ſame manner as the ark, or epitome

(1) *Idem ibid. p.* 244, *&c.* (2) *Idem ibid. p.* 232. (3) *Ibid. p.* 246. (4) *Amos* v. 26. *Acts* vii. 43.

temple carried about by one or more yoke of oxen in *Phœnicia:* and among thoſe of *Byblus* he is eminently called the greateſt of the gods. Theſe found out how to make courts about mens houſes, and fences, and caves or cellars. Huſbandmen, and ſuch as uſe dogs in hunting, derive from theſe; and they are alſo called *Aletæ* and *Titans*.

OF theſe were begotten *Amynus* and *Magus* (I), who ſhewed men to conſtitute villages and flocks. *Generation* X.

IN

of GOD's tabernacle, was ſent home by the *Philiſtines*, ſucceſſors to the old *Phœnicians* in their religion and abode, upon a new cart, drawn by milch kine (5).

The names of theſe men import gods of huſbandry, as *Pan*, *Pales*, and *Sylvanus*, among the *Greeks* and *Romans*. Biſhop *Cumberland* gueſſes, that in *Sanchoniatho*, the perſon whom *Philo* expreſſes by *Agrus*, might be called *Siddim*, or *Sadid*, a name whereby one of *Chronus*'s ſons is afterwards called; either of which will anſwer the *Greek* (6).

The *Egyptians*, whoſe religion and deſcent was the ſame with that of the old *Phœnicians*, beſides *Pan*, had an antient deity, named *Aroueris*, mention'd by *Plutarch*, and by ſome taken to be *Apollo*, by others *Orus ſenior*, and by *Scaliger* (7) *Anubis*. But biſhop *Cumberland* thinks he was the ſame that is here called *Agrouerus*; and if the *g* is allowed to melt away, as it often does, or if we take Ἀγρὸ and Ἄρουρα, as *ſynonyma*, the name is the ſame; for the termination is arbitrary (8).

(I) *Amynus* ſeems to import in this place *a defender from inchantment*, and *Magus* a *ſorcerer*; though both words are capable of a more favourable interpretation. Yet in the loweſt dregs of *Cain*'s race we may believe the worſt the words will bear (9).

This generation, being the tenth from *Adam* incluſive, was that generation which, except ing *Noah* and his family, was intirely deſtroyed by the flood, together with their children. But thoſe idolaters from whom *Sanchoniatho* took his genealogies, ſuppreſſed all mention of the flood, as he does; and pretended that the line, in which their idolatry began, was continued on to ſucceeding ages. And this being impoſſible to be done, in inſtances of men tnat ever had any being in the earth, any other way than by taking men out of *Noah*'s line, and annexing them as ſons to the laſt men of that family, which in truth was wholly extinguiſhed in the flood, they proceed to carry on the genealogy with *Miſor* and *Sydyc*, two perſons, who in reality, as it will be at-

(5) 1 *Sam.* vi. (6) *Cumberl. ubi ſupra, p.* 247, *&c.* (7) *De emend. temp.* (8) *Cumberl. ubi ſup. p.* 249. (9) *Idem ibid. p.* 520.

tempted

In these mens age there was one *Eliun* (K), which imports in *Greek Hypsistus* [the most high]; and his wife was named *Beruth*, who dwelt about *Byblus*; and by him was begotten one *Epigeus*, or *Autochthon* (L), whom they afterwards called *Uranus* (M) [heaven]; so that from him that element which is over us, by reason of its excellent beauty, is called heaven; and he had a sister of the same parents called *Ge* (N) [the earth], and by reason of her beauty the earth had her name given to it.

Hypsistus, the father of these, dying in fight with wild beasts, was consecrated, and his children offered sacrifices and libations to him. But *Uranus* taking the kingdom of his father, married his sister *Ge*, and had by her four sons; *Ilus*, who is called *Chronus* [or *Saturn*], *Bety-*

tempted to shew, were descendants of *Noah* (10). Wherefore we reserve the history of them and their posterity until after the deluge.

(K) In *Hebrew* עליון *Elion*. This person, as will appear when we consider his descendants, must be *Lamech*, the father of *Noah*, of the line of *Seth*, which is here introduced abruptly and imperfectly, as being that of the professed enemies of the false religion which our author patronizes (11).

(L) These two *Greek* names having some relation to the earth, it is likely they translate the title which *Moses* gives *Noah*, who is here meant, *viz. a man of the earth* (1), which we render *an husbandman*; and that may also be the reason why his wife's name is said to be *Ge*, *the earth* (2).

(M) This name, and that of *Eliun*, are supposed to have been given to *Noah* and his father by *Thoth* and other idolaters by way of sneer, because they worshipped the only supreme God in heaven, in opposition to their earthly gods, which had been men (3). But a better reason is, that it was the constant custom to give new and magnificent names to persons deified (4), as *Eliun* and *Uranus* both were; though they had no considerable part of the idolatrous worship, which was chiefly employed in serving *Chronus*, and his wives and children (5).

(N) The *Atlantian* theology, which seems to agree with *Sanchoniatho*, in saying that *Uranus* gave his name to the heavens, to imprint a greater idea of himself in the minds of the people, tells us however, that his wife's first name was *Titæa* (perhaps from טיט *tit*, *mud*); and that she being, after her death, consecrated into a goddess, was called *Ge* (6).

(10) *Idem ibid. p.* 177. (11) *Idem ibid. p.* 152. (1) *Genes.* ix. 20. (2) *Cumberl. ubi sup. p.* 151. (3) *Idem ibid. p.* 182, *&c.* (4) *Ibid. p.* 291, *&c.* (5) *Ibid. p.* 152. (6) *Diodor. Sicul. l.* iii. *p.* 189, *&c.*

*Ius*, *Dagon*, who is *Siton*, or the god of corn, and *Atlas* (O): but by other wives *Uranus* had much iſſue.

THUS far *Sanchoniatho*; the thread of whoſe hiſtory we break off here, and ſhall reſume in the next period. But before we diſmiſs this author, we ſhall in the following table compare the pedigree of *Cain*'s line given by him, with that given by *Moſes*: firſt obſerving, that though *Moſes* had not recorded ten generations in this line, as *Sanchoniatho* has, yet it does not thence follow, that there were not ten generations in this line before the flood; for *Moſes* does not tell us, that thoſe he has named were all the deſcents before the flood, nor that the laſt generation which he mentions was drowned, though probably it was ſo. However, it is very improbable, that eight generations in *Cain*'s line ſhould live as long as the ten in *Seth*'s, eſpecially conſidering that *Cain*, in all likelihood, had children before *Seth* was born: wherefore it is more reaſonable to believe, that *Moſes* has paſſed over two generations of *Cain*, as not worthy of mention: and the rather, becauſe he does not ſay, that *Enoch begat Irad*, but only, *unto Enoch was born Irad* (P); which will be true, if he was not his ſon, but his grandſon, or great-grandſon, ſkipping over two generations, which, added to the eight mentioned, will make ten, as in *Seth*'s line before the flood°, thus:

° Vid. CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 303, &c.

(O) The firſt of theſe four ſons was *Ham*, the arguments to prove which will be produced hereafter in a more proper place: who the other three ſons here named were, will alſo be conſidered elſewhere. We ſhall only obſerve here, that none of them are either *Shem* or *Japhet*, who, according to the biſhop's hypotheſis, are found under other names, *viz.* thoſe of *Sydyc* and *Nereus*.

(P) The like expreſſion to the ſame ſenſe is found in another paſſage (7), where it is foretold that *Joſiah ſhould be born to the houſe of* David, or be of the poſterity of *Rehoboam* then reigning, though he was many generations after him.

(7) 1 *Kings* xiii. 2.

## *A* TABLE *of the descendants of* CAIN,

| According to *Moses.* | According to *Sanchoniatho.* |
|---|---|
| 1. *Adam, Eve,* | 1. *Protogonus, Æon,* |
| 2. *Cain,* | 2. *Genus, Genea,* |
| 3. *Enoch,* | 3. *Phos, Phur, Phlox,* |
| 4. - - - | 4. *Cassius, Libanus,* &c. |
| 5. - - - | 5. *Memrumus, Usous,* |
| 6. *Irad,* | 6. *Agreus, Halieus,* |
| 7. *Mehujael,* | 7. *Chrysor,* or *Hephæstus* (Q), |
| 8. *Methusael,* | 8. *Technites, Geinus,* |
| 9. *Lamech,* | 9. *Agrus, Agrouerus,* |
| 10. *Jabal, Tubal-Cain.* | 10. *Amynus, Magus.* |

Berosus's Babylonian *antiquities.*

THE *Babylonian* antiquities were collected by *Berosus* (R), a *Chaldean* by birth, who lived in the time of *Alexander the Great* P. But of that work we have now remaining only some few fragments, the substance of which, so far as comes within the present period, we here subjoin.

*The manner of mens acquiring the knowlege of arts and sciences.*

AFTER a description of *Babylonia*, he writes, that in the first year there appeared out of the red sea, at a place near the confines of that country, a certain irrational ani-

P ALEX. POLYHIST. apud Syncell. p. 28.

(Q) *Sanchoniatho* here places his chief artists in the seventh and eighth generation, whereas *Moses*, according to this table, places them in the tenth. If we suppose the two last generations, and not the fourth and fifth, to be those omitted by *Moses*, they will come much nearer. Dr. *Cumberland*, to obtain a fuller agreement, conjectures that these two links in *Sanchoniatho* have been transposed, and that *Chrysor* should be in the eighth place, and *Technites* in the seventh; or else that the father in the seventh generation might invent those arts, and on that account be celebrated by *Thoth*, or his scribes; and the sons might bring them to greater perfection in the eighth generation, and for that reason be rather taken notice of by *Moses* (1).

(R) Of this author the reader will find a more particular account in the preface.

(1) *Cumberl. uti supra, p.* 232, &c.

mal

mal (S) whoſe name was *Oannes*. He had his whole body like that of a fiſh, but beneath his fiſh's head he had another head grew; he had alſo feet like a man, which proceeded from the fiſh's tail, and a human voice, the picture of him being preſerved to that very day. This animal converſed with men in the day-time, without eating any thing; he delivered to men the knowlege of letters and ſciences, and *ſkill in* various arts; he taught them to dwell together in cities, to erect temples, to introduce laws, and inſtructed them in geometry; he likewiſe ſhewed them how to gather ſeeds and fruits; and, in ſhort, imparted to mankind whatever was neceſſary and convenient for a civilized life. But after this time there was nothing excellent invented. When the ſun ſet, this animal retired into the ſea again, and ſtayed there in the night-time, being of the amphibious kind. After him there appeared ſeveral other animals of the ſame form, mentioned in the enſuing hiſtory. This *Oannes* did not deliver his inſtructions by word of mouth only; but, as our author aſſures us, wrote of the origin of things [q], and of political œconomy [r].

OTHER authors have alſo made mention of this *Oannes*: *Helladius* calls him *Oes* (if it be not rather the ſcribes way of abbreviating *Oannes*), and agrees in general with the foregoing account; but adds, that he had hands, as well as the head and feet of a man; that it was reported he was produced from the primigenial egg, as his name teſtified (T); and that he was in reality no more than a man, though he ſeemed to be a fiſh, becauſe he was completely

[q] See before, p. 29.

[r] ALEX. POLYHIST. ex Beroſo, apud Syncell. p. 28.

(S) The *Greek* is ζῶον ἄφρενον; but the ſequel plainly ſhews him to have been nothing leſs than *irrational*: ſome corruption may therefore very juſtly be ſuppoſed.

As to the names of *Oannes* and *Annedotus* given to this perſon, and thoſe of the ſame appearance who are mentioned below, it may ſeem a folly to offer at any explanation of them. By their coming up out of the ſea, it is moſt probable they were ſtrangers, and arrived in *Chaldea* by ſhipping (2). The *Syriac* word *Onudo*, ſignifies a *traveller* or *foreigner*, and might without much violence be converted into either of the ſaid names.

(T) An egg in *Greek* is called *oon*.

(2) *Vid. Newton's chronol. p.* 210, 211.

dreſſed

dreſſed in a fiſh's ſkin [s]. *Hyginus* likewiſe writes, that *Euahanes*, a name not very diſtant from *Oannes*, came out of the ſea in *Chaldea*, and explained aſtrology [t].

*The antediluvian kings of* Chaldea.

BEROSUS proceeds to give us a ſeries of ten kings who reigned in *Chaldea* before the flood; but as there are ſome ſmall variations in the authors who have tranſcribed that hiſtorian, we ſhall here exhibit them to the reader's view.

*A* TABLE *of the* Chaldean *kings before the flood, from* BEROSUS.

| According to *Africanus*[u]. | Sari. | Ys. | According to *Abydenus*[w]. | Sari. | According to *Apollodorus*[x]. | Sari. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Alorus* reigned | 10 | 00 | 1. *Alorus* reigned | 10 | 1. *Alorus* reigned | 10 |
| 2. *Alaſparus* - - | 03 | 00 | 2. *Alaparus* - | 03 | 1. *Alaparus* - - | 00 |
| 3. *Amelon* - - | 13 | 00 | 3. *Amillarus* - | 13 | 3. *Amelon* - - | 00 |
| 4. *Amenon* - - | 12 | 00 | 4. *Ammenon* - | 12 | 4. *Ammenon* - - | 00 |
| 5. *Metalarus* - | 18 | 00 | 5. *Megalarus* - | 18 | 5. *Megalarus* - | 18 |
| 6. *Daonus* - - | 00 | 99 | 6. *Daos* - - | 10 | 6. *Daonus* - - | 10 |
| 7. *Euedorachus* - | 18 | 00 | 7. *Euedoreſchus* - | 00 | 7. *Euedoreſchus* - | 18 |
| 8. *Amphis* - - | 10 | 00 | 8. *Anodaphus* - - | 00 | 8. *Amempſinus* - | 10 |
| 9. *Otiartes* - - | 08 | 00 | 9. - - - - - | 00 | 9. *Otiartes* - - | 08 |
| 10. *Xixuthrus* - | 18 | 00 | 10. *Siſithrus* - - | 00 | 10. *Xiſuthrus* - | 18 |
| | 110 | 99 | | | | |

*The length of their reigns.*

THE reigns of theſe kings *Beroſus* computes by *ſari*, or decads of years (U), which ſeems to be a very convenient

[s] HELLAD. apud Photium, bibl. cod. CCLXXIX. col. 1594. [t] HYGIN. fab. 274. The printed editions of *Hyginus* have *Euhadnes*. [u] Apud SYNCELL. p. 18. [w] Apud eund. p. 38. C. [x] Apud eund. p. 39. B. Vid. chron. Græc. EUSEB. p. 5.

(U) *Beroſus* wrote his chronology by the computation of *ſari*, *neri*, and *ſoſi*; which being antient meaſures of time, and well known when the original records were written, could not, it is conceived, have wanted explanation, in thoſe records. But *Beroſus*, or ſome later writers, have, either out of ignorance, or deſign, magnified theſe meaſures of time beyond all imagination, and tell us, that the *ſarus* contain'd the interval of three thouſand ſix hundred years, the *nerus* of ſix hundred years, and the *ſoſus* of ſixty (1). However, other authors have taken thoſe years for days only, and blame *Euſebius* for not perceiving them to be days (2); and, as

(1) *Vid. Syncell. p.* 17. *& Abyden. apud eundem, p.* 38. C. (2) *Annianus & Panodorus apud Syncell. Vid. eund. p.* 17.

nient method in those times, when the lives of men were at least ten times as long as they have been in later ages. According to which way of reckoning, the sum of all their reigns amounts to twelve hundred, or, more nicely, eleven hundred and ninety-nine years; which offers no violence to the *Mosaic* chronology.

*Remarkable events under them.*

As these ten successions exactly answer the ten generations from the creation to the flood, the first king *Alorus* has been supposed to be the same with *Adam*[y], as *Xisuthrus* plainly appears to be *Noah*. *Alorus* gave out, that GOD himself had declared him the pastor of the people[z]; and, indeed, if any man could pretend to dominion by divine right, it must have been *Adam*.

OF *Alasparus*, the second king, nothing remarkable is related. His successor *Amelon*, or *Amillarus*, was of the city of *Pantibibla* (W): in his reign, according to *Abyde-*

[y] PERIZON. orig. Ægypt. c. 2. [z] ABYDEN. ex Berosо apud Syncell. p. 38.

it seems, with great reason: for, not to insist on the incredible length of the reigns of those princes, on the first hypothesis, which no writer of common sense or modesty could offer to impose on the world, it plainly appears they were no more than days, from the reign of the sixth king, which is more exactly expressed in the first table to be ninety-nine years, but in the others, by the round number of ten *sari*, or 100 years: and the word *sarus*, throwing away the termination, is no other than the *Chaldee*, or *Syriac*, שר *sar*, *ten*. The *Sarus* therefore contained three thousand six hundred days, or just ten old *Chaldean* years of three hundred and sixty days each: and that before the deluge, not only the civil year, but also the tropical solar, and lunar year consisted of just twelve months of thirty days apiece, or three hundred and sixty days in the whole, has been fully proved by a very learned gentleman (3).

(W) Of this city of *Pantibibla*, as *Scaliger* observes (4) the antients have taken no notice. It seems to be the same with *Sippara*, hereafter mentioned (probably the *Sipphara* of *Ptolemy*), where *Xisuthrus* deposited the records he wrote before the flood. This latter name may be derived from the *Chalaee* צפר *sephar*, or *sphar*, a *book*, or *record*; and *Pantibibla* is the translation of that name into *Greek* (5) Sir *Isaac Newton* (6) takes it to be the *Sepharvaim* of the Scripture (7).

(3) *Mr.* ALLIN's *disc. of the antient year, in Mr.* WHISTON's *theory, book* ii. *p.* 144. *Vid. etiam Scaliger. in Græc. Euseb. p.* 406. (4) *Ubi supra, p.* 407. (5) *See Cumberland on Sanchon. p.* 255. (6) *Chronol. p.* 275. (7) 2 *Kings* xix. 13.

*nus*, a ſecond *Annedotus*, or animal reſembling the demigod *Oannes*, aroſe out of the ſea, twenty-ſix *ſari*, or two hundred and ſixty years after the beginning of this monarchy [a]; but *Apollodorus* writes, that he appeared under the next prince *Amenon*, after forty *ſari*, or four hundred years: which, if they be computed from the creation (according to the *Samaritan* chronology), will end in that king's reign; but if from the firſt year of *Alorus*, will reach twenty years within that of *Metalarus*. Others, ſuppoſing this *Annedotus* was the hateful *Oannes* himſelf, blame *Polyhiſtor* for anticipating the time of his coming, by placing him in the firſt year [b].

AFTER *Amenon* and *Metalarus*, who were both of *Pantibibla*, ſucceeded *Daonus*, who was of the ſame city, and a ſhepherd. In his time four animals (X) of a double form, half man and half fiſh, came out of the ſea to land, whoſe names were *Euedocus*, *Eneugamus*, *Eneubulus*, and *Anementus* [c].

UNDER the next prince, *Euedereſchus*, who was likewiſe of *Pantibibla*, there appeared another animal, like the former, named *Odacon*. All theſe explained more particularly what *Oannes* had ſummarily and conciſely delivered [d].

THE eighth and ninth kings were both of another city, called *Laranchi* [e]. When the latter of them, *Otiartes*, or, as *Polyhiſtor* calls him, *Ardates*, was dead, he was ſucceeded by his ſon *Xiſuthrus*.

*The* Chaldean *account of the flood.*

IN his reign happened the great deluge, of which our author gives the following account: *Chronus* or *Saturn* appeared to *Xiſuthrus* in a dream, and warned him, that on the fifteenth of the month *Dæſius* mankind would be deſtroyed by a flood; and therefore commanded him to write down the original, intermediate ſtate, and end of all things, and bury the writings under ground in *Sippara*, the city of the ſun; that he ſhould alſo build a ſhip, and go into it with his relations and deareſt friends, having firſt furniſhed it with proviſions, and taken into it fowls and four-footed beaſts; and that when he had provided every thing, and

[a] Idem ib. & p. 39, C. [b] Vid. SYNCELL. p. 39, C.
[c] ABYDEN. ib. [d] APOLLODOR. ex Berof. ib. [e] Idem ib.

(X) *Apollodorus* ſays only that the fourth *Annedotus* appeared at this time (8); but the reading of *Abydenus* ſeems the more correct.

(8) *Apud Syncell. p.* 39.



was

was asked whither he was sailing, he should answer, *To the gods, to pray for happiness to mankind.* *Xisuthrus* did not disobey, but built a vessel, whose length was five furlongs, and breadth two furlongs. He put on board all that he was directed, and went into it with his wife, children, and friends. The flood being come, and soon ceasing, *Xisuthrus* let out certain birds, which finding no food, nor place to rest upon, returned again to the ship. *Xisuthrus*, after some days, let out the birds again; but they came back to the ship, having their feet daubed with mud: but when they were let go the third time, they came no more to the ship, whereby *Xisuthrus* understood that the earth appeared again; and thereupon he made an opening between the planks of the ship, and seeing that it rested on a certain mountain, he came out with his wife, and his daughter, and his pilot; and having worshipped the earth, and raised an altar, and sacrificed to the gods, he, and those who went out with him, disappeared. They who were left behind in the ship, finding *Xisuthrus*, and the persons that accompanied him, did not return, went out themselves to seek for him, calling him aloud by his name: but *Xisuthrus* was no more seen by them; only a voice came out of the air, which injoined them, as their duty was, to be religious; and informed them, that, on account of his own piety, he was gone to dwell with the gods; and that his wife, and daughter, and pilot, were partakers of the same honour. It also directed them to return to *Babylon*, and that, as the fates had ordained, they should take the writings from *Sippara*, and communicate them to mankind; and told them that the place where they were was the country of *Armenia*. When they had heard this, they offered sacrifice to the gods, and unanimously went to *Babylon*; and when they came thither, they dug up the writings at *Sippara*, built many cities, raised temples, and rebuilt *Babylon* again [f].

*The antediluvian kings of Egypt.*

THE *Egyptians*, who would give place to no nation in point of antiquity, have also a series of kings, who, as is pretended, reigned in *Egypt* before the flood; and, to be even with the *Chaldeans*, began their account the very same year that theirs does, according to *Berosus* [g].

[f] ALEXAND. POLYHISTOR ex Berosо, apud Syncell. p. 30, 31. & apud Cyrill. contra Julian. l. i. ABYDENUS ex eodem, apud Syncell. p. 38, 39, & apud Euseb. de præp. ev. l. ix. c. 12. [g] SYNCELL. p. 17.

THERE was an antient chronicle extant among the *Egyptians* not many centuries ago[h], which contained thirty dynasties of princes who ruled in that country, by a series of 113 generations, through an immense space of 36,525 years (Y): during which *Egypt* was successively governed by three different races: of whom the first were the *Auritæ*, the second the *Mestræi*, and the third the *Egyptians* (Z).

BUT this extravagant number of years *Manetho* (A) (to whose remains we must chiefly have recourse for the antient *Egyptian* history) has not adopted, however in other respects he is supposed to have been led into errors in chronology by this old chronicle[i], which yet seems to have

[h] Vid. eund. p. 51. & EUSEB. chron. Græc. p. 6. [i] SYNCELL. ibid.

(Y) This number appears manifestly to have been not a real chronological, but a fictitious astronomical calculation, being produced by multiplying 1461 by 25; and is the period of the grand revolution of the zodiac, so famous in the *Egyptian* and *Greek* fables; at the end of which it will return to the point whence it began to move, *viz.* the first minute of the first degree of *Aries* (1).

From some such computation it is probable *Diodorus* took the numbers he mentions of 18,000 years, the space which the gods and heroes reigned, and 15,000 from *Orus* the son of *Isis*, the last of them, to the 180th olympiad, during which time *Egypt* was governed by men (2); or those, which he elsewhere tells us were the number of years from *Isis* and *Osiris* to *Alexander* the Great, *viz.* above 10,000, or somewhat less than 23,000 (3). Other extravagant numbers were also by the *Herodotus* and *Plato*, as we may observe elsewhere.

(Z) These three races, if there be any shadow of truth in this account, seem most probably to have been the gods, demigods, and mortal men, who are by other authors said to have reigned successively in *Egypt*: the *Auritæ* (which name *Goar* (4) derives from *Abaris* or *Avaris*, though that city was built long after the flood by the *Pastors*, and *Perizonius*, more probably from אור *Our, light*; being the gods, or antediluvian princes; the *Mestræi*, the demigods, or postdiluvians of the race of *Mizraim*; and the *Egyptians*, the mortal kings, the first of whom was *Menes* (5): and this hypothesis, as will be observed by-and-by, accounts tolerably for the chronology.

(A) This writer was somewhat later than *Berosus*. See the preface.

(1) *Vid. Syncell. p.* 52. (2) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 41. (3) *Idem ib. p.* 20. (4) *In notis ad Syncell. Vid. Marsham. canon. chron. p.* 107. (5) *Vid. Perizon. antiq. Ægypt. p.* 23, &c.

been

been a compoſition ſince *Manetho*'s time. That writer [k] began his hiſtory wi.h the following ſixteen dynaſties, or reigns of princes; the firſt of whom were called gods, and the other nine demigods. Theſe, he ſays, reigned one thouſand nine hundred and eighty-five years (B); and the firſt of them, *Vulcan*, nine thouſand (C).

A

[k] MANETHO apud Syncell. p. 18. & EUSEB. chron. Græc. p. 7.

(B) This number of years in *Manetho* (which the modern chronologers unjuſtly correct to eleven thouſand nine hundred and eighty-five, or eleven thouſand nine hundred and eighty-eight, to make them agree with the larger numbers in the old chronicle, or in ſome other interpolators of *Manetho*) plainly ſhews the nine thouſand years, if it be not a corrupted number [or if thoſe years were not lunar years], allowed here to the reign of *Vulcan* alone, did not belong to thoſe dynaſties themſelves, but rather to that immenſe interval of time before the reigns of the antediluvian gods or kings were reckoned, or before the preſent ſettlement of the world began. Accordingly the old chronicle, as will be ſeen by-and-by, aſcribes no number of years to this *Vulcan*, but thirty thouſand to the *Sun*. *Diodorus* alſo aſſures us, that ſome reckoned *Vulcan* as the firſt of thoſe gods, and others the *Sun* (1); which agrees well with the inſcription on the *Egyptian* obelisk, to be produced hereafter, which calls *Vulcan* not an ordinary god himſelf, but the *father of the gods* (2).

(C) This extraordinary number of years has been taken by ſeveral of the later *Greek* hiſtorians not for ſolar but lunar years, or months, and accordingly, dividing the number of days of ſo many lunar revolutions by three hundred and ſixty-five, the number of days in a year, they reduce the nine thouſand to ſeven hundred twenty-four years and an half and four days; which way of reckoning, though *Syncellus* ridicules (3), yet it ſhould ſeem from the teſtimony of antient writers, to omit thoſe of *Africanus* and *Euſebius* (4), to be the original computation, excepting only a ſmall miſtake, which we ſhall mention preſently. For *Diodorus* ſays, ſome of the moſt antient kings of the ſucceſſion of the gods reigned about twelve hundred years apiece; and that this appearing incredible, ſome ſuppoſed that the motion of the ſun being not known in the firſt times, the year was deſcribed

(1) *Diodor. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 13. (2) *Whiſton's appendix to his eſſay to reſtore the true text, &c. p.* cxc. (3) *Syncell. p.* 18. (4) *Apud eund. p.* 17, & 40.

## *A* TABLE *of the gods and demigods, who are supposed to have reigned in* Egypt *before the flood.*

### GODS.

| | Years | Months | Days |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. *Hephæstus*, or *Vulcan*, reigned - | 724 | 6 | 4 |
| 2. *Helios*, or the *Sun*, the son of *Vulcan*, - | 86 | 0 | 0 |
| 3. *Agathodæmon* - - - - - - - - | 56 | 6 | 10 |
| 4. *Chronus*, or *Saturn* - - - - - - | 40 | 6 | 0 |
| 5. *Osiris* and *Isis* - - - - - - - | 35 | 0 | 0 |
| 6. - - - - - - - - - - - - - | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. *Typhon* - - - - - - - - - | 29 | 0 | 0 |

### DEMIGODS.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 8. *Orus* - - - - - - - - - | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 9. *Ares*, or *Mars* - - - - - - - | 23 | 0 | 0 |
| 10. *Anubis* - - - - - - - - - | 17 | 0 | 0 |
| 11. *Hercules* - - - - - - - - - | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| 12. *Apollo* - - - - - - - - - | 25 | 0 | 0 |
| 13. *Ammon* - - - - - - - - - | 30 | 0 | 0 |
| 14. *Tithoes* - - - - - - - - - | 27 | 0 | 0 |
| 15. *Sosus* - - - - - - - - - | 32 | 0 | 0 |
| 16. *Zeus*, or *Jupiter* - - - - - | 20 | 0 | 0 |

As to this table, it must be observed, that the numbers were no part of the original record, but added by some moderns, by the revolution of the moon (5); and with this do other authors of good credit (6) agree, who assure us, that the old *Egyptian* year was lunar. It must only be observed, that the antediluvian year containing but three hundred and sixty days (7), the above-mentioned calculation must be rectified in that respect; and then the nine thousand years of *Vulcan*'s reign will make just seventy-five sari, or seven hundred and fifty years; which seems indeed a little disproportionate to the reigns of his six successors, which together can amount to no more than four hundred and fifty years. However, this way of computation will reduce this, and the other extravagant numbers we meet with in the *Egyptian* history, within some bounds of credibility.

(5) *Diodor. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 22. (6) *Plutarch. in Numa, p.* 72. *Plin. hist. nat. l.* vii. *c.* 48. *Macrob. Sat. l.* i. *c.* 14. *Lactant. instit.* ii. 12. *Eudoxus apud Proclum, in Tim. l.* i. *p.* 31. (7) *See before, p.* 192, 193. *in the notes.*

moderns, who have mangled the chronology according to their own fancies, and therefore deserve no regard; though we have transcribed them as we found them in *Syncellus*.

*The first seven of them only reigned before the flood.*

THOUGH the transcribers of *Manetho* [m] have generally taken it for granted, that this succession of princes was supposed by *Manetho* himself to have reigned before the flood; yet we very much doubt whether that historian really made the nine last, called demigods, to be antediluvians. For it appears, from the sum of the years which these gods and demigods are said to have reigned, that all of them could not possibly have reigned before the flood, even according to the *Hebrew* account; and, if the epoch of the *Egyptian* kingdom began the same year with that of the *Babylonians*, as is expressly said, the total of the reigns of their antediluvian princes could not exceed twelve hundred years. Besides, the number of sixteen kings seems too large in proportion to that of the *Babylonian* kings, and of the generations of *Moses* in the same period. It is therefore more conformable to *Manetho*'s chronology, to suppose the first seven only, whom he calls *gods*, and the old chronicle styles *Auritæ* [n], were antediluvians; and that they reigned twelve hundred years, part of the nineteen hundred and eighty-five (D), the remainder of which will be accounted for hereafter. And this hypothesis seems to

[m] AFRICANUS, EUSEBIUS, PANODORUS, & SYNCELLUS.
[n] See p. 196, (Z).

(D) Mr. *Whiston* (1) says, that this very number, nineteen hundred and eighty-five, for the antediluvian gods and semigods of *Egypt*, will not be at all too large for the present chronology, if we suppose it to extend from the beginning of the world to the death of the last of these semigods, *Jupiter Hammon*, or *Ham*; it only implying, that he then outlived the deluge either three hundred and twenty-nine, or four hundred and twenty-nine years [that is, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, or the *Samaritan* of Mr. *Whiston*]; which exactly agrees with the length of mens lives at that time. But it is unreasonable to suppose the first of these reigns commenced at the creation, and directly contrary to the original author, who makes the *Babylonian* and *Egyptian* kingdoms coeval, and to Mr. *Whiston*'s own way of reckoning elsewhere (2): nor is it reasonable to continue *Ham*'s reign (if he was *Jupiter*) immediately from the flood.

(1) *Appendix, ubi supra, p.* cxci.
(2) *In his chronological table.*

be confirmed from the conſideration of the laſt of theſe gods *Typhon*, who probably reigned immediately before the flood, and periſhed therein. For ſeveral circumſtances of the deluge are mentioned in the hiſtory of *Oſiris* and *Typhon*; particularly the very day when it began, or when *Oſiris* (who is taken for *Noah*) was ſhut up in the ark [o]. The name of *Typhon*, according to ſome learned men, ſignifies alſo a deluge or inundation (E); whence the *Egyptian* prieſts called the ſea *Typhon* [p]: and *Typhon*, or, as the *Latin* poets call him, *Typhœus*, is repreſented as a monſtrous giant, warring againſt heaven, and at laſt overcome by *Jupiter*, and ſubmerſed in water [q]. From all which it appears probable, that he was one of thoſe mighty men who were of old, whoſe wickedneſs was ſo exceeding great, that it drew down that judgment upon them [r].

THE firſt of theſe gods, *Vulcan*, from his inventing the working of metals, and inſtructing mankind therein, which is on all hands attributed to him, has been thought to be the ſame with the *Tubal-Cain* of *Moſes*, and to have been contemporary with *Noah* [s]. But it ſeems a little inconſiſtent, that a perſon in the eighth generation from *Adam*, and the laſt recorded by *Moſes* in the line of *Cain*, ſhould have no leſs than ſix ſucceſſors, whoſe reigns, together with his own, amounted to no leſs than twelve hundred years; when it cannot be ſuppoſed, that *Tubal-Cain* could be born at the ſooneſt before the year of the world four hundred, according to the *Samaritan*; or five hundred, according to the *Hebrew* chronology.

BY theſe gods, *Manetho*, as he elſewhere explains himſelf, meant no more than mortal men, who, for their wiſdom and goodneſs, were ſeverally promoted to the regal dignity, and afterwards made immortal [t]. Their particular inventions, and prudent inſtitutions, which gained them this honour from the people, we may more conveniently conſider, when we enter on the hiſtory of the *Egyptian* nation: ſince, beſides the interruptions which muſt be occaſioned by attempting it in this place, there

o PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 356. p Idem ibid. p. 363. q APOLLON. Argon. l. ii. ver. 1215, &c. r Vid. Mr. ALLIN's diſc. of the antient year, in Mr. Whiſton's theory, p. 169, &c. s TZETZES, chiliad. 10. ver. 492, &c. t MANETHO apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. i. c. 1. p. 45. Vid. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 8.

(E) The *Arabs* at this day expreſs the general deluge by the word *al tufan*.

are

are so great disagreements throughout concerning these gods [u], that it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile the foregoing table with the accounts of the *Greek* authors, which seem rather to relate to the times after the flood. For the *Greeks* were very liberal in bestowing the names of their gods, with or without foundation; and frequently gave the same name to several persons: which has introduced a confusion, that might have been avoided, had they given us the true *Egyptian* names, instead of undertaking to interpret them. Nor is this the only instance in which those writers, especially the later *Greek* chronographers, have corrupted and confounded *Manetho*'s history, as will be observed hereafter.

HAVING mentioned the old *Egyptian* chronicle, it may be proper to acquaint the reader, that, according to that record, *Vulcan* has no time assigned him, as appearing both night and day: the *Sun*, who was the son of *Vulcan*, reigned thirty thousand years: after him, *Saturn*, and the other twelve gods, reigned three thousand nine hundred and eighty-four years: then the eight demigods, two hundred and seventeen years; after whom began the thirty dynasties [w].

THUS have we put together the most material pieces of history to be found in profane authors, relating to the times preceding the flood; among which though there be some which bear apparent marks of truth, yet we believe the greater part will be judged to deserve little credit: however, as every thing which has the least pretence to so great antiquity, cannot but be entertaining and curious, we hope our labour in collecting them will not be condemned as useless.

## SECT. VI.

### *Of the* DELUGE.

SIxteen hundred and fifty-six years after the earth was made and inhabited, it was overflowed and destroyed in a deluge of water: not a deluge that was national only, or over-ran some particular region; but overspread the face of the whole earth, from pole to pole, and from east to west; and that in such excess, that the floods over-reached the tops of the highest mountains; the rains descending after an unusual manner, and the fountains of the great deep

Year of the world 1656. Year before Christ 2348.

*A short history of the flood.*

[u] DIOD. SIC. ibid. p. 21.

[w] Chron. vetus apud SYNCEL. p. 51. & EUSEB. chron. Gr. p. 6.

being

Year of world 1656. Bef. Chr. 2348.

being broken open; so that a general destruction and devastation was brought upon the earth and all things in it, mankind and other living creatures; excepting only *Noah* and his family, who, by a special providence of GOD, were preserved in a certain ark, or vessel, with such kinds of living creatures as he took in with him. After these waters had raged for some time on the earth, they began to lessen and shrink; and the great waves and fluctuations of this deep, or abyss, being quieted by degrees, the waters retired into their chanels and caverns within the earth; and the mountains and fields began to appear, and the whole habitable earth in that form and shape wherein we now see it. Then the world began again; and, from that little remnant preserved in the ark, the present race of mankind, and of animals, in the known parts of the earth, were propagated. Thus perished the old world, and the present arose from the ruins and remains of it [a].

THIS is a short story of the greatest event that ever yet happened in the world; the greatest revolution, and the greatest change in nature: which therefore justly deserves to be more particularly considered in all its circumstances.

*Profane testimonies of this catastrophe.*

THAT there was such an universal destruction by water, as is related by *Moses*, is confirmed by the concurrent testimonies of several of the most antient writers and nations in the world. What account the *Chaldæan* records give of it, we have already seen [b]. The *Indian* and *Persian* tradition we may mention hereafter. That the *Egyptians* were no strangers to this event, appears not only from those circumstances in the story of *Osiris* and *Typhon* mentioned above [c], but from the testimony of *Plato*; who says, that a certain *Egyptian* priest recounted to *Solon*, out of their sacred books, the history of the universal flood, which happened long before the particular inundations known to the *Grecians* [d]. The inhabitants of *Heliopolis* in *Syria* shewed a chasm or cleft in the earth in the temple of *Juno*, which, as they say, swallowed up the waters of the flood [e] (F). Nay, the

[a] Vid. BURNET's theory, book i. c. 2. [b] Pag. 194, 195. [c] Pag. 200. [d] PLATO in Timæo. [e] LUCIAN. de dea Syria, tom. ii. p. 882.

(F) The author, who mentions this, says, the *Greeks* gave an account of the universal deluge [which they and others (1) have confounded with that of *Deucalion*], too curious to be

(1) *Vid. Ovid. metam. l.* i. *ver.* 260, *&c.*

the very *Americans* are said to acknowlege and speak of it in their continent[f]: and we are told, that there is a tradition among the *Chinese*, that *Puoncu*, with his family, escaped out of the general deluge[g]; though another expressly asserts, Year of world 1656. Bef. Chr. 2348.

[f] J. DE LAET, de orig. gent. Americ. p. 215. Vid. etiam ACOSTAM, HERRERAM, &c. [g] VOSSIUS, ep. ad Andr. Colvium, p. 409.

be omitted. The tradition goes, proceeds he, that the present race of men was not the first, for they totally perished; but is of a second generation, which, being descended from *Deucalion*, increased to a great multitude. Now of these former men they relate this story: They were very insolent, and addicted to unjust actions; for they neither kept their oaths, nor were hospitable to strangers, nor gave ear to suppliants; for which reason this great calamity befel them. On a sudden the earth poured forth a vast quantity of water, great showers fell, the rivers overflowed, and the sea arose to a prodigious height; so that all things became water, and all men were destroyed: only *Deucalion* was left unto a second generation, on account of his prudence and piety. He was saved in this manner: he went into a large ark, or chest [λάρναξ], which he had, together with his sons and their wives; and, when he was in, there entered swine, and horses, and lions, and serpents, and all other creatures which live on the earth, by pairs. He received them all, and they did him no hurt, but the gods created a great friendship among them; so they sailed all in one chest while the water prevailed. These things the *Greeks* relate of *Deucalion*. But, as to what happened after this, there is an antient tradition among those of *Hierapolis*, which deserves admiration; *viz.* that in their country a great chasm opened, and received all the water; whereupon *Deucalion* erected altars, and built the temple of *Juno*, over the chasm. This same chasm, says our author, I have seen, and it is a very small one, under the temple; whether it was formerly bigger, and since lessened, I cannot tell; but that which I have seen is little. In commemoration of this history, they do thus: twice in every year water is brought from the sea to the temple, and not by the priests only, but all *Syria* and *Arabia*, many come from beyond *Euphrates* to the sea, and all carry water, which they first pour out in the temple, and afterwards it sinks into the chasm, which, though it be small, receives abundance of water. And, when they do this, they say *Deucalion* instituted the ceremony in that temple, as a memorial of the calamity, and of his deliverance from it (1).

(1) *Lucian. de dea Syria, tom.* ii. *p.* 882. *ed. Benedict.*

the

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the *Chineſe* annals make no mention at all of the flood, and that it is a miſtake in thoſe who imagine they do[h]: however, it ſeems their hiſtorians do ſpeak of a flood, which ſome ſuppoſe to be that of *Noah*[i], but they do not make it univerſal (G). Moſt nations have ſome tradition of a deluge, which happened in their reſpective countries: but it muſt be owned at the ſame time, that ſeveral of them were particular inundations only, and therefore carefully to be diſtinguiſhed from that of *Noah*; though antient and modern writers frequently confound them together (H), and relate circumſtances of the one, which belong only to the other.

*Whether topical.*

SOME difficulties which ſeem to attend the *Moſaic* account of the deluge, ſuch as the finding out waters ſufficient to drown the world, and the improbability of all ſorts of animals being preſerved in the ark, have induced ſome, even men of learning, to ſuppoſe, that *Noah*'s flood was not univerſal, but national only, and confined to *Ju-*

[h] COUPLET præf. ad tab. chronol. p. 3. 8. [i] Vid. MARTINII hiſt. Sinic. l. i. p. 12. & 39.

(G) An *Arab*, who travelled into *China* about the beginning of the ninth century, giving an account of a converſation he had with the emperor, among other things, ſays, that, mentioning the flood to that prince, on occaſion of a picture of *Noah* which he ſhewed him, and telling him, that that prophet, and thoſe who were ſaved with him in the ark, peopled the whole earth; the emperor laughed, and ſaid, "Thou art not deceived as to the name of "*Noah*; but, as to the univerſal deluge, we know nothing of it. It is true, that "the deluge did drown a part "of the earth; but it did not "reach ſo far as our country, "nor yet to the *Indies* (2)." *Ebn Shoknah* ranks the *Chineſe* among thoſe who deny the flood.

(H) Not only *Deucalion*'s flood in *Theſſaly*, but thoſe of *Ogyges* in *Attica*, and *Prometheus* in *Egypt*, have been thought the ſame with that of *Noah* (3). Thoſe ſpoken of by the *Americans* ſeem to have been national; as was that of *Aſia minor*, mentioned by *Diodorus* (4), from the *Samothracian* tradition, which yet they pretended was the moſt antient of all: to omit ſeveral others enumerated by Sir *W. Raleigh* (5), ſome of which he has taken from the ſpurious *Xenophon* of *Annius*.

(2) *Anciennes relations des Indes, & de la Chine, p.* 67. (3) *Vid. Heidegger, hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *exerc.* 18. §. 52. (4) *Lib.* v. *p.* 322. (5) *Hiſt. of the world, part* i. *book* i. *c.* 7. §. 6.

*dæa,*

*dæa*, and the regions thereabouts (I), or perhaps to that track of land which lies between the four seas, the *Persian*, *Caspian*, *Euxine*, and *Mediterranean* [k], or, at most, reached no farther than the continent of *Asia* [l]. And, to support this presumption, they allege, that, since the primary design of the flood was to destroy mankind only, who could hardly be thought in so short a time to have overspread the face of the whole earth, there was no necessity to carry the waters beyond the bounds of what was inhabited: and tho' in this case all the animals in the world (which were probably farther propagated than man, being created in greater numbers, and perhaps in divers parts) might not have been destroyed; yet it is conceived, that it was necessary to save some in the ark for future propagation, and that men might have them ready for their use presently after the flood, which could not otherwise have been [m]. One author indeed has gone so far as to suppose, that all mankind did not perish in the deluge; and has endeavoured to prove, from a peculiar exposition of the curses of *Cain* and *Lamech*, that the *Africans* and *Indians* are of their posterity [n]. But, as he has elsewhere himself confuted this opinion by the strongest arguments [o], we shall say no more of it. And it is easy to shew, against those who hold the former opinion, that they deny a matter of fact to get over a difficulty, and that the deluge was universal in its extent as well as effect.

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For, 1. The Scriptures put this matter out of doubt, expresly telling us, that all the high hills under the whole heaven were covered by the waters, and that all flesh died that moved upon the earth, except only *Noah*, and those that were with him in the ark (K). Nor will the terms of

[k] See Le Clerc's dissertations. [l] Stillingfleet, orig. sacr. book iii. c. 4. p. 540. Vid. Vossium de æt. mundi, p. 283. [m] Stillingfleet, ibid. [n] See Bedford's Scripture chronol. p. 39. [o] See Whiston's theory, &c. p. 258. 388, &c.

(I) *Melo*, who wrote a book against the *Jews*, speaking of the deluge, seems to make it topical, and not to have reached *Armenia*. His words are these: "At the time of the deluge, a "man who had escaped with "his sons, went from *Armenia*, being driven out of his "possessions by those of the "country; and, passing over "the intermediate region, "came into the mountainous "part of *Syria*, which was "then desolate (6)."

(K) The words of *Moses*,

(6) *Melo apud Euseb. de præp. ev. l.* ix. *c.* 19.

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of *Moſes* allow the word *earth* in this place to be reſtrained, as it may in ſome others, to *Judea* (L), or any other particular track of land: for, unleſs the laws of nature were miraculouſly ſuſpended, before the waters in one region, much more on a whole continent, could exceed the tops of the higheſt mountains, they would certainly diffuſe themſelves, and overflow the reſt of the earth. 2. If the deluge was topical, there was no need of the ark; *Noah* and his family needed only to have retired to another country, which he might do with more eaſe, and in leſs time, than build ſo vaſt a veſſel; the beaſts might have ſaved themſelves by flight; or their loſs, eſpecially thoſe of the unclean kinds, have been repleniſhed from other places; and the birds might, without much difficulty, have flown to another continent. 3. The number of mankind before the flood was vaſtly ſuperior to what the preſent earth is, perhaps, capa-

one would think, are too plain to admit any ſubterfuge. God *looked upon the earth; and, behold, it was corrupt; for all fleſh had corrupted his way upon the earth. And* God *ſaid unto* Noah, *The end of all fleſh is come before me— and I will deſtroy them with the earth* (1). *Behold, I, even I, do bring a flood of waters upon the earth, to deſtroy all fleſh, wherein is the breath of life, from under heaven; and every thing that is in the earth ſhall die* (2).— *Every living ſubſtance that I have made, will I deſtroy from off the face of the earth* (3).— *And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth; and all the high hills, that were under the whole heaven, were covered. Fifteen cubits upward did the waters prevail; and the mountains were covered. And all fleſh died that moved upon the earth, both of fowl, and of cattle, and of beaſt, and of every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth, and every man. All in whoſe noſtrils was the breath of life, of all that was in the dry land, died. And every living ſubſtance was deſtroyed which was upon the face of the ground, both man, and cattle, and the creeping things, and the fowl of the heaven; and they were deſtroyed from the earth: and* Noah *only remained alive, and they that were with him in the ark* (4).

(L) *Peyrerius*, one part of whoſe pre-adamite ſyſtem is, that the flood extended no farther than *Judea*, which he ſuppoſes to be all that *Moſes* meant by *the earth*, would alſo perſuade us, that that writer, by *mankind* which were to be deſtroyed, intended the poſterity of *Adam*; by the *living creatures*, the *gentiles* or pre-adamites, mixed with the race of *Adam*; and, by the *great deep*, the ſea of *Paleſtine* (5).

(1) *Geneſ.* vi. 12, 13. (2) *Ibid. ver.* 17. (3) *Geneſ.* vii. 4.
(4) *Ibid. ver.* 19, 20, 21, 22, 23. (5) *Peyrer. pre-adamit.*

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ble of ſuſtaining, as will appear hereafter; and the waters muſt therefore have overſpread, in all probability, a larger part of the earth than is now known to be inhabited: and conſequently the whole globe, that none might eſcape the divine vengeance, muſt have been overflowed. 4. The earth itſelf ſeems to offer us a demonſtrative argument of the univerſality of the deluge, from the vaſt numbers of the ſhells and teeth of fiſh, bones of animals, intire or partial vegetables, and other ſtrange things, which are to be found on the tops of the higheſt mountains, and in the bowels of the earth, at a great diſtance from the ſea, and were probably left by the flood [p] (M).

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[p] Le Clerc's diſſert. Burnet's theory, book i. c. 3. & Whiston's theory, ubi ſupra, & p. 275, &c.

(M) This argument is offered with ſome diffidence: for, tho' the moſt experienced philoſophers now agree, that theſe ſhells, *&c.* are not mock-productions of nature, or originally formed in the places where they are found, by ſome plaſtic power of ſalts, or other minerals (which was the conjecture of Dr. *Plot* (6), and other naturaliſts), inaſmuch as they are not to be diſtinguiſhed from real ſhells, teeth, *&c.* by the niceſt examination of the eye, and even the microſcope, and burn not immediately into a calx or lime, as all tophaceous or ſtony ſubſtances do, but firſt into a coal, and then into a calx, which is the known quality of things of a bony or fleſhy nature; yet they do not agree, that theſe things were brought in by the univerſal deluge, for this reaſon, among ſeveral others, that living animals, or fiſh, have been found in ſome of thoſe foſſil ſhells (7), and that ſuch marine ſubſtances are ſometimes formed and generated in human bodies (8); and therefore it is ſuppoſed they were formed by a ſpermatic principle, as fiſh ſpawn, received into the chinks and other *meatus's* of the earth, and falling down in rains, *&c.* (9); which may be allowed, indeed, of the ſeveral kinds of ſhell-fiſh, whoſe ſhells might preſerve them in the earth; but can hardly be admitted as to others of thoſe foſſils, ſuch as the *gloſſopetræ*, or teeth of the ſhark, and the other bones of larger creatures. As to the ſubterraneous woods, and foſſil trees, there ſeems to be no great reaſon to believe they were thrown down by the deluge, and have lain buried in the earth ever ſince; it being much more probable, that they either were occaſioned by inundations of the ſea, or were

(6) *Nat. hiſt. of Oxfordſhire. Mr. Ray's phyſiol. diſc. p.* 181, *p.* 190, *&c.*

(7) *See Mr. Lhwyd's letter, in*

(8) *Ibid. p.* 185.

(9) *Ibid.*

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*Conjectures as to the manner wherein the deluge was effected.*

It is now time to consider by what means this terrible devastation was brought on the earth, and in what manner those that escaped it were preserved.

If the deluge was universal, the quantity of water required to effect it is so immense, that it has been generally thought extremely difficult, if not impossible to say, whence it came, or whither it went. The proportion of water, sufficient to cause such an inundation, has been computed at eight oceans [q]; but a person well able to make the calculation says, that there must have been, at the lowest computation, twenty-two oceans [r]. And where to find this, is the question. There are the clouds above, and the deeps below, and in the bowels of the earth; and these are all the stores we have for water (N): and *Moses* directs us to no other, for the causes of the deluge: *The fountains of the great deep*, says he, *were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights* [s]. By the *great deep* some understand the ocean [t]; but others, with more reason, the subterraneous abyss or vast collection of waters in the bowels of the earth (O). But

[q] Burnet's theory, book i. c. 2. [r] Dr. Keil, in his remarks on Whiston's theory. Vid. Ray's disc. p. 118.
[s] Genes. vii. 11, 12. [t] Vid. Cleric. comment. in loc.

felled by men in the places where they now lie; as is undeniable of many of them, which still shew the marks of the ax (10).

(N) *Moses*, in his account of the creation, speaking of *waters above the firmament* (1), tho' it be generally understood of the clouds and aqueous vapours sustained in the middle region of the air (2), yet some have fansied them to be waters placed above the heavens, and have been willing to make use of them for a supply, when they could not find enough under the heavens to make up the mass of the deluge; though, if these imaginary waters were there, how to get them down, or to lift them up again, is not easy to tell. But, since the system of the world has been better known, and the nature of the heavens, it is presumed there are none that would assert these supercelestial waters, much less make that extravagant use of them, as to bring them down hither for a cause of the deluge (3).

(O) Notwithstanding the word תהום *tehom*, *depth*, in some passages (4), is supposed to signify the sea, yet it may be there much better interpreted of subterraneous waters, as it manifestly must in other places (5).

(10) *Vid. Ray's physiol. disc. p.* 228. (1) *Genes.* i. 6, 7. (2) *See the introd. p.* 82, 83. (3) *Burnet's theory, book* i. *c.* 2. (4) *Psal.* xxxiii. 7. *Prov.* viii. 27, 28. (5) *Deut.* viii. 7. *Ezek.* xxxi. 4.

And,

But it is thought the waters which either the abyſs or the rain could afford, will fall prodigiouſly ſhort of the proportion required. According to the obſervations made of the quantity of water that falls in rain, the rains could not afford one ocean, nor half an ocean, and would be a very inconſiderable part of what was neceſſary for a deluge [u]. If it rained forty days and forty nights throughout the whole earth at once, it might be ſufficient to lay all the lower grounds under water, but it would ſignify very little as to the overflowing of the mountains; ſo that it has been ſaid, that, if the deluge had been made by rains only, there would have needed not forty days, but forty years, to have brought it to paſs [w]. And if we ſuppoſe the whole atmoſphere condenſed into water, it would not at all have been ſufficient for this effect; for it is certain, that it could not have riſen above thirty-two feet, which is well known to be the uſual height to which water can be raiſed by the preſſure of the atmoſphere [x]; for the weight of the whole air, when condenſed into water, can be no more than equal to its weight in its natural ſtate, and muſt become no leſs than eight hundred times denſer; for that is the difference between the weight of the heavieſt air, and that of water [y]. And as to the abyſs, if by it we intend the ſea, that is no higher than the land, as ſome have formerly imagined, and therefore could contribute nothing to the deluge; it would keep its bed as it does now, and take up the ſame place: and, if we underſtand the ſubterraneous waters, they would be quiet in their cells, and not aſcend otherwiſe than by force; and, if force were uſed to draw them out on the ſurface of the earth, their places muſt be filled again with other waters, ſo that this turns to no account upon the whole [z].

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THIS being the caſe, ſome cut the knot which they cannot looſe, and ſhew us the naked arm of omnipotence; ſaying, that GOD created waters on purpoſe to make the

[u] Vid. MERSENN. cogit. phyſico-mech. p. 221. [w] Auct. catenæ in Geneſ. vii. 4. [x] VOSSIUS in epiſt. ad. And. Colvium, p. 385. [y] See Dr. HALLEY's diſſert. in the philoſ. tranſ. vol. xvi. p. 104. [z] BURNET, ubi ſup.

And, being here joined with the epithet רבה *rabbah*, *great*, it ſeems *Moſes* intended that vaſt collection of waters, which the moſt ſagacious naturaliſts place in the womb of the earth, the receptacle of the greateſt part of that *deep* which covered the earth at the beginning of the creation (6).

(6) *Geneſ.* i. 2. *Vid. Burnet*, *b.* i. *c.* 7.

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deluge, and then annihilated them again when the deluge was to ceaſe. But our buſineſs is not here to inquire what GOD could work by his almighty power, but to account for this event in the beſt manner we can from natural cauſes; nor are we raſhly to fly to the divine omnipotence, eſpecially for the creation of new matter. *Moſes* plainly aſſigns natural cauſes of the deluge, forty days rain, and the diſruption of the abyſs; and St. *Peter* has aſſigned a cauſe alſo, the natural conſtitution of the world [a]; and neither of them mention a word of a new creation of waters. Others therefore, inſtead of a creation, ſuppoſe a tranſelementation, and ſay the air was changed into water, and that was the great inſtrumental cauſe of the deluge [b]. But this opinion agrees as little with the philoſophy of *Moſes* or St. *Peter* as the laſt, and renders the opening of the abyſs perfectly needleſs [c]: beſides, ſuch a tranſmutation would in effect be no more than a condenſation, the inſufficiency of which has been already ſhewn. According to a third expedient, the rain and ſea-waters were rarefied ſo as to reach the determined height: but, if the waters were fifteen times rarer than they naturally are (as in that caſe they muſt have been), it is hard to ſay how they could either drown man or beaſt, keep alive the fiſh, or ſupport the ark [d]. A fourth opinion is, that the antediluvian earth, with all its ſtones, metals, mineral concretions, and all foſſils whatſoever that had obtained any ſolidity, was totally diſſolved in the deluge, the coheſion of its parts perfectly ceaſing: that the corpuſcles of theſe ſolid foſſils, together with the corpuſcles of thoſe which were not before ſolid, ſuch as earth, ſand, and the like; as alſo animal bodies, and parts of animals, bones, teeth, ſhells; vegetables, and parts of vegetables, trees, ſhrubs, herbs; in ſhort, all bodies whatſoever, which were either in the earth, or that conſtituted the maſs of it, if not quite down to the abyſs, yet at leaſt to the greateſt depth we ever dig, all theſe were promiſcuouſly taken up into the waters, and made one common maſs: that at length they ſubſided downwards together, generally; and, as near as might be expected in ſuch a confuſion, according to the laws of gravity; and thus formed the *ſtrata* of ſtone, marble, coal, and the reſt, of which the earth manifeſtly conſiſts; and, there being bodies of different kinds and conſtitutions, which are nearly of the ſame ſpecific gravity, it

[a] 2 Pet. iii. 5. [b] KIRCHER de arca Noe, l. ii. [c] Vid. BURNET, ubi ſup. & c. 3. [d] Vid. Voss. ubi ſup.

thence happened, that bodies of quite different kinds ſub- Year of
ſided at the ſame inſtant, and fell together with the ſame the
*ſtratum*; for which reaſon the ſhells of cockles, eſcallops, world
and the reſt, which have a greater degree of gravity, were 1656.
incloſed and lodged in the *ſtrata* of ſtone and marble, and Year be-
the heavier kinds of terreſtrial matter, the lighter ſhells not fore
ſinking down till afterwards, and ſo falling among the Chriſt
lighter matter, as chalk, and the like[d]. But this ſtrange 2348.
and bold hypotheſis, to which the author was driven, to
ſolve theſe phænomena of the interior parts of the earth
(which yet might poſſibly be otherwiſe accounted for[e]),
is ſo little conſiſtent with the *Moſaic* hiſtory of the deluge,
takes ſo little notice of the *opening the windows of heaven*,
and is ſo contrary to the univerſal law of mutual attraction,
and the ſpecific gravities of bodies, accounts for ſo few of
the phænomena of the deluge, implies ſuch a new ſort of
formation or creation of the earth at the deluge, without
warrant for the ſame, and is ſo much more than his ob-
ſervations require, or will ſupport, that it cannot engage
the aſſent of any conſidering perſon[f]. A fifth opinion
is, that though the rains might afford a vaſt quantity of
water towards a deluge, yet the chief cauſe was the chang-
ing the centre of the earth, and ſetting it nearer to the
centre or middle of our continent; whereupon the *At-
lantic* and *Pacific* oceans muſt needs preſs upon the ſub-
terraneous abyſs; and ſo, by mediation thereof, force the
water upwards, and compel it to run out at thoſe wide
mouths and apertures made by the divine power breaking
up the fountains of the great deep. Theſe waters, thus
poured out from the orifices of the fountains upon the
earth, the declivity being changed by the removal of the
centre, could not flow down to the ſea again, but muſt
needs ſtagnate upon the earth, and overflow it; and after-
wards, the earth returning to its old centre, return alſo
to their former receptacles. This hypotheſis gives a fair
and eaſy ſolution of all the phænomena of the deluge, ſave
only the generality of it, making it topical, and confining
it to our continent: for which reaſon a very ſagacious
naturaliſt, who otherwiſe approves it, propoſes a ſixth way
of ſolving them; and that is, by ſuppoſing, that the di-
vine power might at that time, by the inſtrumentality of
ſome natural agent, to us at preſent unknown, ſo depreſs

[d] WOODWARD's nat. hiſt. of the earth. [e] See before, p. 207. and after, § 7. [f] See WHISTON's theory, p. 276, &c. and RAY's diſc. p. 165, &c.

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the surface of the ocean, as to force the waters of the abyss through the before-mentioned chanels and apertures, and so make them a partial and concurrent cause of the deluge. And it appears from instances, that there are, at some times, in the course of nature, extraordinary pressures on the surface of the sea (P), which force the waters outwards upon the shores, to a great height g. But this, we fear, is too occult a cause, to give much satisfaction to a philosophic inquirer.

We have still to consider the hypotheses of two persons well known in the republic of letters, whose theories we have consulted on other occasions; Dr. *Burnet* and Mr. *Whiston*.

*Dr.* Burnet's *theory.*

To have a complete idea of that of the former, we must remember, that he conceives the first earth, from the manner of its formation, to have been externally regular and uniform, of a smooth and even surface, without mountains, and without a sea; and that the waters belonging to it were wholly inclosed within, or under its upper crust, which formed a stupendous vault around them h. This vast collection of waters he takes to have been the great deep, or abyss of *Moses* i; and that the disruption of it was the chief cause of the deluge. For he supposes, that the earth being for some hundreds of years exposed to the continual heat of the sun, which, by reason of the perpendicular position he imagines the earth's axis then had to the plane of the ecliptic, was very intense, and not allayed by that diversity of seasons which now keeps our earth in an equality of temper k, its exterior crust was, at length, very much dried; and when the heat had pierced the shell, and reached the waters beneath it, they began to be rarefied, and raised into vapours; which rarefaction made them require more space than they needed before; and, finding

g Ray, ibid. p. 117, &c.
h See the introduction, p. 77.
i Burnet's theory, book i. c. 7.
k See before, p. 137, 138.

(P) We had, upon our coasts, not many years ago, an extraordinary tide, wherein the water rose so high, as to overflow all the sea-banks, drown multitudes of cattle, and fill the lower rooms of the houses of many villages that stood near the sea; so that the inhabitants, to save themselves, were forced to get into their upper rooms and garrets. And how this could be effected, but by an unusual pressure on the superficies of the ocean, our author cannot well conceive (1).

(1) *Ray, disc. c.* ii. *p.* 119.

themselves

themſelves pent in by the exterior earth, they preſſed with violence againſt that arch, to make it yield to their dilatation. And as the repeated action of the ſun gave force to thoſe incloſed vapours more and more, and made them more ſtrong and violent; ſo, on the other hand, it weakened more and more the arch of the earth that was to reſiſt them, ſucking out the moiſture that was the cement of its parts, and parching and chapping it in ſundry places; and, there being no winter to cloſe up its parts, it grew more and more diſpoſed to a diſſolution; and, at length, when GOD's appointed time was come, the whole fabric broke, and the frame of the earth was torn in pieces as by an earthquake; and thoſe great portions, or fragments, into which it was divided, fell down into the abyſs, ſome in one poſture, and ſome in another [l].

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THIS hypotheſis, the author thinks, not only agrees with the narration of *Moſes*, and anſwers the aſſertion of St. *Peter*, that the firſt earth was obnoxious to a deluge from its conſtitution [m], but ſupplies all the defects of other explications. The fall of thoſe prodigious fragments would raiſe a vaſt commotion in the abyſs, and throw its waves to a great height, which would overwhelm the mountains, now firſt formed, for ſome time: for, after the firſt violent ſhock, he imagines there were, ever and anon, ſome ſecondary ruins, which broke, and made new commotions; till, at length, when all the ruins were ſettled and fixed, the waters began to ſettle too, and the dry land to appear. Thus the earth put on a new form, and became divided into ſea and land; the greateſt part of the abyſs conſtituting our preſent ocean, and the reſt filling up the lower cavities of the earth, mountains and hills appeared on the land, iſlands in the ſea, and rocks upon the ſhore: and ſo providence, at one ſtroke, diſſolved the old world, and made a new one out of its ruins, which we now inhabit [n].

BUT though it be reaſonable to believe the firſt earth had its axis inclined to the plane of the ecliptic, as well as the preſent, and had the ſame viciſſitudes of ſeaſons; yet, allowing the theoriſt's ſuppoſition, of its parallel poſition, to be true, it is not conceivable that the heat of the ſun would, even then, have had the power he imagines, or affect the earth in ſuch a degree as to cauſe great cracks or fiſſures in it, or to raiſe the water under it into vapours, ſince we find no ſuch effects in the hotteſt country or ſeaſon: nor is it

[l] BURNET, ubi ſup. c. 6. p. 95, &c.
[m] 2 Pet. iii. 5, 6, 7.
[n] BURNET, ubi ſup. p. 101, &c.

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probable such rarefaction, were it possible, should be so extreme, as to break through an arch of some hundred miles thick. Besides, it is to be feared, that, if the action of the sun was so strong, the abyss, the only storehouse of waters in the first earth, would have been near exhausted (Q) before the time of the deluge. This account, also, seems not very consonant to the *Mosaic* history, which describes a gradual rise and abatement, and long continuance of the flood, not a violent transient shock, which would not have lasted many days, if hours°: not to mention the little use our author makes of the rains, which he supposes, indeed, to have fallen throughout the earth (though he does not know how that could proceed from natural causes), and to have contributed to the disruption of the abyss, by weakening the arch of the earth, and stopping its pores, which would make the vapours struggle the more violently; and that nothing but a miracle could save the ark in so prodigious a storm and convulsion of nature P.

*Mr.* Whiston's *theory.*

THE expedient of the other learned theorist is, the trajection of a comet (R), which, he supposes, passed so close

° Vid. KEILL's examination of BURNET's theory. P BURNET, ubi sup. p. 133, 136, &c.

(Q) Dr. *Keill* has made a plain calculation of this matter, and concludes, that since none of the antediluvian rivers, according to the theorist, returned into the abyss again, it must needs follow, that, in eight hundred and twelve years, it would be quite empty, upon supposition that there were as many rivers in the primitive earth as are in ours: but as there was then twice the land, if there were no seas; so there must be allowed twice as many rivers to water it: and by such a double quantity the abyss would be emptied in half that time (4).

(R) That a comet actually appeared at the deluge, is attested by several authors (1). *Pliny* (2) mentions one which appeared in the reign of *Typhon*, that is, at the flood, or immediately before it; and speaks of the direful effects of it. And our author has endeavoured to prove, that the last most remarkable comet, which was seen in these parts in the year 1680 (whose revolution he computes to be in about 575 years, and whose trajectory Sir *Isaac Newton* has delineated), was that very comet which came by the earth at the beginning of *Noah*'s deluge, and which was the cause of the same (3).

(4) *Keill's examination of Dr. Burnet's theory, p.* 164. (1) *Vid. Hevelii cometograph. l.* xi. *p.* 794. (2) *Hist. nat. l.* ii. *c.* 25. (3) *Whiston's theory, p.* 187.

by

by the body of the earth, at the time of the deluge, as to involve it in its atmoſphere and tail. On which hypotheſis, he proceeds to account for the deluge in this manner:

HE ſays, that when the earth had paſſed through the tail and atmoſphere of the comet, which he ſuppoſes to conſiſt of vapours rarefied and expanded in different degrees, and in which it would remain, on calculation, for about two hours, it muſt have acquired a large cylindrical column of vapours, whoſe baſis were ſomewhat larger than one of the earth's greateſt circles, and whoſe altitude were equal to the diameter of the comet's atmoſphere: that theſe vapours would be impeded from deſcending towards the ſun, by the earth's interpoſition, and attractive power; and ſo would fall down, with great violence, on its ſurface; a great part of which, being in a very rare and expanded condition, after their primary fall, would immediately be mounted into the air, and afterwards, on their condenſation, deſcend, in violent and outrageous rains, on the face of the earth, and very naturally occaſion the forty days and forty nights rains mentioned by *Moſes*.

THAT the preſence of this comet, as it approached and came below the moon, would cauſe a double tide, as well in the ſeas above, as in the abyſs below; that in the ſeas would be leſs conſiderable, but the other would be vaſtly great, and produce mighty effects. For, on the neareſt approach of the comet, the ſurface of the abyſs would put on an elliptic or oval, inſtead of its former ſpherical figure; and the orb of earth, which reſted on it, would be obliged to accommodate itſelf to that larger oval ſurface; which being impoſſible for it to do while it remained ſolid, it muſt, of neceſſity, enlarge itſelf, and, by the violent force of the increaſing ſurface of the abyſs, be ſtretched, cracked, and have innumerable fiſſures made quite through it; or, rather, the tide muſt open and enlarge thoſe fiſſures, which were produced at the commencement of the diurnal rotation. Thus would the fountains of the deep be broken up, and ſufficient gaps made for a communication between the abyſs below, and the ſurface of the earth above; which was no ſooner done, than the fall of the cometic waters began, and quickly covered the earth, and crouded the air with vaſt quantities thereof; which waters, being adventitious, and of a prodigious weight, muſt preſs downwards with a mighty force, and endeavour to ſink the orb of earth deeper into the abyſs, according as the intire weight of each column of earth, and its incumbent water together, did now require, agreeably to the laws of hydroſtatics;

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ſtatics; which laws he ſuppoſes not to have been exactly complied with at the earth's firſt ſubſiding into the abyſs; otherwiſe he could ſcarce have expected any elevation of the ſubterraneous waters. But ſince the lower ſtrata of the earth were, according to him, in a good meaſure ſettled and conſolidated together, before the upper were all formed, the whole compages would archwiſe ſuſtain itſelf much higher than the law of ſpecific gravity would otherwiſe require; and ſo, upon the diſruption of the upper earth, its ſeveral columns, as there was room, would ſettle themſelves lower than they were at firſt; and their weight, augmented by the additional waters of the comet, would ſqueeze and preſs on the ſurface of the abyſs; which, being a fluid maſs, and incapable of ſuſtaining a preſſure on one part, without equally communicating it to all the reſt, muſt burſt out, where-ever ſuch preſſure was wanting, and throw itſelf up the fiſſures, through which it would aſcend with a mighty force, and carry up with it whatever was in its way, whether earth or water; and thereby add to the quantity of water already on the face of the earth, and become a freſh augmentation of that deluge which began already to overwhelm and deſtroy the inhabitants thereof [q].

THE abatement and decreaſe of the waters of the deluge, our author ſuppoſes, was, firſt, by a wind, which dried up ſome; and, ſecondly, by their deſcent through thoſe breaches and fiſſures (at which part of them had aſcended) into the bowels of the earth, which received the reſt. To which latter, alſo, the wind, by hurrying the waters up and down, and ſo promoting their lighting into the beforementioned fiſſures, was very ſubſervient. The air, he grants, could ſuſtain a very inconſiderable quantity in compariſon of the intire maſs: but as he ſuppoſes the antediluvian earth, though it was not deſtitute of leſſer ſeas and lakes, yet to have had no great ocean, ſeparating one continent from another, and covering ſo large a portion of it, as the preſent earth has [r]; he conceives the upper region of the earth, being generally dry and porous, and of a great thickneſs, was capable of receiving a much greater quantity of water than was on the earth at the time of the deluge [s].

TO this theory objections have been made, as well as to the former: for, though there are ſome ſurpriſing coincidents, which make it, indeed, probable, that a comet

[q] WHISTON's theory, p. 376, &c. 380, &c. [r] Ibid. p. 374. ſee alſo p. 61. [s] Ibid. p. 401, &c.

did

did really come very near, and passed by the earth when the deluge began, and might cause a prodigious tide in the sea, and in the abyss; yet it has been thought somewhat strange, that the swelling of the abyss should have such an effect as to make convenient fissures in the solid crust of earth which inclosed it, without shattering its whole frame. Nor has the theorist's account of draining off the waters from the surface of the earth, been judged satisfactory; it being difficult to conceive, that those subterraneous cavities, which, he supposes, could contain but a small proportion of the waters requisite to make the deluge, should yet be capable of receiving the greatest part of them when it was over. These difficulties, however, might possibly receive a solution: but the greatest objection of all is, that it is far from being clear, whether the atmosphere of a comet be a watery substance, or no; or, if it were, that it should afford such a vast quantity of water as the theory has occasion for, on the earth's bare passing through it. For it is said, the observations of the most curious inquirers make it not improbable, that the circle about the body of the comet is nothing but the curling and winding round of the smoke, rising, at first, to a determinate height from all parts of the comet, and then making off to that part of it which is opposite to the sun. And if this opinion be true, the earth, by passing through the atmosphere of the comet, ran a greater risque of a conflagration, than a deluge [t].

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IT seems, therefore, after all, that the divine assistance must be called in, on this occasion. For though the waters, which covered the earth at the creation, might be sufficient to cover it again; yet how this should be effected by mere natural means, cannot be conceived. The waters which were suspended in the clouds might, indeed, descend upon the earth, and that in cataracts, or spouts of water (as the *Septuagint* interpret the *windows of heaven*), like those in the *Indies*, where the clouds frequently, instead of dropping, fall, with a terrible violence, in a kind of torrent [u]; and this alone might cause a great inundation in the lower grounds: but as the clouds could pour down no more water than they had, which would soon be exhausted at this rate, it seems, from the length of the rains continuance, that the showers were rather moderate, and gradual. The subterraneous stores would afford a much more plentiful supply

*The most rational account of the deluge.*

[t] Vid. KEILL's remarks on Whiston's theory, and NICHOLLS's conference, vol. i. [u] Vid. PATRICK's comment. and RAY ubi sup. p. 116.

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to complete the deluge, and, probably, contain more water than enough to drown the world, to a greater height than *Moses* relates (S): the only difficulty is, to draw it out of the abyss on the surface of the earth. And here, since we can assign no natural cause, we apprehend we may, not unphilosophically, resolve it into the divine power, which might, on this occasion, so far controul (no greater a miracle than that of continuing) the usual course of nature, as to effect its purpose. And, indeed, the event was so extraordinary, and the consequences thereof so considerable, that it is very reasonable to believe God did, in an especial manner, interpose therein. The Stoics, who supposed alternate destructions of the earth by fire and water, made no doubt of the possibility of a general deluge. "There are "vast lakes," says *Seneca*, "which we do not see; great "part of the sea lies hidden and concealed, and many ri-"vers glide in secret: so that there may be causes of a de-"luge on all sides, when some waters flow in under the "earth, others flow round about it, and, being long pent "up, overwhelm it: and as our bodies sometimes dissolve "into sweat, so the earth shall melt, and, without the "help of other causes, shall find in itself what shall drown "it; there being in all places, both openly and secretly, "both from above, and from beneath, an eruption of wa-"ters, ready to overflow and destroy it [w]."

w Senec. nat. quæst. l. iii. c. 27.

(S) Though Sir *W. Raleigh* (1) allows thirty miles for the height of the mountains, yet the highest in the world will not be found to be above five direct miles in height. *Olympus*, whose height is so extolled by the poets, does not exceed a mile and an half perpendicular, and about seventy paces. Mount *Athos*, which is said to cast its shade into the isle of *Lemnos* (according to *Pliny* eighty-seven miles), is not above two miles in height; nor *Caucasus* much more (2): nay, the pike of *Teneriff*, reputed the highest mountain in the world, may be ascended in three days (according to the proportion of eight furlongs to a day's journey), which makes it about the height of a *German* mile perpendicular (3). And the *Spaniards* affirm, that the *Andes*, those lofty mountains of *Peru*, in comparison of which, they say, the *Alps* are but cottages, may be ascended in four days compass (4).

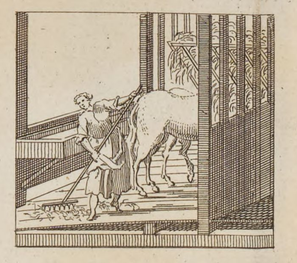
(1) *Hist. of the world, book* i. *c.* 7. §. 6. (2) *Vid. Voss. in Melam, l.* ii. *c.* 2. (3) *Vid. Varen. geogr. l.* i. *c.* 10. *prop.* 3. (4) *Stillingfleet's orig. sacr. p.* 554, *&c.*

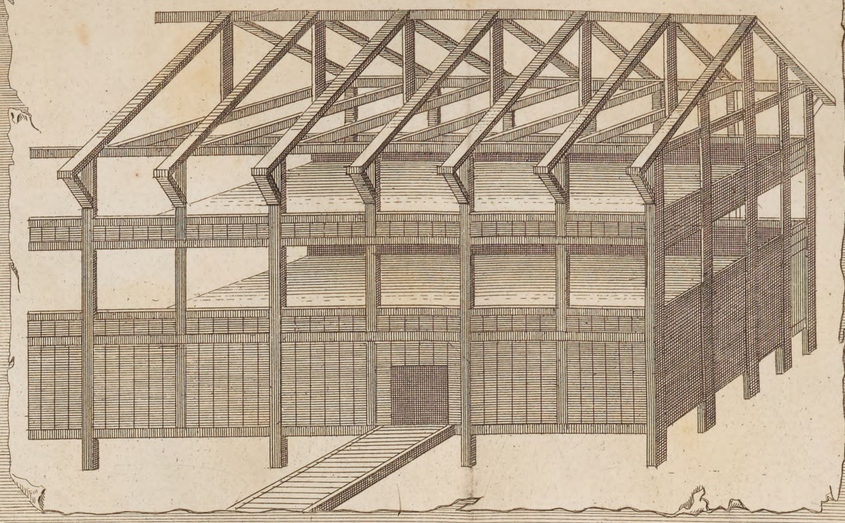
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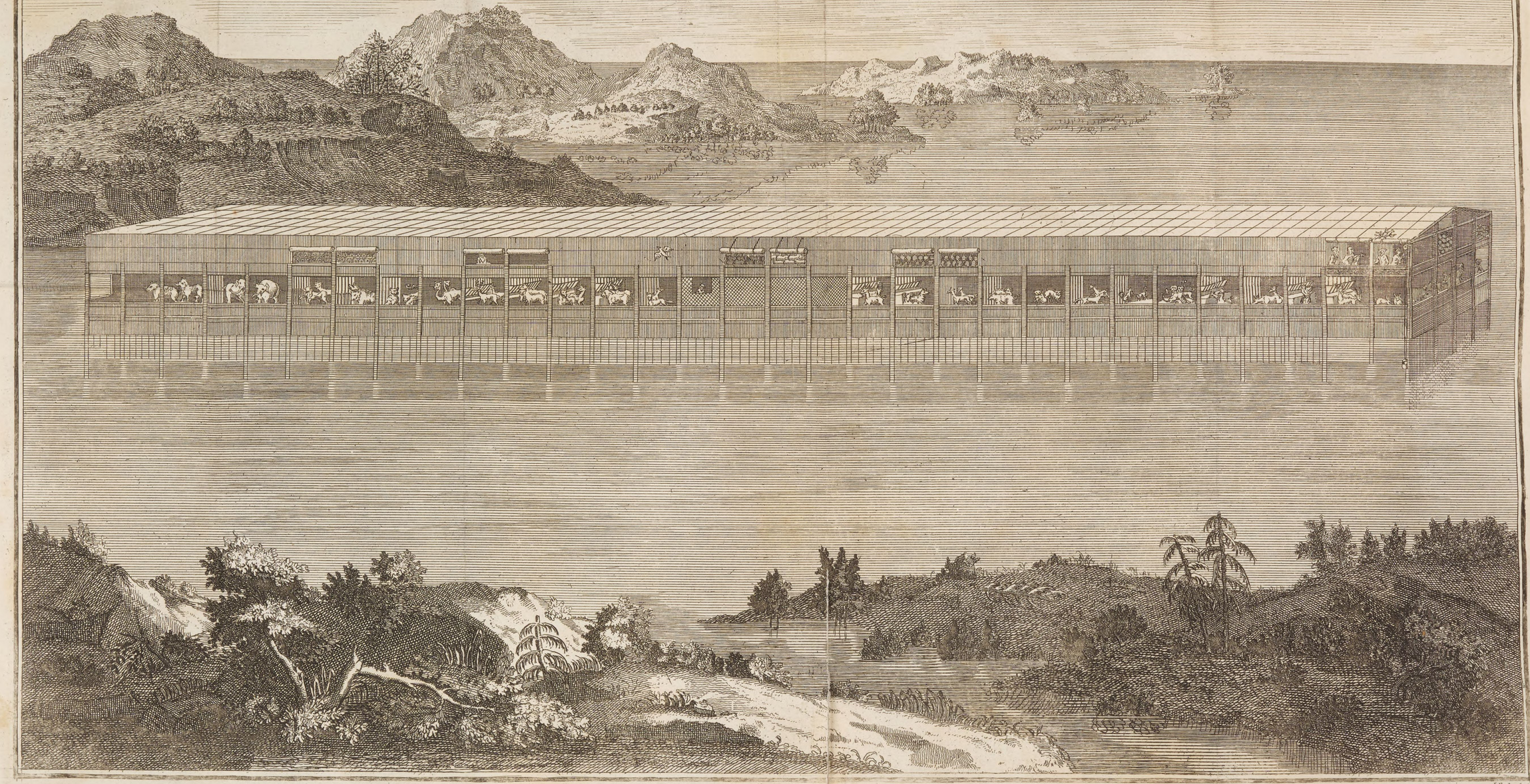
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# NOAH's ARK









HAVING thus considered the efficient causes of the deluge, we must, next, take a view of the ark, whereby *Noah* and his family were delivered from this destruction.

WE might presume, if *Moses* had not told us so, that a vessel proportionable, and adapted to the use designed, must have been of more than human contrivance, and built by the direction of GOD himself. The length of it was 300 cubits, the breadth 50, and the height 30: but what was the exact measure of the cubit here mentioned, is disputed. Some, fearing the capacity of the ark would be otherwise too small for the intended purpose, have inlarged the dimensions, even to extravagance (T): but the general opinion of learned men is, that they were but common cubits [x], one of which, though formerly supposed equal to eighteen of our inches [y], is now allowed to contain almost 22, or, more exactly, 21.888 [z]: according to which measure, the ark must have been 547.2 *English* feet long, 91.2 broad, and 54.72 high; and the solid contents 2,730,781.9008 feet; almost double to what they would be by the former computation. The form of it was an oblong square, or parallelepiped, with a flat bottom, and a sloped roof raised a cubit in the middle [a]. It had neither sails nor rudder, nor

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*Of the ark. Its size and figure.*

[x] Vid. BUTEON. de arca Noe. POOLE's synopsis, in loc. [y] Vid. BERNARD. de mensuris & ponder. antiq. l. iii. [z] See the preface. [a] Genes. vi. 14, 15, 16. Ibid. ver. 14, 16.

(T) When *Celsus* objected, that the ark was a monster, with all things in its belly (1), *Origen* answered, that the ark was like a great city, whose base was 90,000 cubits long, and 25,000 broad (2); but in another place he is more moderate, and, without increasing the number of the *Mosaic* cubits, supposes they were geometrical cubits, each containing six ordinary cubits (3); which last opinion is approved by St *Austin* (4). Some, who cannot digest these geometrical cubits, suppose, the ark was measured by a larger cubit of three foot (5), or by the sacred cubit, which was larger, by a hand's breadth, than the common cubit (6), all without the least ground or intimation, to that purpose, in the sacred historian. Sir *Walter Raleigh* (7) supposes the antediluvian cubit was larger than that which was afterwards in use: because, as he imagines, mankind were then of a larger stature. But this gains no room in the ark, because the bulk of its cargo must have been increased in proportion.

(1) Ἀλλόκοτον ἅπαντα ἔνδον ἔχουσαν. (2) *Origen. cont. Cels. l.* iv. *Vid. Kircher, de arca Noe, c.* 8. (3) *Idem homil.* 2. *in Genes.* (4) *De civit. Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 27. (5) *Capel. hist. sacr. p.* 30. (6) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. patr. tom.* i. *exerc.* 17. §. 10. (7) *Ubi sup.* §. 9.

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was it made sharp, so as to cut the water: which form, as it was admirably contrived for lying steddily on the water without rolling, which might have endangered the lives of the animals within it; so it was very unfit for swimming to a great distance, or for riding in a boisterous sea. It consisted of three stories, each of which, abating the thickness of the floors, might be about eighteen feet high, and was partitioned into a great many rooms, or apartments. This vessel was, without doubt, so contrived, as to have the air and light on all sides (U); though the particular construction of the windows be not mentioned; and the whole seems to have had another covering besides the roof, probably made of skins, like that of the tabernacle (W).

THAT the space in the ark was abundantly sufficient to contain both *Noah* and his family, and the animals, and all necessary provisions for them, does evidently appear from the geometrical calculations of learned men (X), who

(U) There are various translations of the word צֹהַר *sohar* (8), which is found but once in the whole bible, in this sense. Our version renders it *window*, as it seems very properly; for the root in the *Chaldee* signifies, to *shine*, or, *to give light*; wherefore one of the paraphrasts (9) imagines *sohar* to have been a precious stone, or carbuncle, which *Noah* was to fetch from the river *Phison*, to illuminate the ark. From the following words, *and in a cubit shalt thou finish it above*, some have supposed the window was to have been a cubit square, or but a cubit high, which would have been much too small; but the relative *it* being in the *Hebrew* of the feminine gender, and *sohar* of the masculine, those two words cannot agree; and therefore, the proper antecedent seems to be *the ark*, which was to be covered with a roof, raised a cubit high in the middle.

(W) *Noah* is said, after the flood, to have removed *the covering of the ark* (10), which cannot well be supposed to have been the roof, but something flung over it, like that of the tabernacle, which is expressed by the same *Hebrew* word; and the use of it was probably to hang over and defend the windows in bad weather.

(X) Bishop *Wilkins* has reduced the number of species of animals, which, at first view, may seem almost infinite, within very moderate bounds; he reckons they do not amount to one hundred of quadrupeds, and two hundred of birds; and of these must be excepted such as live in the water, such as proceed from a mixture of different species, and such as

(8) *Genes.* vi. 16. (9) *Jonathan.* (10) *Genes.* viii. 13.

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who have yet generally ſuppoſed the length of the cubit to have been but eighteen inches[c]; whereas, if we take the dimenſions according to the larger meaſure above-mentioned, the whole capacity will be nearly doubled[d], as may be eaſily proved. Year of the World, 1656. Year before Chriſt, 2348.

BUT another objection has been raiſed againſt the preſervation of animals in the ark, which may not be ſo eaſily anſwered; and that is, how the unknown kinds of ſerpents in *Braſil*, the ſlow-bellied creature of the *Indies*, and all thoſe ſtrange ſpecies of animals ſeen in the *Weſt-Indies*, ſhould either come into the ark, or be conveyed out of it into thoſe countries which are divided from that continent where *Noah* was, by ſo vaſt an ocean on one ſide, and at leaſt ſo large a track of land on the other (ſuppoſing a paſſage out of one continent to the other, which has not been yet diſcovered); and ſome animals cannot live out of the particular clime wherein they are[e]. But to this it may be anſwered, that it is probable, that the temperature of the air, before the deluge, was ſo equal and ſerene, that all kinds, even of the *Americân* animals, might live and be found in thoſe parts of *Aſia* when *Noah* went into the ark, though none of them could bear the climate ſince, by reaſon of the change in nature. The great difficulty is, how to get them into *America* after the flood was over: and

[c] BUTEO. de arca Noe. Biſhop WILKINS's eſſay towards a real character. [d] Vid. PELETIER diſſert. ſur l'arche de Noe.
[e] STILLINGFLEET's orig. ſacr. l. iii. c. 4. p. 542.

change their colour, ſhape, and ſize, by changing their climate; and thence, in different countries, ſeem to be of different ſpecies, when they are not. He afterwards enters into a particular detail of the animals, the quantity of food neceſſary for them, and of the capacity and proportion of the ark; and concludes, there was room enough and to ſpare: whereupon he obſerves, that had the moſt skilful mathematicians and philoſophers been ſet to conſult what proportions a veſſel deſigned for ſuch an uſe ſhould have in the ſeveral parts of it, they could not have pitched on any more ſuitable to the purpoſe than thoſe mentioned by *Moſes* 1) It is not to be expected we ſhould here examine the ſeveral plans given of the ark, which may ſerve indeed to ſhew us the poſſible, but not the real diſpoſition of it; however, for the reader's ſatisfaction, we have inſerted a view of the ark, according to that plan which ſeems to us moſt likely to be the true one.

(1) *Wilkins's eſſay, &c. See alſo Temporarius, chronolog. demonſtr. lib.* i. *p.* 32.

here

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here we must confess we cannot well tell how that was done, any more than we can by what means *America* was peopled; and yet even those who contend for a partial deluge, allow the inhabitants of that country to be descendants of *Noah* (Y).

*Its materials.*

THE timber of which the ark was framed, *Moses* calls *gopher* wood[f]; but what tree the *gopher* was (Z), is controverted. Some will have it the cedar[g], others the pine[h], some the box[i], and others, particularly the *Mohammedans*, the *Indian* plane-tree[k]: but they seem to be in the right who suppose it to be the cypress[l]; which, besides the resemblance in name, is allowed to be a very proper sort of timber for the building of ships[m], and not subject to rot[n]. To preserve it from leaking, *Noah* was directed to smear it with pitch both within and without; which requiring a very large quantity, some have supposed it to be not pitch, but bitumen, such as was used in the building the tower of *Babel*: which is probable enough, tho' *Moses* uses a different word in that place.

[f] Genes. vi. 14. [g] Targum of ONKELOS, and most of the old rabbins. [h] MUNSTER. [i] Scholiast. Græc. [k] EUTYCH. p. 34. D'HERBEL. p. 675. [l] FULLER miscell. l. iv. c. 5. BOCHART. phaleg. lib. i. c. 4. [m] Vid. PLUTARCH. sympos. lib. i. quæst. 2. VEGET. l. iv. c. 34. PLATO de legib. l. 4. [n] VITRUV. l. ii. c. 9. PLIN. l. xvi. c. 40. THEOPHRAST. hist. plant. l. v. c. 5.

(Y) Mr. *Whiston* thinks it most probable, that some were preserved from the deluge in the *American* continent as well as in this, though we have no records left among them to give us notice of it. The silence of the sacred historian as to that world, he takes to be no objection; because he supposes the *whole earth* of *Moses* comprehends no more than the then known parts of the world (2).

(Z) *Aben Ezra* and *Kimhi* only say it is a sort of wood so called, which is light, and swims on the water. The *Vulgate* and *Septuagint* take the word *gopher* not to denote the species of timber, but for an adjective; the first translating *ligna lævigata*, *smoothed* or *planed timber*, and the other, ξύλα τετράγωνα, *square timber* (3). *Vossius* endeavours to prove, that the expression of this last version signifies not timber squared by the workman, but such sort of trees whose branches shoot quadrangularly, or by four and four, at equal distances from the earth. Of which kind are the pine, fir, cedar, and some others; but not the cypress (4).

(2) *Whiston's theory, p. 409, &c.* (3) *Vid. Eutych. p. 34.* (4) *Voss. de sept. interp. c. 11.*

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NOR is there less disagreement as to the place where the ark was built, and the time spent therein. One supposes it was built in *Palestine*, and that *Noah* planted the cedars of which he made it, in the plains of *Sodom*[o]; another takes it to have been built near mount *Caucasus*, on the confines of *Iudia*[p]; and a third, in *China*, where he imagines *Noah* dwelt before the flood[q]: but the place seems rather to have been somewhere near *Eden*; from whence it is to be presumed *Noah* would not remove far, though not for the reason alleged by some[r], *viz.* because he was the eldest son in a lineal descent from *Seth*, which is no way certain from Scripture; nor can we think it was far from *Ararat*, where the ark rested, that being a vessel which could not be driven to a great distance. It was therefore probably built in *Chaldea*, in the territories of *Babylon*[s]; where there was so great a quantity of cypress in the groves and gardens in *Alexander*'s time, that that prince built a whole fleet out of it for want of other timber[t]. And this conjecture is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition, which makes *Xisuthrus* sail from that country[u]. *Where built.*

As to the time, a *rabbin* says, the ark was fifty-two years in building[w]; the fathers and oriental authors, an hundred[x], because *Noah* is said to be five hundred years old before any mention is made of the ark[y]. Some from the words of St. *Peter*, *that the long-suffering of* GOD *waited while the ark was preparing*[z], suppose *Noah* was employed therein the whole time of forbearance[a], which was one hundred and twenty years[b]: and others think the time much shorter, because *Noah*'s three sons, the eldest of whom was born in his five hundredth year, are not only mentioned before the directions given for the ark, but they and their wives are ordered to be taken into the ark in those very directions[c], which seems to imply they were then married; and yet they had no children till after the flood, unless they perished in the deluge. But there is no *And in what time.*

[o] JACOB. EDESSEN. apud Barcep'am, de parad. part i. c. xiv. p. 38. [p] TEMPORARIUS chronol. demonst. l. i. [q] WHISTON's theory, p. 387, &c. [r] Dr. WELLS's Geogr. of the old test. vol. i. p. 65. [s] Vid. BOCHART. ubi supra. HEIDEGG. hist. patr. tom. i. exerc. xvii. §. 20. [t] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 1072, & 1076. ARRIAN. de exped. Alex. l. vii. [u] See before, p. 194, 195, &c. [w] R. ELIEZER pirke, c. 23. [x] ORIGEN. GREGOR. AUGUSTIN. &c. ELMACIN. p. 11. [y] Genes. v. 32. [z] 2 Pet. iii. 20. [a] BEDFORD's Scripture chronol. p. 21. Vid. R. SOLOMON. [b] Genes. vi. 3. [c] Ibid. ver. 18.

such

ſuch connection or exact order of time kept in this whole narration, as to eſtabliſh any of theſe conjectures. All we can affirm, is, that ſuch a veſſel as the ark, and the neceſſary preparations of timber for it, could not be the work of a few years.

*Noah, &c. enter into the ark, and the flood begins.*

THE appointed time of the deluge being come, and all things in readineſs, *Noah*, at GOD's command, went into the ark with his wife, his ſons, and his daughters-in-low (A); and he took in to him, purſuant to the divine directions,

(A) It is certain, both from the teſtimony of *Moſes* and St. *Peter* (1) that eight perſons, and no more, were ſaved in the ark; and though there be a tradition among the Mohammedans to the ſame effect, which is ſaid to have been received from their prophet himſelf, yet others of them report this number variouſly: ſome ſay they were but ſix; others ten; others twelve; others ſeventy-eight; others fourſcore; half men and half women (2); and that one of them was the elder *Jorham* (3), the preſerver, as ſome pretend, of the *Arabian* language. But it is more extraordinary, that a chriſtian writer ſhould increaſe the number of *Noah*'s family, by ſuppoſing he had daughters of his own, and their husbands, his ſons-in-law, with him in the ark (4). The Mohammedans, on the other hand, alſo tell us, that the family of *Noah* were not all ſaved; but that one of his ſons, named *Yam* (5), or *Canaan* (6), whom ſome make his grandſon, and the ſon of *Ham* (7), and others his wife's ſon by another husband (8), periſhed in the flood. The *koran* ſays, *Noah* called to his ſon from the ark, ſaying, *Embark with us, my ſon, and ſtay not with the unbelievers:* he anſwered, *I will get on a mountain, which will ſecure me from the waters:* to which *Noah* replied, *There is no ſecurity this day againſt the decree of* GOD, *unleſs for them on whom he ſhall have mercy.* And immediately a wave ſeparating them, he was drowned. (9). Some commentators (10) add, that *Noah*'s wife likewiſe periſhed with her ſon.

The eaſtern authors differ as to the name of *Noah's* wife. Some of the *Jews* call her *Tiſiah*, or *Ariſiſah* (11); others ſay ſhe was *Naamah*, the daughter of *Lamech* (12), of the race of *Cain*. The *Gnoſtics* called her *Noria*; for

(1) 1 *Pet.* iii. 20. (2) *Al Zamakhſhari & Jallalo'ddin in alcor. c.* xi. *ver.* 40. *Ebn Shohnah.* (3) *Idem.* (4) *Conſt. Manaſſes apud Heidegg. hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *exerc.* 17. §. 23. (5) *Ebn Shohnah.* (6) *Jallalo'ddin.* (7) *D'herbel. bibl. orient. p.* 676. (8) *Al Zamakhſhari* (9) *Al koran, c.* xi. *ver.* 42. (10) *Jallalo'dain, & Al Zamakhſh.* (11) *Shalſhel Hakkab. p.* 92. (12) *Bareſhit rabbah, & Shalſhel. Hakkab. p.* 7.

which

directions, of all kinds of beasts, and of fowls, and of every thing that creepeth on the earth; of the unclean by pairs, and of the clean by sevens, the male and his female [d] (B). *Noah* went into the ark in the six hundredth

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[d] Genes. vii. 7. and 2, &c.

which *Epiphanius* (13) reprehends them, and says her name was *Barthenos*. *Eutychius* tells us *Noah*'s wife was *Haical*, the daughter of *Namusa*, the son of *Enoch*; and that *Shem*'s wife was named *Salit*; *Ham*'s, *Nahlat*; and *Japhet*'s, *Arisisah*; and that they were all three the daughters of *Methuselah* (14). But these deserve the same credit as the Sibyl, who pretends she was in the ark with *Noah*, being one of his daughters-in-law (15).

The eastern authors add, that *Noah*, in pursuance of the directions of *Adam*, handed to him for that purpose (16), took the body of that patriarch with him into the ark, and placed it in the midst of the vessel, as a barrier between the men and the women, who had no commerce during the deluge (17).

(A) It is a doubt whether there went into the ark but seven of every clean, and two of every unclean species, or fourteen of the first, and four of the last. Some adhere to the former exposition (18), and others to the latter (19), which seems to be the natural sense of the *Hebrew* words, *seven* and *seven*; and *two* and *two*; *the male and his female* (20). Besides, if there were but seven of the clean beasts, one must have been without a mate; and if we answer, that the odd one was for sacrifice (21), it is more than *Moses* tells us; who, on the contrary, repeats it, that the animals all went in by pairs. If this be admitted, the capacity which we have allowed the ark, being double to what bishop *Wilkins* computes it, will be no more than necessary for double the number of animals; especially if we consider the birds went in by sevens: unless the distinguishing word *clean*, which is inserted in the *Samaritan* text, and in the *Septuagint* and *Syriac* versions, should be supplied in the *Hebrew* (23).

If it be asked by what means *Noah* got all these animals together into the ark, the best answer that has been given is, that they came voluntarily, by a supernatural impulse from God (1); which seems to be intimated by the words of Scripture (2): though others suppose it was done by the assistance of angels (3).

(13) *Hæres.* 26. (14) *Eutych. p.* 34. (15) *Sibylla Erythr. l.* iii. (16) *See before, p.* 167, (A). (17) *Eutych. p.* 38. *Vid. Eliezer. Pirke, c.* 23. *Yahya, in al koran. apud Maracc. p.* 340. (18) *Joseph. ant. l.* i. *c.* 3. *August. de civit. Dei, l.* xv. *c.* 27. *Hieronym. cont. Jovin. l.* ii. *&c.* (19) *Justin. Martyr. Origen. Aben Ezra, &c.* (20) *Genes.* vii. 2. (21) *Theodoret. quæst.* 50. *in Genes. R. Solomon.* (22) *Genes.* vii. 9, 15, 16. (23) *Vid. Cleric. in loc. Heidegg. ubi sup.* § 25. (1) *Vid. Philon. Jud. de vita Mosis, l.* ii. *p.* 663. *Jallalo'ddin in al koran apud Maracc. ubi sup.* (2) *Genes.* vi. 20. vii. 9. (3) *Eliez. Pirke, c.* 23.

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year of his age, on the seventeenth day of the second month[e], which answers to our seventh of *December* (B), while the rest of mankind were in the height of security, and, contemning the repeated admonitions of *Noah*, did eat and drink, did marry wives, and were given in marriage, until the flood came and destroyed them all[f]. For on the self-same day were all the fountains of the great deep broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened; and the rain was upon the earth forty days and forty nights. The waters of the flood continued gradually to increase for five months, till they reached their utmost height, which was fifteen cubits, or upwards, or twenty-seven foot above the tops of the highest mountains; but they seem to have been free from storms or violent commotions, and to have raised and carried the ark gently along; that vessel, as has been observed, being unable to abide a stormy sea.

*The waters assuage.*

AT the end of the five months, GOD caused a wind to pass over the earth, and the waters began to assuage, the

[e] Genes. vii. 6, 11, 13. [f] Matt. xxiv. 38. Luke xvii. 27.

(B) Several writers have fallen into mistakes as to the day when the flood began, by computing from the vernal equinox: but since the antediluvian year indisputably commenced from the autumnal equinox, the twenty-seventh day of the second month will fall, according to the *Hebrew* calculation, on the seventh of *December*, as archbishop *Usher* computes, whom we follow (4); on the sixth of *November*, as others reckon (5); or on the twenty-eighth of *November*, which is the calculation of Mr. *Whiston* (6).

It is remarkable, that the day assigned by *Moses* for the beginning of the deluge, agrees exactly with the day wherein *Plutarch* tells us *Osiris* went into the ark, *viz.* the seventeenth of *Athyr*, which month is the second after the autumnal equinox, the sun then passing through *Scorpius* (7). Nor does it differ above a day or two from that set down by *Berosus*, if we allow what probably may have been the case, that that writer, or his transcribers, fell into the mistake above-mentioned, and supposed the flood began the second month from the vernal equinox, which was *Dæsius* (8); whereas the true month was *Apellæus*, the second from the autumnal equinox.

The Mohammedans say the flood began the tenth of *Rajeb* (9).

(4) *Annal. ad A. M.* 1656. (5) *Vid. Cleric. in loc.* (6) *Theory, p.* 218. (7) *Plut. de Iside & Osiride, p.* 356, D. (8) *Vid. Galen. comment. in . i. epid.* (9) *Ebn Shohnah.*

two

two ſources which fed them being ſtopped and reſtrained. On the very firſt day of their decreaſe, *viz.* the ſeventeenth day of the ſeventh month, or the ſixth of *May*, they fell ſo much, that the ark reſted on the mountains of *Ararat*: and by the firſt of the tenth month, or nineteenth of *July*, the tops of the neighbouring mountains began to appear. Forty days after, or about the twenty-eighth of *Auguſt*, *Noah*, the better to judge of the height of the waters, opened the window or lattice of the room where the birds were kept, and let out a raven (C), which flew to and fro till the earth was dry, but gave *Noah* no ſatisfactory information; whereupon he ſent out a dove (D) three ſeveral times, ſtaying ſeven days between each. The firſt time the dove quickly returned, finding no place dry enough for her to reſt on; the ſecond time ſhe came back in the evening, bringing in her mouth an olive-leaf plucked

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(C) The raven is ſuppoſed to have been ſent out, becauſe *Noah* thought the ſmell of the carcaſes would tempt him to fly to ſome diſtance (10); inſtead of which, he kept hovering about the ark; having ſome jealouſy, as the *Jews* pretend, of his mate (11). Though the *Hebrew* ſays the raven returned again, yet, according to the *Septuagint*, *Syriac*, and *Vulgate* verſions, he did not return; wherefore it is thought he periſhed in the waters (12). The rabbins have framed a dialogue on this occaſion between *Noah* and the raven; who asking why he was picked out to be ſent on that errand, *Noah* told him, becauſe the world might well be without ravens, which were neither fit for food nor for ſacrifice (13).

(D) The dove was probably ſent becauſe of her tameneſs, her flying far, feeding on the ground, and returning to her neſt from the greateſt diſtance (14). Some of the *Jews* pretend ſhe took the olive-leaf from paradiſe, others from mount *Olivet*; for they imagine *Judea* was not drowned in the deluge (15). From the olive-leaf *Noah* might infer, that the lower hills, where thoſe trees chiefly grow, were left by the waters, and that the vegetables were not totally deſtroyed (16). The *Chaldean* tradition agrees with the *Moſaic* hiſtory in the circumſtance of the birds being ſent out by *Xiſuthrus* (17). And *Plutarch* ſays, that, according to the mythologiſts, a dove was let out of the ark; and that her going out was to *Deucalion* a ſign of fair weather, and her return of foul (18).

(10) *Vid. Bochart. hieroz. part.* ii. *l.* ii. *c.* 12. (11) *In aguddah.* (12) *Vid. Bochart. ubi ſup.* (13) *Bereſhit rabbah.* §. 33. (14) *Bochart. ubi ſup. l.* i. *c.* 6. (15) *Bereſhit rabbah. ubi ſup.* (16) *Bochart. ubi ſup.* (17) *See before, p.* 195. (18) *Plutarch. de ſolert. animal. p.* 968.

off, which ſhewed a conſiderable abatement of the waters; and the third time ſhe returned no more.

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Noah, *&c. leave the ark.*

ON the firſt day of the firſt month, anſwering to our twenty-third of *October*, in the ſix hundredth and firſt year of *Noah*'s life, that patriarch removed the covering of the ark, to have a more extended view, and ſaw the ſurface of the earth was cleared of the waters: however, he ſtayed ſometime longer in the ark, till the twenty-ſeventh of the ſecond month, or the eighteenth of *December*, when by GOD's direction he came out of the ark, with his family, and all that were with him, having remained therein a year and ten days, according to the antediluvian computation; and, according to the preſent, a full year, or three hundred ſixty-five days [g].

*The* Perſian *and* Indian *traditions of the flood.*

WE ſhall conclude this ſection with adding a word or two concerning the *Perſian* and *Indian* traditions relating to the deluge.

AN eaſtern writer tells us, that ſome of thoſe who embrace the *Magian* religion are ſaid to deny the flood, or at leaſt the univerſality of it, pretending that it reached no farther than a cliff near *Hulwan* [h], a city of *Irak*, bordering on *Curdeſtan*. Yet the orthodox among them acknowlege this general deſtruction by water, wherein all mankind periſhed, except ſome few that were preſerved by providence; and that it was ſent by GOD to puniſh the crimes of mankind; one of whom, named *Malcus*, was a monſter of wickedneſs and impiety. One odd circumſtance mentioned by them is, that the firſt waters of the deluge guſhed out of the oven (E) of a certain old woman, named *Zala Cufa* [i].

WE are told by the ſame author, that the *Indians* acknowlege no deluge: but this muſt not be underſtood of

[g] Geneſ. vii. and viii. [h] EBN. SHOHNAH. [i] Vid. HYDE de rel. vet. Perſar. c. 10. and LORD's account of the religion of the Perſes, p. 9.

(E) *Mohammed* has borrowed this circumſtance, and inſerted it in his *koran* (1). The commentators ſay, it was the ſign by which *Noah* knew the flood was coming (2). And ſome pretend it was the ſame oven which *Eve* made uſe of to bake her bread in, being of a form different from thoſe we uſe, having the mouth in the upper part; and that it deſcended from patriarch to patriarch, till it came to *Noah* (3).

(1) *Al koran*, c. xi. *ver.* 40. *and* c. xxiii. *ver.* 28. (2) *Vid. Maracc. in act. p.* 340. (3) *Vid. D'Herbel. bibl. orient. art. Noah.*

all;

all; for the *Bramins* say, that the four tribes, or casts, of which the first race of men consisted, degenerating from their primitive innocence, the priest neglecting his piety, the soldier becomiug insolent and tyrannical, the merchant practising deceit in trade, and using false balances, and the artizan spending the profits of his inventions in riot and excess; their impiety and wickedness grew at length to so insufferable an height, that GOD's indignation was justly provoked, and he sent a flood, which destroyed all nations without exception: after which, GOD, to repair mankind, created three persons of greater excellency than those of the former generation; to one of whom, named *Bremaw*, he gave the power of creating men and animals, which he executed accordingly; the first human pair proceeding one from his right side, the other from his left. The man was called *Manow*, and the woman *Ceteroupa*, and by them was the earth replenished [k]. It must be observed, however, that these people believe several alternate destructions and reparations of mankind; and some of them say, there have been already no less than three destructions by water, and that another is yet to be expected by the same element [l].

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## SECT. VII.

### *Of the state of the antediluvian world, and the changes made in the earth by the deluge.*

WE cannot dismiss the history of the old world, without taking a transient view of the antediluvian state of mankind, and of the alterations which have been wrought in nature by the flood. *Of the state of the old world.*

THE religion, policy, arts and sciences of these first men, would be a very entertaining subject, if the greatest part of what can be said on these heads was not reducible to a few conjectures.

THE only thing we know as to their religious rites is, that they offered sacrifices, and that very early, both of the fruits of the earth, and of animals; but whether the blood and flesh of the animals, or only their milk and wool, were offered, is a dispute which we shall consider elsewhere. Some have endeavoured to prove, that all the pa- *The religion of the antediluvians.*

[k] LORD's discourse of the Banian religion, c. 6. and 7. [l] Propag. of the gospel in the east, part i. lett. 3. See also the introd. p. 67.

triarchs from *Adam* had ſtated places, and annual and weekly times ſet apart for divine worſhip, and alſo a ſeparate maintenance for the prieſts; all which particulars may be true, though they cannot be made out from the Scripture. But, what is more extraordinary, they pretend to tell us the very day of the week on which the antediluvian ſabbath was kept, and that it was the ſame with the Chriſtian ſabbath, or ſunday[a]; which notion we ſhall, in a proper place, ſhew to be very groundleſs and precarious.

*Their arts and ſciences.*

OF the arts and ſciences of theſe people we have not much more to ſay. They ſeem rather to have ſpent their time in luxury and wantonneſs, to which the abundant fertility of the firſt earth invited them, than in diſcoveries or improvements, which, probably, they ſtood much leſs in need of than their ſucceſſors. The art of working metals was found out by the laſt generation of *Cain*'s line; and muſic, which they might be ſuppoſed to practiſe for their pleaſure, was not brought to any perfection, if invented, before the ſame generation. Some authors have ſuppoſed aſtronomy to have been cultivated by the antediluvians, though this is probably owing to a miſtake of *Joſephus*[b]: but it is to be preſumed, the progreſs they made therein, or in any other ſcience, was not extraordinary; it being even very doubtful, whether letters were ſo much as known before the flood (as will be ſhewn in another place), whatever is pretended by ſome men, who have conceived ſo high an opinion of *Adam*'s knowlege, that they ſuppoſe it to have been almoſt univerſal; nor can any thing be inferred from the books attributed to that patriarch, or to *Seth* and *Enoch*[c], which are forgeries too groſs to deſerve any conſideration.

*Their polity.*

AS to their politics and civil conſtitutions, we have not ſo much as any circumſtances whereon to build conjectures. It is probable the patriarchal form of government, which certainly was the firſt, was ſet aſide when tyranny and oppreſſion began to take place, and much ſooner among the race of *Cain* than that of *Seth*. It ſeems alſo, that their communities were but few, and conſiſted of vaſtly larger numbers of people than any formed ſince the flood; or rather, it is a queſtion, whether, after the union of the two great families of *Seth* and *Cain*, there were any diſtinction of civil ſocieties, or diverſity of regular govern-

[a] SMITH's doctrine of the church of England, concerning the LORD's day. Vid. BEDFORD's Scripture chronol. p. 6. [b] See before, p. 169, & 170. [c] See before, p. 172—174.

ments at all; it is more likely that all mankind then made but one great nation, though living in a kind of anarchy, divided into ſeveral diſorderly aſſociations: which, as it was almoſt the natural conſequence of their having, in all probability, but one common language, ſo it was a circumſtance which greatly contributed to that general corruption, which otherwiſe, perhaps, could not have ſo univerſally overſpread the antediluvian world. And for this reaſon, chiefly, as it ſeems, ſo ſoon as the poſterity of *Noah* were ſufficiently increaſed, a plurality of tongues was miraculouſly introduced, in order to divide them into diſtinct ſocieties, and thereby prevent any ſuch total depravation for the future.

THE ſtate of the natural world before the flood ſeems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at preſent.

THE antediluvian world was, in all probability, ſtocked with a much greater number of inhabitants than the preſent earth either actually does, or perhaps is capable of containing or ſupplying. This ſeems naturally to follow from the great length of their lives, which exceeding the preſent ſtandard of life, in the proportion, at leaſt, of ten to one, the antediluvians muſt accordingly, in any long ſpace of time, double themſelves, at leaſt, in about the tenth part of the time in which mankind do now double themſelves; for they began to beget children as early, and left off as late, in proportion, as men do now; and the ſeveral children of the ſame father ſeem to have ſucceeded as quickly one after another, as they uſually do at this day; and as many generations, which are but ſucceſſive with us, were contemporary before the flood, the number of people living on the earth at once would be, by that means, ſufficiently increaſed to anſwer any defect, which might ariſe from other circumſtances not conſidered. So that, if we make a computation on thoſe principles (F), we ſhall find, that there

*The old world more populous and fertile than the preſent.*

(F) It is now generally owned, and that from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves in about three hundred and ſixty, or three hundred and ſeventy years; or allowance being made for all, but very uncommon and very rare caſes of general wars, famines, plagues, and ſuch like deſolations, in about four hundred years (1). So that, allowing the period for the doubling of mankind, from the creation to the deluge, to be ten times ſhorter, by reaſon of their ſo much longer lives; if we have a ſeries of forty numbers, be-

(1) *See Sir W. Petty's eſſay on the multiplication of mankind; and the philoſophical tranſactions*, N°. 197, *p.* 597.

there were a conſiderable number of people in the world at the death of *Abel*, though their father *Adam* was not then one hundred and thirty years old, and that the number of mankind before the deluge would eaſily amount to above one hundred thouſand millions (even according to the *Samaritan* chronology); that is, to twenty times as many as our preſent earth has, in all probability, now upon it, or can well be ſuppoſed capable of maintaining in its preſent conſtitution[d]. From whence it follows, that, to ſuſtain ſo much larger a number of inhabitants (beſides the brute animals, which were, very probably, as numerous in proportion), the earth muſt have been much more fruitful before that deſolation than it has been ſince[e]; though it was

[d] WHISTON's theory, p. 246, &c. [e] Ibid. p. 256.

ginning at two (for ſo many GOD created himſelf at firſt), and doubling themſelves in forty, or, for convenience, in forty-one years at a mean, or one age with another, till the deluge, we ſhall, in ſome degree, obtain the ſum total of mankind at the deluge, and alſo in the ſeveral ages before that time; though this period of doubling muſt ſtill have been much ſhorter in the earlieſt, and longer in the lateſt times of the interval: which computation Mr. *Whiſton* (2), to whom we are obiged for theſe obſervations, has giving us in the following table.

| *Series.* | *Years of doubling.* | *Years of the world.* | *Number of mankind.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1 | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| 2 | 4 | 6 | 8 |
| 3 | 6 | 12 | 16 |
| 4 | 8 | 20 | 32 |
| 5 | 10 | 30 | 64 |
| 6 | 12 | 42 | 128 |
| 7 | 14 | 56 | 256 |
| 8 | 16 | 72 | 512 |
| 9 | 18 | 90 | 1,024 |
| 10 | 20 | 110 | 2,048 |
| 11 | 22 | 132 | 4.096 |
| 12 | 24 | 156 | 8,192 |
| 13 | 26 | 182 | 16,384 |
| 14 | 28 | 210 | 32,768 |
| 15 | 30 | 240 | 65,536 |
| 16 | 32 | 272 | 131,072 |
| 17 | 34 | 306 | 262,144 |
| 18 | 36 | 342 | 524,288 |
| 19 | 38 | 380 | 1,048,576 |
| 20 | 40 | 420 | 2,097,152 |
| 21 | 42 | 462 | 4,194,304 |
| 22 | 44 | 506 | 8,388,608 |
| 23 | 46 | 552 | 16,777,216 |
| 24 | 48 | 600 | 33,554,432 |
| 25 | 50 | 650 | 67,108,864 |
| 26 | 52 | 702 | 134,217,728 |
| 27 | 54 | 756 | 268,435,456 |
| 28 | 56 | 812 | 536,870,912 |
| 29 | 58 | 870 | 1,073,741,824 |
| 30 | 60 | 930 | 2,147,483,648 |
| 31 | 62 | 992 | 4,294,967,296 |
| 32 | 64 | 1056 | 8,589,934,592 |
| 33 | 66 | 1122 | 17,179,869,184 |
| 34 | 68 | 1190 | 34,359,738,368 |
| 35 | 70 | 1260 | 68,719,476,736 |
| 36 | 72 | 1332 | 137,438,953,472 |
| 37 | 74 | 1406 | 274,877,906,944 |
| 38 | 76 | 1482 | 549,755,813,888 |

(2) *Theory of the earth, p.* 249.

the n

then barren, in comparison of its primitive fertility before the fall.

*Of the longevity of the antediluvians.*

One of the most extraordinary circumstances which occurs in the antediluvian history, is the vast length of mens lives in those first ages in comparison of our own. Few now arrive to eighty or an hundred years, whereas before the flood they frequently lived to near a thousand; a disproportion almost incredible, were it not incontestably certain from the joint testimonies of sacred and profane writers (G), whose authority in this point being not to be eluded, some, to reconcile the matter with probability, have imagined that the ages of those first men might possibly be computed not by solar years, but months [f], which reduces the length of their lives rather to a shorter period than our own. But for this there is not the least foundation; besides the many absurdities that would thence follow, such as their begetting children at about six years of age, as some of them in that case must have done, and the contraction of the whole interval between the creation and the deluge to considerably less than two hundred years, even according to the larger computation of the *Septuagint*.

*The causes of it.*

The causes of this longevity are variously assigned: some have imputed it to the sobriety of the antediluvians, and the simplicity of their diet; that they eat no flesh (H), and had none of those provocations to gluttony, which wit and vice have since invented. This, were it true,

[f] Varro, apud Lactant. inst. divin. l. ii. c. 12. Vid. Augustin. de civit. Dei, l. xv. c. 12.

(G) *Josephus* reckons up the testimonies of *Manetho*, *Berosus*, *Mochus*, *Hestiæus*, *Jerom* the *Egyptian*, and the writers of the *Phœnician* antiquities. He says also, that *Hesiod*, *Hecatæus*, *Hellanicus*, *Acusilaus*, *Ephorus*, and *Nicolaus*, wrote that the antients lived a thousand years (1). Of all which testimonies, we have none now extant, except only that of *Hesiod* (2).

(H) A learned physician has advanced a very contrary opinion. Among several causes of the longevity of the first men, enumerated by him, one is, their eating of raw flesh; the most nourishing, and best parts whereof, he supposes, are carried off in dressing, by the action of the fire (3).

(1) *Joseph. ant. l. i. c. 4.*
(2) *In oper. & dieb. ver. 130, &c.*
(3) *Beverovicius thes. sanitat. l. iii.*

might

might have ſome effect, but not poſſibly to ſuch a degree as we are ſpeaking of, ſince we have had many temperate and abſtemious perſons in latter ages, who yet ſeldom have exceeded the uſual period. Others have imputed it to the excellency of their fruits, and ſome peculiar virtue in the herbs and plants of thoſe days; but as the earth was curſed immediately after the fall, its fruits we may ſuppoſe gradually decreaſed in their virtue and goodneſs till the flood; and yet we do not ſee the length of mens lives decreaſed conſiderably, if at all, during that interval. Others have thought, that the long lives of thoſe inhabitants of the old world proceeded from the ſtrength of their *ſtamina*, or firſt principles of their bodily conſtitutions; which might indeed be a concurrent, but not the ſole and adequate cauſe of their longevity: for *Shem*, who was born before the deluge, and had all the virtue of the antediluvian conſtitution, fell three hundred years ſhort of the age of his forefathers, becauſe the greateſt part of his life was paſſed after the flood [g].

*The changes made in the world at the deluge, according to Dr.* Burnet,

It has therefore been more rationally ſuppoſed, that the chief cauſe of this longevity was the wholſome conſtitution of the antediluvian air, which after the deluge became corrupted and unwholſome, breaking by degrees the priſtine craſis of the body, and ſhortening mens lives, in a very few ages, to near the preſent ſtandard. But how the flood ſhould induce or occaſion ſuch a change in the air, is not eaſy to comprehend [h].

Dr. Burnet, as he attributes the fertility and paradiſiacal ſtate of the firſt earth to a perpetual equinox, the conſequence of the direct or parallel poſition which he ſuppoſes the earth then had to the ſun; ſo he thinks the barrenneſs of the preſent earth, and the malignity of our air, are owing to the inequality of ſeaſons introduced at the deluge, when the earth, being broken and ſhattered, loſt its poiſe, and fell into that oblique ſituation which it now has [i]. Thence proceeded an unequal temperature of the air, violent exhalations, meteors, thunder, lightning, rain, ſnow, hail, ice, tempeſtuous winds, and the like, to which the earth was before an utter ſtranger, cauſing a ſenſible decay in nature, and a gradual contraction of human life [k].

[g] Burnet's theory, book 2. c. 2, 4. See Stackhouse's body of divinity, p. 307, &c.
[h] Ray on the deluge, p. 122.
[i] See before, p. 137, 138.
[k] Burnet's theory, book ii. c. 2, 3.

Mr.

Mr. WHISTON is of the ſame opinion as to the different ſtates of the air before and ſince the deluge, and the effects thereof on human bodies, as well as on the productions of the earth; but aſſigns very different cauſes for both. He thinks the purity and equality of the antediluvian air were the natural and regular properties of an original earth, ſuch as one would rationally expect in a world newly come out of the hands of its creator, and ſuch as the generality of our fellow planets (eſpecially our next neighbour the moon), as far as we can obſerve, are ſuppoſed to have had at firſt, and hitherto retained. So that all that can in reaſon be deſired, is to give a plain account of thoſe oppoſite phænomena of the earth which we are now ſo ſenſible of, and by what means the deluge could occaſion the ſame [l]. And this he endeavours to do, by ſuppoſing, 1. That the comet, which, according to his hypotheſis, was the cauſe of the deluge, in paſſing by the earth, by its attraction accelerated the earth's annual motion, and changed its then circular orbit into an ellipſis [m]: and, 2. That the earth at the deluge carried off vaſt quantities of the groſs heterogeneous and indigeſted maſſes with which the chaotic atmoſphere of the comet was crouded; part of which were received into our air, and the other part, being mixed with the waters derived from the comet, ſettled and formed a new cruſt over the ſurface of the earth, which was ſomewhat increaſed by the dirt and ſoil thrown up by the ſubterraneous waters, and waſhed from the mountains [n].

*—and Mr. Whiſton.*

THESE two great changes in the natural world would have very conſiderable conſequences. That made in the earth's orbit, beſides altering the form of the year (I),

[l] WHISTON's theory, p. 363. [m] Ibid. p. 207, &c.
[n] Ibid. p. 275, 417.

(I) The antediluvian year was, according to this gentleman, in abſolute ſpace of time, nearly equal to our preſent and antient lunar one, and above ten days, or, more nicely, ten days, one hour, twenty-eight minutes, and an half, ſhorter than our preſent ſolar year; yet it contained three hundred and ſixty antediluvian days, (1). which were equal to only three hundred and fifty-five days, four hours, and about twenty minutes, of our preſent days; the earth's diurnal motion having been retarded, and our days conſequently lengthened in that proportion, partly by the quantity of foreign matter, derived from the comet at the deluge, and partly from another cauſe

(1) *Whiſton's theory, p.* 208, 209, 220.

would,

would, by placing us at a greater diſtance from the ſun, occaſion a very ſenſible decreaſe in the heat of that luminary, which muſt (on calculation) have been a twenty-fifth part greater before the flood than ſince [o]. The primigenial ſoil would lie buried under the ſediment or factitious cruſt, which he computes to be about one hundred and five feet thick [p], wherein the fertile mould would be much thinner ſpread than before the deluge; conſidering which circumſtances, together with the great damp put to the influence of the central heat, as well by the waters of the deluge, as the conſolidation of the adventitious ſediment, it naturally follows, that the preſent earth could be nothing near ſo fruitful and luxuriant in her productions as the antediluvian was [q]. This ſuppoſition of a new cruſt acquired by the earth at the flood, by the way, alſo accounts for the phænomena we formerly mentioned of the bones, teeth, and ſhells of fiſh, and other marine and vegetable productions ſo frequently dug up, even on mountains, and at great diſtances from the ſea [r]. The heterogeneous compoſition of our preſent groſs atmoſphere, acquired likewiſe from the comet, muſt neceſſarily occaſion great irregularities and depravations in the temperature and conſtitution of the air. For the difference of climates being not wholly owing to the ſun's heat, or the nature of the air, but partly to thoſe calorific and frigorific mixtures which are uncertainly contained therein; and our air being now in the torrid zone full of ſulphureous and ſultry, and in the frigid ones of nitrous and freezing effluvia or exhalations, which may be removed, on the veering of the wind from one region to another; thoſe extremities of heat and cold, and ſudden changes in the temper of the air, which we are now ſo ſenſible of, are thence eaſily accounted for; and the ſame nitro-ſulphureous and other heterogeneous mixtures and exhalations might likewiſe occaſion thoſe coruſcations, meteors, thunders, lightning, clouds, rain, winds, and ſtorms, ſo common with us; from which, and their pernicious effects, the pure homogeneous antediluvian air was perfectly free [f].

As both the theoriſts deny there was any rain, at leaſt in the habitable parts of the primitive earth, it may be aſked what expedients they have found out to ſupply it with water. Mr. *Whiſton*, who allows there were rivers, lakes, and ſeas (though no great ocean), in the firſt earth,

[o] Ibid. p. 363. [p] Ibid. p. 418. [q] Ibid. p. 363, &c.
[r] Ibid. p. 423, &c. [f] Ibid. p. 365, &c.

effects

effects this with little difficulty; ſuppoſing, the vapours elevated by the ſun in the day, which the purity and thinneſs of the air hindered from condenſing and falling down in rain, deſcended however in regular and gentle miſts in the night [s]. But Dr. *Burnet*, in whoſe antediluvian earth there were neither mountains nor ſeas (K), and the whole element of water was locked up in the abyſs, is obliged to have recourſe to a more extraordinary explication. He ſays, that the action of the ſun being very ſtrong and conſtant in raiſing vapours, and the earth at firſt moiſt and ſoft, as it grew more dry, the rays of the ſun would pierce more deep into it, and reach at length the great abyſs which lay underneath, and was an inexhauſted ſtorehouſe of new vapours (L). Thoſe vapours would be hindered by the heat from condenſing into clouds or rains in the warmer parts of the earth, and there being no mountains nor contrary winds to ſtop or compreſs them, would bend

[s] Ibid. p. 369.

(K) To this form of the primæval world, and the change made therein by the deluge, Dr. *Burnet* (1) has met with a ſurpriſing teſtimony from an *Ethiopian* tradition, delivered to the count *Balthaſar Caſtiglione*, by a philoſopher of that nation then in *Spain*, which is to the following effect; *viz.* That the firſt earth was much more ſpacious than the preſent, and nearer to heaven: that it was perfectly round, without mountains or valleys, but all hollow, or full of cavities within, like a ſponge: that the inhabitants breathed a moſt pure air, and paſſed their lives happily; the earth ſpontaneouſly bringing forth moſt excellent fruits, without plowing or ſowing: but after ſome ages, when mankind, elated with pride, had degenerated from their primitive innocence, the angry gods ſhook the earth with ſo vehement a concuſſion, that the greateſt part of it fell down into the caverns below; and the water, before incloſed in thoſe hidden receſſes, was thereby violently forced out; and to this, the fountains, rivers, lakes, and ſea, owe their original: that that part of the earth which had not fallen in, but ſtood above the reſt, appeared as mountains; and the iſlands, and rocks, in the midſt of the ſea, are nothing elſe but fragments of the hollow earth, which remained after that ſudden diſruption, and fall of the whole terreſtrial frame (2).

(L). Yet if a calculation made be true, this ſtorehouſe would be quite exhauſted, long before the deluge (3).

(1) *See his theory, p.* 386. (2) *Fr. Patricio, della rhetorica degli antichi, apud Ramazzin. de fontium Mutinenſium ſcaturigine, p.* 41. (3) *See p.* 214.

their

their courſe where they found the leaſt reſiſtance, and that would be towards the poles or colder regions, where, when they were arrived, they would be condenſed, and fall down in a continual rain or dew upon thoſe parts of the earth; ſo that there would be a conſtant ſource of waters, which would neither fail nor overflow, but find the earth with an equal ſupply throughout all the parts of the year. And to account for the flowing of theſe waters on the even ſurface of the earth, and of their forming themſelves into rivers, which ſeems a difficulty not eaſily to be got over, he ſuppoſes the earth was not exactly ſpherical, but oval; the polar parts being higher than the equinoctial, that is, more remote from the centre; by which means the waters which fell about the extreme parts would have a continual deſcent towards the middle parts of it, forming by the way lakes, and dividing into leſſer and leſſer ſtreams, till at length they were either exhaled again by the ſun, or drank up by the thirſty ſands of the torrid zone [t].

*Whether any rainbow before the flood.*

If either of theſe hypotheſes be admitted, the diſpute whether there was any rainbow or not before the deluge, muſt be at an end. For in an air, wherein there fell no rain in ſenſible round drops, to refract and reflect the rays of light, on which the rainbow intirely depends, the appearance of that beautiful phænomenon could not be expected; and indeed it is ſomewhat hard to conceive how it could be a ſign or confirmation of the covenant which God made with *Noah*, that he would drown the world no more with water, if it had been in the clouds before, and with no regard to this promiſe. For if we ſuppoſe it even an arbitrary ſign, and to have no connection with the effect, it ſeems that to make it ſignificant and ſatisfactory, it muſt be ſomething new, otherwiſe it could not ſignify a new thing, or be the confirmation of a new promiſe. And accordingly, it has been obſerved, that the ſigns by inſtitution only, mentioned in Scripture, have all ſomething new and ſtrange, as a mark of the hand of God: at leaſt it muſt be acknowleged, that if *Noah* had never ſeen a rainbow before, that ſign muſt have made a much more lively impreſſion on him, and given him much greater comfort and aſſurance in God's promiſe, than if it had been no more than what he muſt have often obſerved before the late terrible devaſtation [u].

[t] Burnet's theory, p. 310, &c. [u] Ibid. p. 324, &c. Vid. Heidegg. hiſt. patr. tom. i. exerc. 15.

Whe-

WHETHER fleſh was permitted to be eaten before the deluge, is alſo a queſtion which has been much debated [v]. By the permiſſion expreſly given to *Noah* for that purpoſe after the flood [w], and GOD's aſſigning vegetables only for food to man as well as beaſt at the creation [x], one would imagine it was not lawful before; yet others have ſuppoſed, that it was included in the general grant of power and dominion given to *Adam* by GOD over the animal creation [y]; and the diſtinction of beaſts into clean and unclean, which was well known before the flood [z], is inſiſted on as a ſtrong argument on this ſide, and which it is not eaſy to anſwer. To ſay that diſtinction was uſed proleptically, is a mere ſubterfuge; and to ſuppoſe it made ſolely to diſtinguiſh what was lawful or unlawful to be ſacrificed, and not what might or might not be eaten, is little better; it being the cuſtom to offer to GOD ſuch fruits and animals as were fit for food and ſuſtenance, and not ſuch as were of no uſe or benefit to mankind in that reſpect.

*Whether fleſh might be eaten before the flood.*

## SECT. VIII.

### *An inquiry concerning the ſituation of mount* Ararat, *and the various opinions about it.*

IT may be proper, before we cloſe this chapter, to give ſome account of the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark reſted, the ſituation of which is rendered in ſome meaſure uncertain by the different traditions concerning it.

THE *Sibylline* verſes place mount *Ararat* in the borders of *Black Phrygia*, near *Celænæ*, at the ſprings of the river *Marſyas* [a], which riſes out of the ſame lake with the *Mæander*, and falls at length into it [b]. But it appears from good authorities, that there is really no mountain at all in that place, at leaſt none near ſo high as *Ararat* muſt needs have been, but only a ſmall hill, or eminence [c]. This fancy therefore ſeems to have taken its riſe from *Apamea*, another city near *Celænæ*, being ſurnamed *Cibotos*, or *the ark*; not, as *Bochart* obſerves [d], from any tradition of *Noah*'s ark, but from its ſituation, being ſhut up like an ark, or cheſt, by three rivers which incompaſſed it;

[v] Vid. ibid. exerc. 19. §. 26, &c. [w] Geneſ. ix. 3, 4. [x] Geneſ. i. 29, 30. [y] Geneſ. ver. 26, 28. [z] Gen. vii. 2. [a] XENOPHON, LIVIUS, l. xxxviii. [b] STRABO, l. xii. MAX. TYRIUS, ſerm. 38. [c] STRABO ubi ſupra. PTOLEM. lib. v. cap. 3. STEPHAN. in Πεσσινὺς. [d] Phaleg. lib. i. cap. 3.

it; as the port of *Alexandria* in *Egypt* was called *Cibotos* from the bay ſurrounding it: beſides, *Cibotos* was a new name, which does not ſeem to have been known in thoſe parts till given to *Apamea*, built by *Seleucus*, or *Antiochus Soter*; and *Celænæ*[e] had a prior right to it, if there had been any ſuch tradition: ſo that what is farther alleged of the *Apameans* coining medals having on the reverſe the impreſſion of an ark, as may be ſeen on three ſeverally ſtruck in honour of *Adrian*[f], *Septimius Severus*, and *Philip* the *Arabian*[g], is of no weight.

BEN GORION ſeems to extend the name of *Ararat* to *Caucaſus*[h]: but by the mountains of *Ararat* have been generally underſtood, both by antient and modern authors, thoſe of *Armenia*. *Ararat* is by the *Septuagint*[i] and in the *Vulgate*[k] rendered *Armenia* (M); and there is actually a province of that country named *Ararat*[l], or *Airarat*, from a plain therein ſo called in memory of *Arai* the eighth king of that nation, who was ſlain in battle there[m]; *Arayi arat* ſignifying *the ſlain of* Arai. But though authors have generally agreed in placing *Ararat* in *Armenia*, yet they differ as to the particular ſituation of the mountain where the ark reſted, there being two opinions concerning it, each of which is ſupported by a tradition.

*Firſt tradition about mount Ararat.*

THE firſt opinion is, that it was one of the mountains which divide *Armenia* on the ſouth from *Meſopotamia*, and that part of *Aſſyria* inhabited by the *Curds*, from whom thoſe mountains took the name of *Curdue*, or *Cardu*, by the *Greeks* turned into *Gordyæi*, and other names (N). It

[e] STRABO ubi ſupra. LIVIUS ubi ſup. [f] CALMET dict. de la bible, art. Apamee. [g] Vid. FALCONERII diſſert. de num. Apam. apud Kircher. arca Noæ, l. ii. c. 6. [h] Lib. vi. cap. 96. [i] Iſa. xxxvii. 38. [k] Gen. viii. 4. 2 Kings xix. 37. [l] Vid. la notice des egliſes qui dependent du patr. d'Armenie, publiée par le P. SIMON à la fin de ſon hiſtoire critique de la creance, & des coutumes des nations du Levant; & SCHROEDER. diſſert. de rebus Armenicis. [m] MOSES CHORENENSIS, compend. geogr. univerſal. p. 46, 52.

(M). The *Samaritan* verſion tranſlates it *Serendib*, which is the name the eaſtern writers give to the iſland *Ceylon*. *See before, p.* 119, 120.

(N). The *Greek* and *Latin* writers name them *Carduchi*, *Cardiei*, *Cordyæi*, *Cordueni*, *Gordi*, *Cordæi*, *Curdi*, &c. The orientals call them alſo, *Cardon*, *Cordyn*, *Curud*, &c. *Bochart* (1) ſuppoſes they are the ſame, which are called by miſtake, in *Joſephus*, *Cæron* (2).

(1) *Phaleg. lib.* i. *cap.* 3. (2) *Antiq. lib.* xx. *cap.* 2.

is

is called by the *Arabs Al Judi* [o], (if it be not a miſtake for *Gordi* [p], or a corruption of *Cordi*, or *Jordi* (O), as it ought to be written by the *Arabs*) [q]; and alſo *Thamanin* [r], probably from the town hereafter named, at the foot of it.

THE tradition which affirms the ark to have reſted on theſe mountains muſt have been very antient, ſince it is the tradition of the *Chaldeans* themſelves [s]: the *Chaldee* paraphraſts conſent to this opinion [t], which obtained very much formerly; but when we come to inquire into the peculiar part of theſe mountains, whereon the ark reſted, authors ſeem to place it out of *Armenia*: *Epiphanius* in the country of the *Cordyæans* [u], or between the *Armenians* and *Cordyæans*, on the mountain *Lubar* [w]; the eaſtern authors, as well Chriſtians as Mohammedans, on mount *Thamanin* or *Al Judi* [x], which overlooks the country of *Diyar Rabiah* [y] in *Meſopotamia*, near the cities of *Mauſol*, *Forda* (P), and *Jazirat ebn Omar* [z] (Q), which laſt is ſaid to be but four miles from the place of the ark [a].

[o] EUTYCH. annal. p. 41. D'HERBELOT bibl. orient. art. Gioudi. [p] BOCHART. phaleg. lib. i. cap. 3. [q] GOLIUS in not. ad Alfragan. p. 287. [r] Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 202. [s] BEROSUS apud Joſephum antiq. lib. 1. cap. 4. [t] ONKELOS & JONATHAN in Geneſ. viii. 4. [u] EPIPHAN. hæreſ. 18. [w] Idem ibid. lib. i. §. 4. [x] Geogr. Nubienſ. p. 202. EBN SHOHNAH, MS. [y] EBN AMID, l. i. c. 1. [z] EUTYCH. annal. p. 41. Vid. etiam D'HERBELOT bibl. orient. p. 404. art. Gioudi, & p. 676. [a] BENJAMIN TUDELENS. itiner. p. 61.

(O) *Jordi* may be changed into *Judi*, by an eaſy miſtake of the *ra* for the *waw*; but it is odd, ſuch an error ſhould be ſo univerſal.

(P) If this name were not uſually written *Forda*, by the *Arabian* authors, we ſhould judge it ought to be *Korda*, from the name of the mountain. *D'Herbelot* mentions a town called *Corda*, at the foot of *Al Judi* (3).

(Q) *Jazirat ebn*, or *bani Omar*, is a city in an iſland of the *Tigris*, ſo named from the *khalifah Omar ebn Abd' alaziz*, of the family of *Ommiyah*, who, if you will believe *Benjamin* the *Jew* (4) (tho' he by miſtake, calls him *Omar ebn al Kettah*), removed the remains of the ark into that city, and built a Mohammedan temple therewith. The *Syrians* call it *Gozarta*, or *the iſland*; but we muſt not confound it, as *Aſſemani* does (5), with the *Gezerta* of *Maſius*, called by ſome, the iſle of *Eden*, which is no more than twelve miles above *Mauſol*; whereas *Jezirat ebn Omar* is ninety miles above that city (6), in one of the roads from *Aleppo* to *Taurus* (7).

(3) *Bibl. orient. art. Gioudi.* (4) *Itiner. p. 61.* (5) *Bibl. orient. tom.* ii. *diſſert. de monophyſ. & tom.* i. *p.* 540. (6) *Geog. Nubienſ. p. 202.* (7) *Tavernier, voyage de Perſe, liv.* iii. *chap.* 4.

*Remainder of the ark to be ſeen for a long time on the* Cardu *mountains.*

To confirm this tradition, we are told the remainders of the ark were to be ſeen upon theſe mountains: *Beroſus* and *Abydenus* both declare there was ſuch a report in their time [b]. The firſt obſerves farther, that ſeveral of the inhabitants thereabouts ſcraped the pitch off the planks as a rarity, and carried it about them for an amulet: and the latter ſays, they uſed the wood of the veſſel againſt many diſeaſes with wonderful ſucceſs. The relics of the ark were to be ſeen alſo in the time of *Epiphanius*, if we may believe him [c]; and we are told, the emperor *Heraclius* went from the town of *Themanin*, up the mountain *Al Judi*, and ſaw the place of the ark [d]. This town of *Themanin* is, or was, ſituate at the foot of the mountain *Al Judi* [e]; the name ſignifies *eighty* (and not eight, as *Bochart*, *Calmet*, and others, would have it), in memory of the eighty perſons, who, according to a *Mohammedan* tradition, were ſaved in the ark [f]; though the Chriſtian writers among the *Arabs*, who ſay this city was built by *Noah* and his ſons near *Forda*, not approving that tradition, ſuppoſe it called ſo, becauſe they were eight [g].

*Monaſtery of the ark formerly there.*

THERE was formerly a famous monaſtery, called *the monaſtery of the ark*, upon the *Cardu* mountains, where the *Neſtorians* uſed to celebrate a feaſt-day on the ſpot where they ſuppoſed the ark reſted; but in the year of CHRIST 776. that monaſtery was deſtroyed by lightning, with the church, and a numerous congregation in it [h]. Since which time, probably, the credit of this tradition hath declined, and given place to another which at preſent obtains.

*Second tradition about mount* Ararat.

THE ſecond opinion therefore places mount *Ararat* towards the middle of *Armenia*, near the river *Araxes*, or *Aras*, above 280 miles diſtant from *Al Judi* to the north eaſt.

JEROM ſeems to be the firſt, who hath given an account of this tradition: *Ararat*, ſays that father, is a champaign country, incredibly fertile, through which the *Araxes* flows, at the foot of mount *Taurus*, which extends ſo far. Wherefore by the mountains of *Ararat*, whereon the ark reſted, are not to be underſtood the mountains of *Armenia*

[b] BEROSUS apud Joſephum antiq. l. i. c. 4. ABYDENUS apud Euſeb. chron. Græc. & præp. evang. l. ix. c. 4. [c] Hæreſ. 18. [d] EBN AMID hiſt. Arabum, l. i. c. 1. [e] D'HERBELOT, ubi ſupra. Vid. AGATHIAM, l. iv. p. 135. [f] D'HERBELOT, p. 677. [g] Vid. EUTYCH. & EBN AMID, ubi ſupra. [h] Vid. chronic. DIONYSII patriarch. Jacobitar. apud Aſſeman, bibl. orient. tom. ii. p. 113.

n general, but the higheſt mountains of *Taurus*, which overlook the plains of *Ararat* [i]. Theſe probably are the plains mentioned before, which gave name to the country. An author of the middle age obſerves, that near the city of *Naxuan* [*Naxh-chuvan*] are the mountains on which the ark reſted, having the *Araxes* running at the foot of them [k]; and ſince that time, all the travellers into thoſe parts ſpeak of no other mountain of *Ararat*.

THIS tradition would appear of equal antiquity with the former, could we be certain this was the high mountain *Baris* (R), in the province of *Minyas* (S), in *Armenia*, to which, according to a tradition reported by *Nicolas* of *Damaſcus* [l], many people in the time of a deluge fled for ſanctuary; and upon the top of which a certain man ſtruck with his veſſel. As it is no new thing to find the ſame relics in two different places at once, the ſame author alſo aſſures us, that ſeveral pieces of the timber of that

[i] HIERONYM. in Eſai. xxxvii. [k] RUBRUQUIS de Tartaris, c. 48. [l] Apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 4.

(R) *Bochart* (8) ſuppoſes *Baris*, in the *Armenian* tongue, to be the ſame with ἀποβατήριον, the *deſcent*, or *going forth*, as we are told, that nation called the place where *Noah* came down from the ark (9); and has found an *Arabic* word of that ſignification ſomething like it; but we doubt much, whether he could find an *Armenian* one: *bardſr* ſignifies *high* in that tongue, and might be given to this mountain on account of its height; but this is only conjecture. Others tell us, *Baris*, in the *Egyptian* language, ſignifies a ſort of a ſhip (10); and therefore think the name has ſome reference to the ark; and that the ſame may be alluded to, in the names of the temple of *Baris*, and the mountains *Imbar* and *Nibar* in that neighbourhood (11) though their ſituation be very uncertain, as well as the *Lubar* of *Epiphanius* (12).

(S) Some will have *Minyas* to be written *Milyas* 13; but the firſt ſeems to be the true reading, ſince we find *Minni* joined with *Ararat* in Scripture 14. Sir *Iſaac Newton* makes one name of *Ararat Minni* (15): and perhaps, *Armenia* is only a contraction or compound of *Har* and *Minni*, which ſignifies the mountain or mountainous country of *Minni*; though the *Armenians* themſelves derive the name from *Aram*, one of their kings (16).

(8) *Phaleg. l.* i. *c.* 3. (9) *Joſeph. antiq. l.* i. *c.* 4. *Euſeb. de locis Hebr. ex interp. Hieron.* (10) *Herodot Euterp. Heſych.* (11) *Strabo, l.* xi. *p.* 799, 803. (12) *Vid. Fuller. miſcell. ſacr. l.* i. *c.* 4. (13) *Voſſius apud Berkel. in Steph. voce* Μιλύαι. (14) *Jerem.* li. 27. (15) *Chronol. p.* 323. (16) *Moſes Choren. hiſt. arm. p.* 49.

veſſel were to be ſeen on the mountain *Baris*, a long time after it had landed there [m]: but this circumſtance may be urged as an objection, againſt *Baris* being the ſame with the laſt-mentioned mountain, which is ſaid to be inacceſſible. However, at the foot of it, they alſo ſhew a town called *Cemain*, which comes pretty near to *Shemonah* [n], ſignifying *eight*, the number of perſons who came out of the ark, and, as the *Armenians* ſay, built it [o].

*Objections to it.*

AN objection indeed has been ſtarted by a late traveller, which tends to overthrow both traditions: he ſays, he does not ſee where the dove could find an olive-branch, if the ark be ſuppoſed to have reſted on any of the mountains of *Armenia*, for the olive is not found thereabouts [p]; nor (we are told) in any part of *Aſia* beyond *Aleppo*, except one ſingle place near *Casbin* [q] in *Perſia*. However, it ſeems to have been otherwiſe antiently; for the Scripture mentions *Aſſyria* as a land of oil-olive [r]; and we are told, that the olive grew in *Gogarene*, a province of *Armenia* [s]. Another has obſerved, that this mountain is ſo pointed at the top, that he could not eaſily conceive, how the waters of the deluge could withdraw quick enough, juſt when the ark was over it, ſo as to leave it on ſo narrow a ſpace [t].

*Called* Maſis *by the* Armenians.

BUT the *Armenians* are not to be convinced by any arguments, that this is not the very mountain on which the ark reſted; they call it *Maſis* [u], and derive the name from *Amaſia* (T), the third ſucceſſor of *Haikh* [w], the founder of

[m] Ibid. [n] שמנה. [o] Vid. RUBRUQUIS, ubi ſupra. [p] TOURNEFORT's voyages, lett. 7. [q] TAVERNIER voyage de Tunquin, p. 181. [r] 2 Kings xviii. 32. [s] STRABO, l. xi. p. 800. [t] POULLET, nouv. relat. du Levant, part i. c. 10. p. 132. [u] RUBRU. TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. GOL. not. ad Alfrag. p. 237. [w] MOSES CHORENSIS, p. 47.

(T) This etymology overthrows *Chardin*'s *Armenian* derivation from *Mas*, or *Meſhek*, the ſon of *Japhet*, whom he ſays, that nation conſider as their founder; and his *Perſian* derivation from *Aziz*, an *Arabic* word, ſignifying *dear* or *beloved* (17); which laſt, however, might have been an epithet of this mountain, ſince a traveller calls it *Aſſe Maſis* (18), which perhaps he miſtook for *Aziz Maſis*. Other travellers write it *Meſſis Saur* (19), and *Maſeſuſar* (20); and ſay it ſig-

(17) *Chardin, voyage en Perſe, tom. i. p. 157. Lucas, voyage 1. tom. ii. chap. 2.* (18) *Newberry in Purchas, part ii. p. 1427.* (19) *Cartwright, ubi ſup. Tavernier's voyage, liv. i. chap. 4.* (20) *Gemell. voyages, tom. ii. book i. chap. 2.*

nifies

of their nation. The *Turks* name it *Agri dagh*, that is, *the heavy* or *great mountain* [x], and *Parmak daghi*, or the *mountain of the finger*, in alluſion to its appearance [y] (U): it ſtands about twelve leagues to the eaſt [or rather ſouth-eaſt] of *Erivan* [a] and of *Ejmiadzin*, or the *three churches* (from which laſt it is two ſhort days journey), four leagues from the *Aras* [b], and ten to the north-weſt of *Nackhchûvan* [c] (W). Here we muſt obſerve a miſtake of the modern, as well as antient geographers, who have placed this mountain ſeveral degrees more to the weſt than it ought to be. This error of theirs hath miſled many hiſtorians, and made them look for *Ararat* ſomewhere elſe, ſince they could not reconcile the ſituation which the maps give it, with Scripture. Sir *Walter Ralegh* ſet the example to our *Engliſh* hiſtorians, and reſts the ark, not upon the mountains of *Armenia*, but ſome of thoſe between *Perſia*, *Tartary*, and *India:* he takes the mountains of *Ararat* in a more extended ſenſe than either the antient traditions or Scripture will allow; and, to ſerve his turn, ſuppoſes the moun-

[x] CARTWRIGHT's travels, p. 33. CHARDIN, voy. en Perſe, tom. i. p. 157. TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. [y] D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 404. [a] CHARDIN, ubi ſupra. [b] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. [c] Idem ibid.

niſies the *mountain of the ark*; but this is alſo a miſtake: for though the *Armenians* call a mountain *Sar*, yet *Maſis* does not ſignify an ark. They ſhould have written *Maſis Sar*, which ſignifies no more than mount *Maſis:* but faults of this kind in travellers are numberleſs, they being ſeldom acquainted with the language of the countries they viſit.

From *Maſis*, doubtleſs, the antients made their *Mons Maſius*, the ſituation of which they have delivered with as much uncertainty as the moderns (21).

(U) Perhaps our author miſtook this for another mountain ſo called by the *Turks*, which ſtands near the *Caſpian* ſea, between *Niaſabad* and *Shamakhi*, and ſeems to deſerve the name better (22).

(W) It is ſaid, the memorial of the ark's reſting here, is preſerved in the name of this city, *nak* ſignifying in *Armenian*, a *ſhip*, and *ſhivan*, *reſted* (23). But this ſeems to be an etymology no better grounded that thoſe above-mentioned; the *Perſians* ſaying it was named *nakkaſh jehan*, from the great number of painters ſettled there: for the *Perſians* call one of that profeſſion (by an *Arabic* word) *nakkaſh*; and in *Armenian* alſo, *nakſherar*, is a *painter*, and *nakſhel*, *to paint*.

(21) *Vid. Cellarii geogr. antiq. vol.* ii. *lib.* iii. *cap.* 11. *p.* 232. (22) *Vid. Olearius's travels, l.* i. *c.* 5. (23) *Tavernier, ubi ſupra.*

tains of *Caucasus*, towards *Bactria* and *Scythia*, to be part of a branch of *Taurus*, which, in its way through *Asia*, crossed *Armenia* [d]; but for this, there does not appear the least authority from the observations of travellers in those countries. However, his opinion hath been followed by some of our latest writers [e]; not considering, perhaps, that Sir *Walter* took his notion from *Goropius Becanus*, one of the most fanciful authors that ever wrote; and that this last was led into it by the before-mentioned mistake of the geographers (X).

*Description of mount Masis.*

MOUNT *Masis* is encompassed by several petty hills, on the tops of which are found many ruins, thought to have been the buildings of the first men, who feared for a time, to descend into the plains [f]. It stands by itself, in form of a sugar-loaf, in the midst of one of the greatest plains that is to be seen [g], detached, as it were, from the other mountains of *Armenia*, which make a long chain [h]. It consists of two hills [i]; the lesser is the more sharp and pointed [k]; the higher, which is that of the ark, lies north-west of it [l], and raises its head far above the neighbouring mountains [m]. It seems so high and big, that when the air is clear, it does not appear to be above two leagues from *Erivan* [n] (whence one writer, deceived by the sight, computes the distance but at one league [o]); and may be seen four or five days journey off [p]. Yet travellers agree,

[d] RALEGH's hist. of the world, book i. ch. 7. §. 10. [e] SHUCKFORD's connect. vol. i. p. 98, 103. [f] CARTWRIGHT, or the preacher's travels, p. 30, 31. [g] TOURNEFORT, ubi sup. [h] TAVERNIER, ubi sup. [i] POULLET, p. 131. RUBRUQUIS, ubi sup. [k] TOURNEFORT, ubi sup. [l] NEWBERRY in Purchas, part ii. p. 1417. [m] TAVERNIER. POULLET, ubi sup. CARTWRIGHT, p. 32. [n] CHARDIN, ubi sup. [o] POULLET, ubi sup. [p] Idem, p. 130. TAVERNIER, ubi sup.

(X) This author, among other out-of-the-way conceits, holds the mountain *Parapanisus* or *Paropamisus* (a branch of *Taurus*, not of *Caucasus*) to be *Ararat*. He imagines, that the place first inhabited after the flood was *Margiana*, a province of *Persia*, from whence those colonies came with *Nimrod*, which built *Babel*: his reason for this opinion is, because *they went from the* east (24), to the plain of *Shinaar*; whereas *Armenia* (says he) bears somewhat westward from thence (25).

(24) *Gen.* xi. 2. (25) *Goropius Becanus, Indo-Scythia, p.* 473.

that

that the height of it is not extraordinary [q]: one thinks, he hath paſſed a part of *Caucaſus* which was higher [r]; and another ſays, it is not above twice as high as mount *Valerian*, near *Paris* [s]: they therefore impute its being viſible ſo far off, to its lonely ſituation, in a vaſt plain [t], and upon the moſt elevated part of the country, without any mountains before it to obſtruct the view [u]. As for the ſnow, with which, according to all accounts, it is perpetually covered, from the middle upwards [w] (as it is often with clouds, during two or three months of the year [x]); we are told, that is no rule to judge of the height by, ſince the loweſt mountains in thoſe countries, paſſed with the ſame eaſe as the plains, are covered with ſnow [y], which, even in the hotteſt ſummer, lies on the leaſt hills in *Armenia* [z], as it does on thoſe ſmall ones ſurrounding *Ararat* [a].

THE *Armenian* monks tell a thouſand idle ſtories concerning the ark, the whole [b], or a part of which, they pretend, is ſtill to be ſeen on the top of the mountains [c]; ſomething always appearing there black, which they imagine to be the ark [d], though at the ſame time they affirm none ever was, nor can get there [e]; thoſe who have attempted to aſcend the hill out of zeal, or otherwiſe, having been puniſhed, or at leaſt brought back again by angels at night, to the place they ſet out from in the day, to prevent their approaching that veſſel [f]; as happened, they ſay, to a monk of *Ejmiadzin*, afterwards biſhop of *Niſibin*, called *James*; though GOD at length ſo far complied with his deſires, as to ſend an angel to him with a piece of the ark, who bid him, at the ſame time, not fatigue himſelf in vainly endeavouring to aſcend the mountain; for that GOD had prohibited the acceſs to the top of it [g], and would not ſuffer men to pull in pieces a veſſel which had ſaved ſo many creatures [h]. But if they are aſked, whether they have any relics of the ark, they

*Fables of the* Armenians *concerning it.*

[q] RUBRUQUIS, NEWBERRY, & POULLET, ubi ſup. [r] CHARDIN, ubi ſup. [s] POULLET, ubi ſup. [t] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſup. [u] POULLET, ubi ſup. [w] TAVERNIER, CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, &c. ubi ſupra. [x] TAVERNIER, ubi ſupra. [y] POULLET, ubi ſupra. [z] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. [a] CARTWRIGHT, ubi ſupra. [b] POULLET, CHARDIN, ubi ſupra. [c] CARTWRIGHT, ubi ſupra. [d] HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. i. cap. 9. [e] RUBRUQ. NEWBERRY, CARTWRIGHT, CHARDIN, &c. ubi ſupra. [f] CARTWRIGHT, p. 34. POULLET & CHARDIN, ubi ſupra. [g] RUBRUQUIS, CHARDIN & TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. P. PHILIPPE voy. 1. tom. ii. c. 2. [h] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra.

gravely anſwer, that it ſtill lies buried in the vaſt heaps of ſnow [i]; which indeed, is the charm that hinders the aſcent [k], as one *Armenian* author confeſſes [l], and is ſufficient to defend the ark without the help of an angel. Yet a certain miſſionary conceits, that the earthly paradiſe ſtill remains in ſome agreeable plain of this mountain, which GOD preſerves from heat and cold, and where the prophets *Enoch* and *Elias* enjoy a thouſand ſorts of delights, and are to eat of the tree of life, till the end of the world [m]. Indeed, the plain under the mount might be allowed its claim to the terreſtrial paradiſe, was it to be decided by the beauty and delightfulneſs of the ſituation.

WITHOUT doubt the *Armenian* prieſts would be glad to produce better credentials in behalf of their tradition; accordingly, they ſometimes tell travellers the ſaid monk had been at the top of *Ararat* [n]. The *Armenian* patriarch informed *Tournefort*, that GOD had favoured one ſaint with the ſight of the ark itſelf [o]. And *Rubruquis* was aſſured by a biſhop, that the before-mentioned piece of the ark [brought to *James*] was in their church [p]; and the *Copts* ſhew part of a beam of that veſſel in theirs at old *Cairo* in *Egypt* [q]. What credit ought to be given to theſe venerable teſtimonies, will beſt appear from the account *Tournefort* has left us of his attempt to climb this mountain (Y), in which having ſpent a whole day with infinite fatigue,

[i] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſupra. [k] Vid. CHARDIN, TOURNEFORT, POULLET, LUCAS, &c. ubi ſupra. [l] HAITHO de Tartaris, lib. i. cap. 9. [m] P. PHILIPPE, ubi ſup. [n] NEWBERRY, ubi ſup. [o] TOURNEFORT, ubi ſup. [p] RUBRUQUIS, ubi ſup. [q] DE BRUYN voyage an Levant, vol. i. c. 35. p. 190.

(Y) "We began, ſays that author (1), to aſcend mount *Ararat* about two o' clock in the afternoon, but not without difficulty. We were forced to climb up in looſe ſand, where we ſaw nothing but ſome *juniper* and *goats-thorn*. This mountain is one of the moſt ſad and diſagreeable ſights upon earth; there are neither trees nor ſhrubs upon it, nor any convents of religious. *Struys* would have done us a favour, if he had told us where the *anchorites* he mentions reſided; for the people of the country do not remember to have heard there ever were in this mountain either *Armenian* monks or *Carmelites*: all the monaſteries are in the plain. I do not believe the place is inhabitable

(1) *In loco ſuper citat.*

fatigue, he was obliged, by the ſnow and intenſe cold, to return

" inhabitable in any other part, " becauſe the whole ſoil of " *Ararat* is looſe, or covered " with ſnow: it ſeems, too, as " if this mountain waſted con- " tinually. From the top of " a great abyſs, oppoſite to " the village [of *Akurlu* in the " road from *Erivan*] from " whence we came, there con- " tinually fall down rocks " of a blackiſh hard ſtone, " which make a terrible noiſe. " There are no living animals " but at the bottom, and to- " wards the middle of the " mountain. They who oc- " cupy the firſt region, are " poor ſhepherds, and ſcabby " flocks, among which one " finds ſome partridges: the " ſecond region is poſſeſſed by " crows and tygers, which " paſſed by us not without " giving fear. All the reſt of " the mountain, that is, the " half of it, has been covered " with ſnow ever ſince the ark " reſted there, and theſe ſnows " are covered half the year " with very thick clouds. That " which is yet more inconve- " nient and troubleſome in this " mountain is, that the ſnow " which is melted, runs into " the abyſs by a vaſt number " of ſources, which one cannot " come at, and which are as " foul as the waters of a land- " flood in the greateſt ſtorm. " All theſe ſources form the " ſtream which runs by *Akurlu*, " and which never becomes " clear. They drink mud there " all the year; but we found " it more delicious than the " beſt wine: it is always cold " as ice, and has no muddy " taſte. Notwithſtanding the " amazement this frightful ſo- " litude caſt us into, we en- " deavoured to find the pre- " tended monaſtery, and in- " quired whether there were " any religious ſhut up in ca- " verns. The notion they " have in the country, that the " ark reſted here, and the ve- " neration all the *Armenians* " have for this mountain (for " they kiſs the earth ſo ſoon " as they ſee it, and repeat cer- " tain prayers, after having " made the ſign of the croſs), " have made many imagine it " muſt be filled with religious; " and *Struys* is not the only " perſon who has told the pub- " lic ſo. However, they aſ- " ſured us there was only " one forſaken convent at the " foot of the gulph; that there " was no fountain throughout " the whole mount, only the " ſtream of the abyſs, which " we could not come at to " drink, but near that convent; " and that we could not go " in a whole day to the ſnow, " and down again to the bot- " tom of the abyſs; that the " ſhepherds often loſt their " way, and we might judge " what a miſerable place it was, " from the neceſſity they were " under to dig the earth from " time to time to find a ſpring " of water for themſelves and " their flocks; and that it would " be to no purpoſe to aſcend " higher in ſearch of plants, " becauſe we ſhould only find " rocks hanging over our heads, " and heaped one upon another.

" After

" After this we began to tra-
" vel towards the firſt range of
" rocks, with one bottle of wa-
" ter: but notwithſtanding we
" had made pitchers of our
" bellies, in two hours time
" they were quite dried up;
" and water ſhook in a bottle
" is a very diſagreeable ſort of
" drink: our only hope, there-
" fore, was to come at the
" ſnow, and eat ſome of it to
" quench our thirſt. It muſt
" be acknowleged, that the
" ſight is very much deceived,
" when we ſtand at the bot-
" tom, and gueſs at the height
" of a mountain, and eſpecially
" when it muſt be aſcended
" through ſand as troubleſome
" as the ſyrtes of *Africa*. It
" is impoſſible to take one firm
" ſtep upon the ſand of mount
" *Ararat*; in many places, in-
" ſtead of aſcending, we were
" obliged to go back again down
" to the middle of the moun-
" tain; and, in order to conti-
" nue our courſe, to wind ſome-
" times to the right, and ſome-
" times to the left. When we
" met with any *mouſe-ear*,
" which was too ſhort to
" brouſe, it made our boots as
" ſmooth as glaſs, and ſo ſlip-
" pery, we were forced to ſtand
" ſtill.

" To avoid the ſand, which
" fatigued us intolerably, we
" took our way to the great
" rocks heaped one on another.
" We paſs under them as thro'
" caverns, wherein we are ſhel-
" tered from all the injuries of
" the weather, except the cold,
" which we felt there very ſen-
" ſibly, and ſerved a little to
" allay our thirſt. We were
" obliged to leave this place
" quickly, leſt we ſhould get a
" pleuriſy; and came into a
" very troubleſome way, full
" of ſtones, and were forced to
" leap from one ſtone to another.
" We came about noon to a
" place more pleaſing; for it
" ſeemed as if we were ready
" to take hold of the ſnow with
" our teeth. But our joy laſted
" not long; for what we had
" taken for ſnow was only a
" chalk rock, which hid from
" our ſight a track of land
" about two hours journey di-
" ſtant from the ſnow, and
" which ſeemed to us to have
" a new kind of pavement, not
" of little flints, but ſmall pieces
" of ſtone broken off by the
" froſt, and whoſe edges cut
" like flints. We kept in very
" good order: we aſſured our
" guides, that we would go no
" farther than an heap of ſnow,
" which appeared ſcarce bigger
" than a cake; but, when we
" came to it, we found the
" heap was above thirty paces
" in diameter. We every one
" of us eat more or leſs, as we
" had a mind; and by agree-
" ment reſolved to advance no
" farther. This ſnow was
" above four foot thick; and,
" being frozen hard, we took a
" great piece to fill our bottle.
" It cannot be imagined how
" much the eating of ſnow re-
" vives and fortifies: we de-
" ſcended, therefore, from the
" ſnow with a wonderful vi-
" gour, which was not of long
" duration; for we came to
" ſands which lay behind the
" abyſs, and were full as trou-
" bleſome as the former. When
" we endeavoured to ſlide
" along, half our bodies were
buried;

return without accompliſhing his deſign, though it was then in the middle of ſummer (Z).

THE

" buried; beſides, we could not " keep the direct way, but were " obliged to go to the left to " come to the edge of the abyſs, " of which we had a mind to " take a nearer view. And " indeed it is a moſt frightful " ſight; to look on the hor- " rible precipices ever ſo little, " will make the head turn " round. The noiſe made by a " vaſt number of crows, which " are continually flying from " one ſide to the other, has " ſomething in it very fright- " ful. To form an idea of this " place, you muſt imagine one " of the higheſt mountains in " the world opening its boſom, " only to ſhew the moſt horrid " ſpectacle that can be thought " of. All the precipices are " perpendicular, and the extre- " mities are rough and blackiſh, " as if a ſmoke came out of " the ſides, and ſmutted them. " About ſix o' clock in the af- " ternoon we found ourſelves " quite tired out and ſpent. " However, at length obſerv- " ing a place covered with " *mouſe-ear*, whoſe declivity " ſeemed to favour our deſcent, " that is to ſay, the way *Noah* " took to the bottom of the " mountain, we ran thither in " haſte, and then ſat down to " reſt ourſelves, and found there " more plants than we had all " the journey beſides: and what " pleaſed us mighty well, was, " that our guides ſhewed from " thence, but at a great di- " ſtance, the monaſtery whither " we were to go to quench our " thirſt. We laid ourſelves on " our backs, and ſlid down for " an hour together upon this " green plat; and ſo paſſed on " very agreeably, and much " faſter than we could have " gone on onr legs. The night " and our thirſt were a kind of " ſpurs to us, and cauſed us to " make the greater ſpeed. We " continued, therefore, to ſlide " in this manner as long as the " way would ſuffer us; and " when we met with ſmall flint " ſtones, which hurt our ſhoul- " ders, we turned and ſlid on " our bellies, or went back- " wards on all four. Thus by " degrees we gained the mona- " ſtery; but ſo diſordered and " fatigued by our manner of " travelling, that we were not " able to move hand or foot. " To our great misfortune alſo " we found there neither wine " nor water; ſo were forced to " ſend to the river, the deſcent " to which was near a quarter " of a league downright, and " the way very rugged."

(Z) Yet, if you will believe a certain *Dutch* traveller (1), theſe difficulties may be ſurmounted; for he aſſures us, that he went five days journey up mount *Ararat*, to ſee a *Romiſh* hermit: that he paſſed thro' three regions of clouds; the firſt dark and thick, the next cold and full of ſnow, and the third colder ſtill: that he advanced five miles every day; and when he came to the place where the hermit had

(1) *Struys's voyages, chap. 17.*

THE ſituation of *Ararat*, whether it be mount *Maſis*, or the mountain of *Cardu*, is very convenient for the journey of the ſons of *Noah* from thence to *Shinaar*, the diſtance not being very great, and the deſcent eaſy, eſpecially from the latter, into the plains of *Meſopotamia*, of which *Shinaar* is a part. We diſcover plainly through the *Moſaic* hiſtory, a neighbourhood between the land of *Eden*, where man was created; that of *Ararat*, where the remains of mankind were ſaved; and that of *Shinaar*, where they fixed the centre of their plantations. And certainly it was more natural it ſhould be ſo, than to ſeparate thoſe ſcenes at ſuch a diſtance from each other, as ſome have done.

## CHAP. II.

### *The general Hiſtory from the* DELUGE *to the Birth of* ABRAHAM.

### SECT. I.

*The Chronology from the Deluge to the Departure of* Abraham *from* Haran *ſtated.*

PURSUANT to our intended method, before we proceed to the poſtdiluvian hiſtory, we ſhall ſettle the chronology of this firſt period of it, which, as well as that of the preceding, can be adjuſted only from the records of *Moſes*.

THIS is one of the moſt difficult periods to ſettle in all chronology; not only becauſe we have no aſſiſtance therein from profane hiſtory, but alſo on account of the great diverſity between the ſeveral copies of the *Moſaical* writings. It is a great misfortune, that there ſhould be any uncertainty with regard to the times next after the flood. For the planting of the world, the forming of ſocieties and

had his cell, he breathed a very ſerene and temperate air: that the hermit told him, he had perceived neither wind nor rain all the twenty-five years he had dwelt there; and that on the top of the mountain there ſtill reigned a greater tranquillity, whereby the ark was preſerved uncorrupted. He farther pretends, that the hermit gave him a croſs made out of the wood of the ark, together with a certificate, a formal copy of which the author has given in his ſham relation.

govern-

governments, the rise of arts and sciences, and the beginning of states and monarchies, falling within these limits, nothing could have been more serviceable to history than a fixed and uniform chronology of these early ages: whereas authors, being divided in their judgments about the authenticness of the several copies, have every one chosen to follow that which agreed best with his own notions or hypothesis; whereby they have so perplexed and confounded all transactions, both sacred and profane, which fall within this period, that the history thereof can be compared to nothing but the original chaos.

HOWEVER, it is no small satisfaction, that the great differences between the several copies end here; and that, being once got below the birth of *Abraham*, we enter upon a more certain series of time, about which chronologers are more generally agreed; the variety of the several copies making a difference of but a few years, not several ages, as we find the difference arises to in this period: for the better exhibiting of which, we have inserted the following tables, adjusted in the same form with those we have given of the antediluvian patriarchs.

## *A* TABLE *of the years of the postdiluvian patriarchs, to the birth of* ABRAHAM.

| | Their ages at their sons birth. | | | | Years they lived after their sons birth. | | | Length of their lives. | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Heb. | Jos. | Sam. | Sept. | Heb. | Sam. | Sept. | Heb. | Sam. | Sept. |
| *Shem* after the flood | 2 | 2 | 2 | 2 | 500 | 500 | 500 | 600 | 600 | 600 |
| *Arphaxad*, - - | 35 | 135 | 135 | 135 | 403 | 303 | 430 | 438 | 438 | 565 |
| *Cainan*, - - - | 0 | 0 | 0 | 130 | 0 | 0 | 330 | 0 | 0 | 460 |
| *Salah*, - - - | 30 | 130 | 130 | 130 | 403 | 303 | 330 | 433 | 433 | 460 |
| *Eber*, - - - | 34 | 134 | 134 | 134 | 430 | 270 | 370 | 464 | 404 | 504 |
| *Phaleg*, - - | 30 | 130 | 130 | 130 | 209 | 109 | 209 | 239 | 239 | 339 |
| *Reu*, - - - | 32 | 132 | 132 | 132 | 207 | 107 | 207 | 239 | 239 | 39 |
| *Serug*, - - - | 30 | 130 | 130 | 130 | 200 | 100 | 200 | 230 | 230 | 330 |
| *Nahor*, - - | 29 | 29 | 79 | 79 | 119 | 69 | 129 | 148 | 148 | 208 |
| *Terah*, - - | 130 | 70 | 130 | 130 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 205 | 205 | 205 |
| Sum to *Abraham*'s birth, | 352 | 892 | 1002 | 1132 | | | | | | |

*A Chro-*

*A Chronological* TABLE *of the years of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs to the call of* Abraham, *according to the computation of the* Hebrew.

| | Years of the Flood, | Yrs of *Noah*, | Yrs of *Shem*, | Yrs of *Arphaxad*, | Years of *Salah*, | Years of *Eber*, | Years of *Peleg*, | Years of *Reu*, | Years of *Serug*, | Years of *Nabor*, | Years of *Terah*, | Years of *Abraham*, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The flood, | 0 | 600 | 98 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Arphaxad* born, | 2 | 602 | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Salah* born, | 37 | 637 | 135 | 35 | | | | | | | | |
| *Eber* born, | 67 | 667 | 165 | 65 | 30 | | | | | | | |
| *Peleg* born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind. | 101 | 701 | 199 | 99 | 64 | 34 | | | | | | |
| *Reu* born, | 131 | 731 | 229 | 129 | 94 | 64 | 30 | | | | | |
| *Serug* born, | 163 | 763 | 261 | 161 | 126 | 96 | 62 | 32 | | | | |
| *Nabor* born, | 193 | 793 | 291 | 191 | 156 | 126 | 92 | 62 | 30 | | | |
| *Terah* born, | 222 | 822 | 320 | 220 | 185 | 155 | 121 | 91 | 59 | 29 | | |
| *Haran* born, | 292 | 892 | 390 | 290 | 255 | 225 | 191 | 161 | 129 | 99 | 70 | |
| *Peleg* dies, | 340 | 940 | 438 | 338 | 303 | 273 | 239 | 209 | 177 | 147 | 118 | |
| *Nabor* dies, | 341 | 941 | 439 | 339 | 304 | 274 | | 210 | 178 | 148 | 119 | |
| *Noah* dies, | 350 | 950 | 448 | 348 | 313 | 283 | | 219 | 187 | | 128 | |
| *Abraham* born, | 352 | | 450 | 350 | 315 | 285 | | 221 | 189 | | 130 | |
| *Reu* dies, | 370 | | 468 | 368 | 333 | 303 | | 239 | 207 | | 148 | 18 |
| *Serug* dies, | 393 | | 491 | 391 | 356 | 326 | | | 230 | | 171 | 41 |
| *Terah* dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*, | 427 | | 525 | 425 | 390 | 360 | | | | | 205 | 75 |

*A Chro-*

*A Chronological* TABLE *of the years of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs to the call of* Abraham, *according to the computation of the* Septuagint.

| | Years of the Flood, | Yrs of *Noah*, | Yrs of *Shem*, | Yrs of *Arphaxad*, | Years of *Cainan*, | Years of *Salah*, | Years of *Eber*, | Years of *Peleg*, | Years of *Reu*, | Years of *Serug*, | Years of *Nabor*, | Years of *Terah*, | Years of *Abraham*, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The flood, | 0 | 600 | 98 | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Arphaxad* born, | 2 | 602 | 100 | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Cainan* born, | 137 | 737 | 235 | 135 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Salah* born, | 267 | 867 | 365 | 265 | 130 | | | | | | | | |
| *Noah* dies, | 350 | 950 | 448 | 348 | 213 | 83 | | | | | | | |
| *Eber* born, | 397 | | 495 | 395 | 260 | 130 | | | | | | | |
| *Shem* dies, | 502 | | 600 | 500 | 365 | 235 | 105 | | | | | | |
| *Peleg* born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind. | 531 | | | 529 | 394 | 264 | 134 | | | | | | |
| *Arphaxad* dies, | 567 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Cainan* dies, | 597 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Reu* born, | 661 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Salah* dies, | 727 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Serug* born, | 793 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Peleg* dies, | 870 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Eber* dies, | 901 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Nabor* born, | 923 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Reu* dies, | 1000 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Terah* born, | 1002 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Serug* dies, | 1123 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Abraham* born, | 1132 | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| *Terah* dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*, | 1207 | | | | | | | | | | | | |

565 430 330 170 36
460 360 200 66
394 264 130
460 330 196 66
396 262 132
473 339 209 77
504 240 108
262 130
339 207 77
209 79
330 200 121
209 130
284 205 75

*A Chro-*

*A Chronological* TABLE *of the years of the poſtdiluvian patriarchs to the call of* Abraham, *according to the computation of the* Samaritan *pentateuch.*

| | Years of the Flood. | Yrs of *Noah*, | Yrs of *Shem*, | Yrs of *Arphaxad*, | Years of *Salah*, | Years of *Eber*, | Years of *Peleg*, | Years of *Reu*, | Years of *Serug*, | Years of *Nahor*, | Years of *Terah*, | Years of *Abraham*, |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| The flood, | 0 | 600 | 98 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Arphaxad* born, | 2 | 602 | 100 | | | | | | | | | |
| *Salah* born, | 137 | 737 | 235 | 135 | | | | | | | | |
| *Eber* born, | 267 | 867 | 365 | 265 | 130 | | | | | | | |
| *Noah* dies, | 350 | 950 | 448 | 348 | 213 | 83 | | | | | | |
| *Peleg* born. Confuſion of tongues, and diſperſion of mankind. | 401 | | 499 | 399 | 264 | 134 | 40 | | | | | |
| *Arphaxad* dies, | 440 | | 538 | 438 | 303 | 193 | 40 | | | | | |
| *Shem* dies, | 502 | | 600 | | 365 | 255 | 101 | | | | | |
| *Reu* born, | 531 | | | | 394 | 264 | 130 | | | | | |
| *Salah* dies, | 570 | | | | 433 | 303 | 169 | 39 | | | | |
| *Peleg* dies, | 640 | | | | | 373 | 239 | 109 | | | | |
| *Serug* born, | 663 | | | | | 396 | | 132 | | | | |
| *Eber* dies, | 671 | | | | | 404 | | 140 | 8 | | | |
| *Reu* dies, | 770 | | | | | | | 239 | 107 | | | |
| *Nahor* born, | 793 | | | | | | | | 130 | | | |
| *Terah* born, | 872 | | | | | | | | 209 | 79 | | |
| *Serug* dies, | 893 | | | | | | | | 230 | 100 | 21 | |
| *Nahor* dies, | 941 | | | | | | | | | 148 | 69 | |
| *Abraham* born, | 1002 | | | | | | | | | | 130 | |
| *Terah* dies, and *Abraham* is called from *Haran*, | 1077 | | | | | | | | | | 205 | 75 |

THERE is no difference in this period between the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, but what ariſes from the different computation of the years of the genitures of the patriarchs; the great difficulty, in both copies, conſiſts in *Terah*'s age at the birth of *Abraham:* ſome will have him born in the ſeventieth year of *Terah*, which cannot be, unleſs *Abraham* were the eldeſt ſon, as it is evident he was not (for *Lot*, *Haran*'s ſon, was near as old as *Abraham*); or unleſs *Haran* was born ſome years before his father was ſeventy, which ſeems not to be agreeable to the text; and, if *Terah* was two hundred and five years old at his death, *Abraham* being then but ſeventy-five, he muſt have been one hundred and thirty when *Abraham* was born (Z). The *Samaritan*

(Z) This, we think, has been ſatisfactorily proved by Mr. *Whiſton*, in his ſhort view of the chronology of the Old Teſtament (1).

(1) *Page* 31.

*maritan* copy, indeed, helps this matter, by making *Terah*'s age, at his death, no more than one hundred and forty-five; but then the firſt objection as to *Haran*'s ſeniority remains: ſo that in this point the fault ſeems to be in the *Samaritan* (A); for it muſt be confeſſed the *Hebrew* number is here moſt fit to be relied on.

THE call of *Abraham*, where the period ends, is, by ſome, reckoned five years ſooner, when he left *Ur*; but this will not agree with Scripture, as ſhall be ſhewn, when we come to ſettle the next period.

THERE are ſome variations between the preſent copies of the *Septuagint*; but as moſt of them relate to the length of ſome of the patriarchs lives, a circumſtance not very material, and which makes no difference in the computation, we ſhall paſs them by; and only obſerve, that ſome copies place the birth of *Arphaxad* twelve years after the flood, which will increaſe the total of this period ten years; and that ſome make the age of *Nahor*, at the birth of *Terah*, 179 (B).

WE

(A) The gentleman juſt mentioned, ſince the publiſhing his ſaid chronology, has thought fit to change his opinion in this matter (2), and produces ſeveral arguments to prove the *Samaritan* to be the true reading, and the *Hebrew* number a corruption. He relies on two paſſages, one of *Philo*, the other of *Joſephus*. The former ſays, *that* Abraham *(born when his father* Terah *was ſeventy) was ſeventy-five years old when he departed from* Haran; *though* Terah *lived there till his death* (3). But *Philo* here only copies *Moſes*; ſo that his concluſion, whatever it was, does not decide any thing as to the true age of *Terah* at that time, which muſt have been more than ſeventy from the plain ſenſe of the text, when attended to. *Joſephus*'s words are, *They buried* Terah *when he died at* Haran, *after he had lived two hundred and five years*; for the *life of man was already cut ſhort, and did become ſhorter till the birth of* Moſes (4). Now, ſince he expreſly mentions the age of *Terah* to have been two hundred and five, we cannot ſuppoſe it a corruption for one hundred and forty-five, though he elſewhere mentions *Abraham* to be born in the ſeventieth year of his father; much leſs can we conclude it ſuch from his reaſoning about the length of mens lives being ſhortened; which may be juſt, notwithſtanding *Terah* lived to be older than his father.

(B) Father *Pezron*, following the preſent copies of *Joſe-*

(2) *See his eſſay towards reſtoring the true text of the Old Teſtament, p. 27, &c.* (3) *Philo de ſomniis, p. 572.* (4) *Joſeph. ant. l. i. c. 6.*

WE have chosen to follow the readings of the *Alexandrian* manuscript; according to which, the only difference between the *Septuagint* and the *Samaritan*, in this period, is 130 years given to *Cainan*, who is added between *Arphaxad* and *Salah*, but is to be found neither in the *Hebrew* nor the *Samaritan*, nor in the chronology of those times, given us, from the *Septuagint* itself, by *Africanus* and *Eusebius* [a]: which circumstance we look upon as sufficient authority to reject him out of the number of the patriarchs, notwithstanding his name is inserted in St. *Luke* [b]; which may easily have happened, by its being added from some erroneous copies of the *Septuagint*, and first, as is most probable, put in the margin, though it has since crept into the text.

THE difference between the *Hebrew* reckoning and the *Samaritan*, in this period, is very considerable, being no less than 650 years; in which the *Hebrew* falls short of the *Samaritan*. As to the objections, which have been thence formed against the former calculation, the reader will find them fully answered by *Usher*, *Capsovius*, and other eminent chronologers: and we shall have occasion to take notice of them hereafter.

## SECT. II.

### *The history of* Noah *after the flood, and of his descendants to* Abraham.

Year of flood 1. Bef. Chr. 2347.

THE time of *Noah*'s going forth of the ark, is fixed, in Scripture [c], to have been on the first day of the six hundred and first year of his age (B). The first thing he did, upon his landing, was, to build an altar, and offer a burnt-

Noah *comes out of the ark.*

[a] Vid. EUSEB. chron. Græc. p. 9. [b] Luke iii. 36. [c] Gen. viii. 13.

*phus*, places the birth of *Terah* in the 129th year of *Nahor*; which agrees with the *Hebrew*, and the amended number of *Josephus*, with the addition only of 100 years: and thus the total of this period will be 1257 (1). But afterwards, taking in the 10 years, added as above, between the flood and the birth of *Arphaxad*, he, in his second computation, makes the whole 1267.

(B) The *Mohammedans* will have it, that *Noah* quitted the ark the tenth day of *Moharram*,

(1) *See his antiq. des temps retablie, p.* 61.



which

burnt-ſacrifice, of every clean beaſt, and every clean fowl (C). GOD, having accepted the ſacrifice, bleſſed *Noah*, and gave him power over all living creatures, with a permiſſion to eat of them as freely as of the produce of the ground: however, he forbad him to eat the blood of animals, or to ſhed that of man; ordering him to puniſh manſlaughter with death, and to people the world as faſt as he could [g].

*The precepts given him by God.*

IT is not to be thought, that theſe three injunctions contained all that was obligatory on *Noah* and his poſterity, till the promulgation of the law at *Sinai*; there being nothing here required of his duty towards GOD, the whole conſiſting in moral precepts; but we are to conſider them either as explanatory of, or additional to, the laws which *Noah* had received in common with the reſt of the antediluvians, and which were derived from *Adam*. The permiſſion to eat fleſh, now firſt explicitly given, ſeems to intimate, that it was not allowed before the flood; but, to avoid repetitions, we refer the reader to what we have already ſaid on that ſubject [h].

THE rabbins pretend, that GOD gave to *Noah*, and his ſons, certain general precepts, which, according to them, contain the law of nature, common to all men indifferently, and, for the non-obſervance of which, the gentiles themſelves have been puniſhed by GOD [i]. Theſe precepts injoined, 1. To abſtain from idolatry. 2. From blaſphemy. 3. From murder. 4. From adultery. 5. From theft. 6. To inſtitute judges to maintain thoſe laws. And, 7. To abſtain from eating the fleſh of any animal, cut off while the animal was living. Which laſt precept was ſuppoſed to be intended by the words, *The fleſh, with the life thereof, which is the blood thereof, ſhall you not eat* [k]. This barbarity ſome pagans are ſaid to have practiſed [l]. From the time of *Moſes*, the *Jews* would not

[f] Gen. viii. 20. [g] Chap. ix. 1—7. [h] Chap. i. §. 7. [i] Vid. SELDEN. de jure nat. & gent. lib. i. cap. ult. CALMET dict. art. Noachides. [k] Gen. ix. 4. [l] ARNOB. cont. gent. lib. v. See before, p. 184, 185, in the notes.

which is the firſt month of their year; and that he inſtituted the faſt obſerved by them on that day, which they call *Aſhurà*, in commemoration of his deliverance (6).

(C) Some rabbins pretend, *Shem* offered the ſacrifice, *Noah* being rendered unqualified for that office, by having the misfortune to be bit by a lion (7).

(6) *D'Herb. bibl. orient. p.* 676.

(7) *Shalſhel. Hakkab. p.* 7.

Year of flood 1. Bef. Chr. 2347.

suffer a ſtranger to live among them, unleſs he obſerved the precepts of the *Noachidæ*; and never gave quarter, in battle, to any who were ignorant of them.

MAIMONIDES [m] ſays, the ſix firſt precepts were given to *Adam*, and the ſeventh to *Noah*. To theſe, ſome rabbins add others; as the prohibition to draw out the blood of any living creature to drink [n]; to maim animals [o]; to uſe magic and ſorcery [p]; to couple animals, and graft trees with different kinds [q]. But what calls the antiquity of theſe precepts in queſtion, is, that there is no mention made of them, neither in Scripture, nor in *Onkelos*, nor in *Joſephus*, nor in *Philo*; and that neither *Jerom*, nor *Origen*, nor any of the antient fathers, appear to have known any thing of them.

BISHOP *Cumberland*, who likewiſe juſtly ſuſpects the veracity of the rabbins, thinks, the patriarchal laws are to be ſearched for in the Scripture; and, accordingly, in a particular treatiſe on that ſubject [r], he has ſhewn from thence, that the patriarchs, long before the law was delivered to *Moſes*, carefully obſerved the principal precepts, as well towards GOD, as towards man, ſo as to fulfil the decalogue; moved thereto either by the ſame promiſes, or fear of the ſame judgments and puniſhments, which were afterwards pronounced by the *Moſaical* law [s].

*God aſſures* Noah *the world ſhould not periſh by a ſecond deluge.*

GOD farther made a covenant with *Noah* [t], never to drown the world again; promiſing, as a token thereof, for the future, to ſet his bow in the clouds, when it rained. This ſeems to have been done to take away *Noah*'s apprehenſions, who, according to *Joſephus*, ſacrificed to appeaſe GOD's wrath, fearing an anniverſary deluge; for which ſuppoſition that hiſtorian has been cenſured ſomewhat too ſeverely [u].

Noah *becomes an husbandman.*

NOAH, being come down from the mountain, applied himſelf to huſbandry, and planted a vineyard [x]; but the eaſtern authors [y] make this the work of his ſons. However, *Noah*, having drank of the wine to exceſs, lay careleſly, uncovered, in his tent; which his ſon *Ham* perceiving, called in his brothers, *Shem* and *Japhet*, to behold the poſture their father was in: but they, out of a ſenſe of duty

[m] YAD HAZZAKAH, Sepher melakim, c. 9. [n] Rab. CHEVINA. [o] R. CHIDEA. [p] R. SIMEON. [q] R. ELIEZER. [r] De legibus patriarcharum, printed in his origines gentium antiquiſſ. [s] Ibid. chap. 5. [t] Gen. ix. 11, 17. [u] JOSEPH. ant. l. i. c. 3. HEIDEG. hiſt. patriar. exercit. xix. 3. [x] Gen. ix. 20. [y] EUTYCH. p. 43.

and

and modeſty, took a garment, and, going backwards, covered *Noah* with it; for which, when he came to know what had paſſed, he bleſſed them, and curſed *Ham* in his poſterity, who were to be ſervants to their brethren [z]. Year of flood 1. Bef. Chr. 2347.

THE *Armenians* have a tradition, that *Noah*, after quitting the ark, went and ſettled at *Erivan*, about twelve leagues from *Ararat*; and that it was there he planted the vineyard, in a place where they ſtill make excellent wine [a]. According to *Tavernier*, *Nakſhiwan*, which is three leagues diſtant from *Ararat*, was the place where *Noah* went to dwell: and he adds, that it is reported to be the oldeſt city in the world. Another tradition of the country will have the village of *Cemain*, above-mentioned, to be the place where *Noah* and his ſons fixed their firſt habitation [b]. But this is to be underſtood of the places where theſe towns were afterwards built; for it is not likely they began to build towns ſo early, much leſs that the deluge left them ſtanding, if there had been any there before: and the Scripture ſays, *Noah* was in his tent when *Ham* ſurpriſed him in wine. *Where firſt he ſettled.*

HOWEVER, this tradition, ſo far as it relates to *Noah*'s ſettling in the country near the mountain where the ark reſted, ſeems more probable, than a notion lately advanced, by ſome men of learning [c], that *Noah* left his three ſons, *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, in ſome little time, and, with his younger iſſue, travelled to *China*, where he lived before the deluge; and that he was the firſt king of that country, whom the *Chineſe* call *Fo hi* (D); it ſeeming more agreeable Noah *not* Fo hi.

[z] Gen. ix. 21—27.
[a] CALMET dict. ſuppl. p. 63.
[b] See before, chap. i. §. 8.
[c] Dr. ALLIX, in his reflections upon the books of the holy Scripture, p. 112. Mr. WHISTON, in his chronol. of the old teſt. &c. in his new theory of the earth, and his eſſay for reſtoring the true text, &c. Mr. SHUCKFORD, in his connection; and Mr. BEDFORD, in his Scripture chronology.

(D) This opinion (much more reaſonable than that of *Hornius*, who will have *Fo hi* to be *Adam* (1), though the *Chineſe* (2) expreſly make a different perſon the firſt man, whom they call *Puon ku*) depends on the following obſervations:

1. The *Chineſe* hiſtories ſay, *Fo hi* had no father (3); which agrees well enough with *Noah*,

(1) *Arca Noe*, p. 14. (2) *Vid. Martinii hiſt. Sinicam*, lib. i. p. 13.
(3) *Ibid.* p. 21.

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able to reaſon, as well as Scripture, to conclude, that *Noah* continued with his poſterity till his death; and that, after quitting the ark, they dwelt ſomewhere near the mountain

becauſe the memory of his father might be loſt in the deluge, and ſo give occaſion to this fable, that he had no father at all.

2. The ſame hiſtories affirm, that *Fo hi*'s mother conceived him as ſhe was incompaſſed with a rainbow (4); which ſeems an imperfect tradition concerning the firſt appearance of the rainbow to *Noah* after the flood.

3. The character and appellation of *Fo hi*, among the *Chineſe*, agrees with what the Scriptures affirm of *Noah*.——*Fo hi*, ſays *Le Compte*, the firſt emperor of *China*, carefully bred up ſeven ſorts of creatures, which he uſed to ſacrifice to the ſupreme ſpirit of heaven and earth. For this reaſon, ſome called him *Paohi*, that is, oblation (5). *Noah*, ſays *Moſes*, took into the ark *of every clean beaſt by ſevens, of fowls alſo of the air by ſevens, the male and his female, to keep ſeed alive upon the face of all the earth* (6). And after the flood, *Noah builded an altar unto the* LORD, *and took of every clean beaſt, and every clean fowl, and offered burnt-offerings on the altar* (7).

4. The *Chineſe* hiſtories affirm, that *Fo hi* ſettled in the province of *Shenſi*, which is the moſt north-weſt province of *China* (8), and very near to mount *Caucaſus*, upon which (according to an opinion we have taken notice of) the ark reſted, and from which *Noah* muſt deſcend to go thence into *China*. In favour of this opinion, it is alſo further obſerved,

5. That the *Moſaic* hiſtory, as it is perfectly ſilent, in relation to the peopling of *China* at the diſperſion, confining itſelf within the bounds of the then known world; ſo it ſays little or nothing of *Noah* after the flood: which ſeems to be an intimation, that *Noah* had no ſhare in the ſubſequent actions related in the ſacred hiſtory; and ſo, by a fair conſequence, might be in *China*, a region out of the compaſs of the known world.

6. That this is confirmed by the *Chaldean* tradition of the ſudden diſappearing of *Xiſuthrus*, or *Noah*, his wife and daughter, and the pilot, on their coming out of the ark.

7. That the *Chineſe* language and writing are ſo intirely different from thoſe among us, introduced by the confuſion of *Babel*, that they cannot well be derived from thence.

8. That the diſperſion beginning from *Babylon*, ſo remote a country as *China* could not be ſo ſoon reached and peopled, as

(4) *Ibid.* (5) *Le Compte's memoirs of China, p.* 313. *Couplet Confucius, proœm. p.* 38. 76. (6) *Geneſ.* vii. 2, 3, 9. (7) *Chap.* viii. 20. (8) *Martinius, ubi ſup. Couplet chronol. in Fo hi.*

the

tain where it rested, which was in *Armenia*; and that they did not remove till such time as they are mentioned, in Scripture, to have begun their journey towards *Shinaar* [d]. Year of flood 1. Bef. Chr.

NOAH died in the nine hundred and fiftieth year of his age, and, according to the tradition of the orientals, was buried 2347. Noah *dies*.

[d] Gen. xi. 2.

the prodigious number of its inhabitants, at present, shew it to have been: and therefore they could not be of so late an original.

9. That the learned sciences seem to have been antiently much better known in *China*, than in these parts of the world; their government and constitution much firmer, and more lasting, than ours; their most antient histories more authentic and certain than ours (excepting those of more than human original): all which things would make one ready to imagine, that, as it is probable *Noah* might be much more wise, and learned, than any of his sons; so all those settlements, laws, and traditions, which are derived from him, are remarkable effects and testimonies of the same (9).

10. And, principally, that the reign of *Fo hi*, according to the most rational and exact account hitherto given of the *Chinese* chronology, coincides with the time of *Noah* (10); and that the length of the reigns and lives of *Fo hi*, and his first successors, greatly corresponds with the duration of the lives of men in the same ages recorded in Scripture (11).

But as this opinion is conjectural only, so several objections might be made to it. As,

1. That it is improbable, if *Noah* was *Fo hi*, that the *Chinese* annals should make no mention of so extraordinary an event as the deluge; which they are so far from having recorded, that *Couplet* (12) expressly makes it an error in those who imagine they have.

2. The uncertainty of the *Chinese* writers themselves, as to the history of *Fo hi*, and his next successors; some doubting whether there was ever such a man as *Fo hi*, and others rejecting both him and his successor *Shin nungh*, and beginning with *Hoangh ti*, the third king. Wherefore *Couplet* leaves them out of the succession of *Chinese* monarchs; and that not without reason, since *Fo hi* is said to have had the body of a serpent, and *Shin nungh* the head of an ox (13).

3. *Moses*'s account of the dispersion seems most evidently to relate to all mankind, without exception, who, he supposes, were collected together in the plain of *Shinaar*; as will hereafter be more particularly evinced. And, if this be admitted, *Noah*, having no other issue

(9) *Vid. Whiston's theory, book* ii. *p.* 137, *&c.* (10) *Vid. his short view of the chronol. &c. p.* 61. (11) *Ibid. p.* 64, 65. (12) *Præf. ad tab. chronol. p.* 3, 8. (13) *Vid. ibid. p.* 3, 10, 11.

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buried in *Meſopotamia*, where they ſhew his ſepulchre, in a caſtle near a monaſtery called *Dair Abunah*, that is, *the monaſtery of our father* [e]. According to a common opinion, before his death, he divided the world among his three ſons, giving, to *Shem*, *Aſia*; to *Ham*, *Africa*; and, to *Japhet*, *Europe*: but this has not the leaſt foundation in Scripture.

*The genealogy of the deſcendants of* Noah.

ALL mankind, at leaſt that we have any account of in Scripture, being the iſſue of theſe three ſons of *Noah*, who were ſaved with him in the ark (E); before we proceed any farther, it will be proper to give a genealogical table of their deſcendants, in the ſame manner as we have already given one of the antediluvian patriarchs (*See the plate*).

THE chief deſign of *Moſes* being to record what particularly concerned the *Iſraelites*, he has given us the genealogy of the line of *Shem* only intire. As to the deſcendants of the other two ſons of *Noah*, his deſign ſeems to have been, to bring them down as low as the diſperſion, in order to leave to poſterity the names of the firſt founders of nations, and there to diſmiſs them: for it is obſervable, that though ſeveral particulars are mentioned in the courſe of the *Moſaical* hiſtory, relating to the *Canaanites*, as the people with whom the *Iſraelites* were more particularly to be concerned; yet he hath deduced the genealogy of that branch of *Ham* no farther: on the contrary, it is ſhorter than thoſe of *Mizraim* and *Cuſh*, by one generation.

[e] D'HERBEL. p. 677.

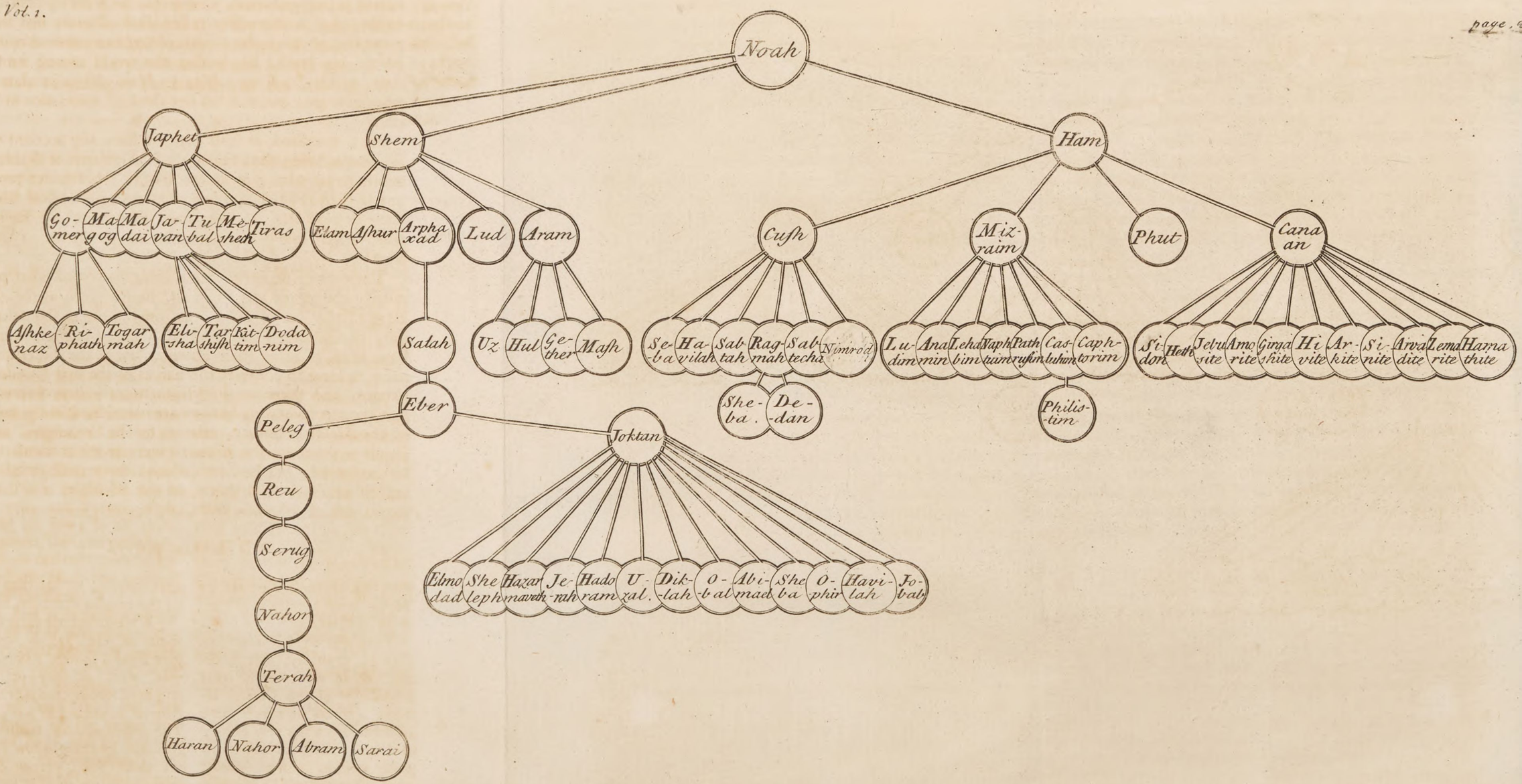
than his three ſons named by *Moſes*, conſequently could not reign in *China*.

This matter, however, we may be, probably, able to decide, when we come to treat profeſſedly of the *Chineſe* affairs; wherein we expect ſome aſſiſtance from the new hiſtory of *China*, lately publiſhed in *Italy*, written by a *mandarin*, who, as we are told, has made it appear, that there are no genuine records to be found, in that empire, earlier than two or three centuries before Chriſt.

(E) Beſides theſe three ſons, ſome of the *Jewiſh* writers give *Noah* a fourth, named *Yoniko*, who, as they pretend, taught aſtronomy, and inſtructed *Nimrod* in the art of war (1). The *Mohammedan* traditions, generally ſpeaking, allow *Noah* but three ſons: yet an *Arab* writer mentions another, named *Majeſtun* (2), who was, probably, born after the flood.

(1) *Jusbaſin, p.* 135. (2) *Abdalrahman Ebn Abdallah, apud D'Herbel. biblioth. orient. art. Noah.*

NOR,


Noah
Japhet
Shem
Ham
Gomer
Magog
Madai
Javan
Tubal
Meshech
Tiras
Elam
Asshur
Arphaxad
Lud
Aram
Cush
Mizraim
Phut
Canaan
Ashkenaz
Riphath
Togarmah
Elisha
Tarshish
Kittim
Dodanim
Salah
Uz
Hul
Gether
Mash
Seba
Havilah
Sabtah
Ragmah
Sabtecha
Nimrod
Sheba
Dedan
Ludim
Anamim
Lehabim
Naphtuhim
Pathrusim
Casluhim
Caphtorim
Philistim
Sidon
Heth
Jebusite
Amorite
Girgashite
Hivite
Arkite
Sinite
Arvadite
Zemarite
Hamathite
Eber
Peleg
Joktan
Reu
Serug
Nahor
Terah
Haran
Nahor
Abram
Sarai
Elmodad
Sheleph
Hazarmaveth
Jerah
Hadoram
Uzal
Diklah
Obal
Abimael
Sheba
Ophir
Havilah
Jobab

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NOR, indeed, is there much to be collected from Scripture, relating to the descendants of *Shem*, more than their names, and the ages of the patriarchs in the line of *Peleg*, till we come to *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, with whom this period ends. But whatever there may be wanting in the sacred history, the *Jews* have taken care, according to their usual custom, plentifully to supply with the figments and conceits of their rabbins, a set of men who have surpassed all others in the art of trifling, and inventing absurdities. On the other hand, the Christian chronologers and historians, of all ages, who have endeavoured to connect the profane history with the sacred, within this period, would furnish us with materials enough to fill up the vacancies, could we think it worth while to collect their several opinions and conjectures; few of them agreeing in any one point, which yet every one is confident he has settled. We shall, therefore, take notice of but a very few of them; such contradictory sentiments serving only to shew the uncertainty of the whole, and, consequently, to confound, rather than to instruct the reader.

WE shall not, in this place, touch upon the migrations, or the planting of nations by the posterity of *Noah*, which we have reserved for the subject of a distinct section, that we might not mix the history of that remarkable transaction with other matters. We have also thought proper to change the order of the table, and give an account of the line of *Ham* before that of *Shem*, which will more naturally close this section.

THOUGH *Japhet* is generally placed last in scripture[e], yet he is expressly said to be the eldest[f] (F); and that he was so, is farther evident; for that that *Noah* was five hundred years old when he begat his three sons[g]; according to which manner of expression in Scripture, one of them was born in his five hundredth year: but it could not be *Shem*; for he being in the one hundredth year of his age at the birth of *Arphaxad*, two years after the flood[h], when *Noah*

*Of* Japhet and his posterity.

[e] Genes. v. 32. vi. 10. vii. 13. ix. 18. x. 1. [f] Ibid. x. 21. [g] Ibid. v. 32. [h] Ibid. xi. 10.

(F) This is the sense of the passage according to the *English* version, and the *Septuagint*; but the *Vulgate* translates it, Shem *the elder brother of* Japhet. The former interpretation must be the true one, for the reason immediately given; though the original and the oriental versions are capable of either sense.

was

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was six hundred and three years old, it follows that he himself was born in the five hundred and third year of *Noah*: nor could it be *Ham*, for he is expresly said to have been the younger [i]; so that *Japhet* was the eldest of the three sons.

JAPHET, being affected, as well as *Shem*, with filial concern at *Ham*'s exposing their father's nakedness, assisted to cover him, and had a blessing given him by *Noah* on that occasion. GOD, says that patriarch, *shall inlarge* Japhet (G), *and he shall dwell in the tents of* Shem; *and* Canaan *shall be his servant* [k]. The first part of this prophecy has been verified in the great possessions which fell to the descendants of *Japhet*; as all *Europe*, and all the northern part of *Asia*, the lesser *Asia*, *Media*, *Armenia*, the countries between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, as well as those lying to the north of them, *Grand Tartary*, with *India* and *China*. Add to these the *European* colonies in *America* of late ages; for, as to the original inhabitants of that continent, it is uncertain from which of the three branches they are descended. The next part of the prophecy, that *he should dwell in the tents of* Shem, seems to refer to the overthrow of the *Assyrian* empire by the *Medes*, in conjunction with the *Babylonians*, as well as to the conquests of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Asia*; alluded to afterwards by *Balaam*, in his prophesy [l], *that ships should come from the coasts of* Chittim, *and should afflict* Ashur, *and should afflict* Eber: that is, they should afflict the *Assyrians*, and those who dwelt beyond the river *Euphrates* (H). And at

[i] Ibid ix. 24. [k] Ibid. ix. 27. [l] Numb. xxiv. 24.

(G) *Noah* here alludes to the name of *Japhet*, the root of which signifies *to inlarge*; tho' others translate the passage, GOD *shall persuade* Japhet, that is, bring him over in time to the true worship, figured by *the tents of* Shem.

(H) The common opinion is, that by *Eber*, in this place, is to be understood the *Hebrews* or *Jews*; but a learned author has offered reasons which seem to prove the contrary. He observes, that to take it in that sense is repugnant to the design of the passage, and makes *Balaam* bless and curse the children of *Israel* in the same breath, by prophesying of their destruction (1): and therefore he will have it, that *Eber* has not respect to persons, but to place, and signifies beyond the river (2); in which sense that word is often used in Scripture (3). Upon this occasion the same author proposes to

(1). *Vid. Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 56. (2) *Vid. eund. ibid. p.* 57.
(3) *Idem, ibid. p.* 50, &c.

amend

at the ſame time that they dwelt in the tents of *Shem*, they made the poſterity of *Ham* their ſervants, by ſubduing the *Babylonians*, the *Canaanites*, the *Egyptians*, and other nations deſcended from that branch, wherein was the completion of the laſt part of *Noah*'s prophecy. Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.

THIS prophecy ſeems alſo to have regard to the ſtate of the true religion, confining it to the race of *Shem* for a certain period of time, ending, perhaps, at the coming of the MESSIAH[m]; for, ſince CHRIST, the knowlege of the true GOD hath ſpread conſiderably more among the deſcendants of *Japhet*, than it did before amongſt thoſe of *Shem*, having, till then, been confined almoſt wholly to the nation of the *Jews*; however, the *Mohammedans* rank *Japhet* himſelf among the prophets[n].

THE Septuagint verſion, followed by *Euſebius* and others[o], mention an eighth ſon of *Japhet*, named *Eliſa*, who is neither in the *Hebrew* nor the *Chaldee* (I).

NO particulars being mentioned in Scripture, with reference to the deſcendants of *Japhet*, farther than what relates to their founding of nations, we muſt refer the reader for what may be ſaid of them under that head, to our account of the migrations.

THAT

[m] See below. [n] Vid. D'HERBELOT bibl. orient. art. Japheth. [o] EUSEB. chronic. l. i. p. 8. Chronic. Alexandr. AUGUSTINUS.

amend our tranſlation of the above text by reading it thus; *and they ſhall go forth from the coaſt of* Chittim, *and ſhall afflict* Aſhur, *and ſhall afflict the other ſide of the river*, that is, the countries beyond *Euphrates*. There ſeems to be no need of ſuppoſing the laſt *and* to be taken conjunctively, or the words following it to be a repetition, or explanatory of the firſt, as that writer thinks; for *Aſſhur*, ſtrictly ſpeaking, lay beyond the *Tigris*; neither in *Balaam*'s time had the *Aſſyrian* empire extended itſelf weſtward ſo far as the *Euphrates*: and when that prophecy was to be fulfilled, *Aſſhur* was reduced to its primitive bounds, and in ſubjection to *Elam*, or the *Perſians*; as were alſo the *Babylonians*, and the inhabitants of *Aram* or *Meſopotamia*, who, we think, are to be underſtood by *Eber*, or the other ſide of the river, that is, the *Euphrates*.

(I) The *Perſian* hiſtorians give *Japhet* eleven ſons; *viz.* 1. *Jin, Chin*, or *Sin*. 2. *Sekłab*. 3. *Manſhuj*. 4. *Gomari*. 5. *Turk* (from whom this patriarch is ſurnamed

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*Of* Ham *and his posterity.*

THAT *Ham* was the youngeſt ſon of *Noah* (K), though generally placed the ſecond of the three, is evident by his being expreſly called the youngeſt: he may have been born within a few years after *Shem*, but as neither his age, nor the time of his birth, are mentioned, we can determine nothing concerning that point. However, one would be apt to imagine, from *Ham*'s indiſcretion, as well as wickedneſs, in diſcovering his father's nakedneſs, that, when he committed that crime, he was but a very young man, though he had children; he might, probably, be about 50 or 60; an age ſcarce equivalent in thoſe days to eighteen now.

WHEN *Noah* was acquainted with the irreverent action of *Ham* (L), he curſed him in a branch of his poſterity; *Curſed*,

ſurnamed *Abu'l Turk*, or the father of *Turk*). 6. *Khalaj*. 7. *Khozar*. 8. *Rus*. 9. *Suſſan*. 10. *Ghaz*. And, 11. *Taraj* (4). The *Tartarian* authors name but eight ſons of *Japhet*, in this order; 1. *Turk*. 2. *Khars* [*Khozar*.] 3. *Saklap*. 4. *Rus*. 5. *Maminakh*. 6. *Zuwin* [*Jin*.] 7. *Kamari*. 8. *Tarikh* (5). The former authors aſſert, that *Japhet* married his ſons to their own ſiſters, before they departed to people their countries, to the end they might multiply the eaſier; and, indeed, it happened, that the eaſtern countries, and the greater part of the north, were firſt peopled (6).

(K) The *Hebrew* word חם *Ham* ſignifies hot, or heat, or ſun-burnt. Though he is expreſly ſaid to be the younger, yet numbers of commentators, relying more upon the order wherein he is named, maintain that he was the ſecond ſon of *Noah*; and, to elude the force of the text, ſeveral of them pretend, that it is not *Ham* himſelf, but *Canaan* his ſon, who is here ſpoken of: others will have it, that *Ham* was called the younger, or the youngeſt, for no other reaſon but becauſe his conduct was leſs prudent than that of his brothers (7). But ſuch interpretations, if once admitted, will ſerve only to render the moſt clear expreſſions in Scripture obſcure.

(L) If we inquire by what means *Noah* came to know that it was *Ham* who had diſcover'd his nakedneſs, ſome *rabbins* anſwer, that he inferred ſo much from *Ham*'s paſt ſhameleſs behaviour, in profaning the ark by lying with his wife (8). Others ſay, that *Ham*, by looking on his father's ſhame, found extraordinary alterations in himſelf; his eyes became red, his hair and beard burnt, and his lips diſtorted; and he knew ſo little what he did, that he ſtripped himſelf ſtark-naked, and walked about in that condition. *Noah*, ſeeing all this, from thence concluded, that it

(4) *Mir Khond & Khond Amir. See D'Herbelot. bibl. orient. art. Japheth.*
(5) *See Abu'lghazi Khan's genealogical hiſtory of the Tartars, vol.* i. *p.* 6.
(6) *D'Herbelot. ubi ſupra.* (7) *Vid. Heidegg. hiſt. patriarch. exercit.* 20. *num.* 4. (8) *Vid. Heidegg. hiſt. patriarch. tom.* i. *p.* 409.

was

*Curſed*, ſays he, *be* Canaan, *a ſervant of ſervants ſhall he be unto his brethren* P. This curſe, if it be a curſe (M), being pronounced not againſt *Ham*, the immediate tranſgreſſor, but againſt his ſon, who does not appear, from the words of *Moſes*, to have been any way concerned in the crime, though ſome imagine he had a principal ſhare in it (N), hath occaſioned ſeveral conjectures: ſome [q] have believed, that *Noah* curſed *Canaan*, becauſe he could not well have curſed *Ham* himſelf, whom GOD had not long before bleſſed [r]; others, more reaſonably, think *Moſes*'s chief intent in recording this prediction was to raiſe the ſpirits of the *Iſraelites* then entering on a terrible war with the children of *Canaan*, by the aſſurance, that, in conſequence of the curſe, that people were deſtined by GOD to be ſubdued by them [s]: for the opinion of thoſe who imagine all *Ham*'s race were here accurſed, ſeems repugnant to the plain words of Scripture, which confines the male-

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P Gen. ix. 25.
[r] Gen. ix. 1.
[q] CHRYSOST. ſerm. 29. in Geneſ.
[s] AUGUSTIN. quæſt. 17. in Geneſ. THEODORET in quæſt. 58. Geneſ. HEIDEGG. hiſt. patr. tom. i. p. 411. BAYLE cited in the note m.

was *Ham* who had diſhonoured him. Some ſay, that he could not have known it otherwiſe than by revelation. St. *Chryſoſtom*'s opinion is very rational; he believes, that *Noah*, ſeeing himſelf covered with a garment which did not belong to him, asked the occaſion of it, and learned from *Shem* and *Japhet* all that had paſſed (11).

(M) Mr. *Bayle* does not take this paſſage properly to contain a curſe. He ſays, it is pretty ſtrange, that the Scripture takes no notice of any thing being done by *Noah* to *Ham*: he obſerves, that there is not one word of cenſure paſſed upon *Ham*; that the patriarch was content to curſe *Canaan* the ſon of *Ham*; and that this curſe was nothing elſe but a prophecy of the victories which the deſcendants of *Shem* ſhould obtain over the deſcendants of *Canaan* under *Joſhua*; that is to ſay, ſeven or eight ages after the crime of *Ham* had been committed (12).

(N) The *Jews* pretend, that *Canaan* was the perſon who firſt diſcovered the nakedneſs of *Noah*, with which he acquainted his father *Ham*, who made ſport of the accident, and went and told it to his brothers *Shem* and *Japhet*; and that *Noah*, awaking out of his ſleep, curſed *Canaan*, becauſe he was the firſt occaſion of the ſcandal (13).

(11) *Vid. eund. ibid.* (12) *Bayle dict. hiſt. art. Cham.* (13) *Bereſhit rabba*, §. 37. *Theodoret. quæſt.* 57. *in Geneſ.*

diction

Year of diction to *Canaan*, and his poſterity, and alſo contrary to
flood 350. fact (O).

Bef. Chr. AMONG thoſe who are for extending the curſe to *Ham*,
1998. and his other race, ſome have ſuppoſed another effect of it,
not mentioned by *Moſes*; that *Ham* became a blackmoor, and communicated that colour to his deſcendants (P): but this

(O) A learned author hath affirmed, that there hath never yet been a ſon of *Ham* who hath ſhaken a ſceptre over the head of *Japhet*; *Shem* hath ſubdued *Japhet*, and *Japhet* hath ſubdued *Shem*, but *Ham* never ſubdued either (14). However, this muſt be a miſtake, if there be any truth in what the *Egyptian* hiſtories relate of the actions of *Seſoſtris*, and ſome others of their kings, who conquered the greateſt part of *Aſia* and *Europe*; and conſequently *Ham* may be ſaid to have ſubdued both. Beſides, we find the *Iſraelites* were long the ſlaves of *Mizraim*, or the *Egyptians*; and we ſee no reaſon why the ſhameful ſubmiſſion which *Reboboam*, the ſon and ſucceſſor of *Solomon*, made to *Shiſhak* the *Egyptian Pharaoh* (15), who, after taking all the ſtrong cities of *Judah*, ſeems to have had *Jeruſalem* delivered up to him without oppoſition, to be ſpoiled with the temple, may not be deemed a ſervitude; it being expreſly ſaid, the *Jews* ſhould be his ſervants (16). *Ham* alſo appears to have encroached upon *Shem* very early; for he ſeems to have driven the *Shemites* out of their firſt ſeats in *Shinaar*; and every body knows the *Babylonians*, who were *Hamites*, had a conſiderable ſhare in the deſtruction of the *Aſſyrian* empire. But a ſtronger inſtance than any of the preceding is, the *Babyloniſh* captivity, in which the *Jews* themſelves were the ſufferers. Nay, the very branch of *Canaan* ſeems to have had great ſucceſs againſt *Japhet*, not only by the exploits of the *Carthaginians* (originally *Canaanites*) in *Italy*, but by their conqueſt of *Spain*.

(P) This opinion has been entertained by ſeveral Chriſtians as well as *Mohammedans*, tho' ſome of the latter account otherwiſe for mens different complexions (17). The *Arab* writers add, that *Noah*, relenting at the ſudden change in his ſon, prayed to GOD that his poſterity might be treated gently in their ſervitude; in conſequence whereof the black ſlaves are not only in great requeſt, but generally have great credit and power with their maſters (18).

Some of the ſame authors pretend, that *Noah*'s curſe was

(14) *See Mede's works, p.* 358. (15) 1 *Kings* xiv. 25. 2 *Chron.* xii. 2, 9. (16) 2 *Chron.* xii. 5, 8. (17) *Vid. introd. p.* 99. (18) *D'Herbel. bibl. orient. p.* 245, & 677.

this opinion is a mere chimera, as hath been formerly observed [t]. Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.

In consequence of this undutiful act of his telling his brothers, that he had seen his father's nakedness, *Ham* has been looked upon as the first introducer of wickedness after the flood; and authors have imputed to him many enormities, some of them ridiculous enough, which they have grounded solely upon this single passage. They have believed, seeing *Ham* could be guilty of so much indiscretion towards his father, that he was a reprobate, who had committed all sorts of abominations. They take it for granted, that none but he, and his posterity, were concerned in the building of *Babel*, which they consider as a very wicked attempt [u]. They make him the first propagator of idolatry after the flood (Q), and the inventor of magic, and relate many passages to that effect (R). They pretend, that he set a very unedifying example of incontinence, by getting his wife with child in the very ark (S). Nay, it has been imagined,

[t] Introd. p. 99.

[u] See after.

inflicted on *Ham* for his disobedience, because he would not come to prayers one morning, when his father called him (19).

(Q) Several instances of this the reader will find hereafter.

(R) *Ham* is held to have been the inventor of magic, so far only as that it was he who preserved, and taught it to the descendants of *Noah*; for it is allowed it was not *Ham* who first invented this art, but the angels, who, becoming enamoured of the women of the old world, taught it the antediluvians (1). They say, that *Ham*, not daring to carry with him, into the ark, the books which treated of this subject, engraved the principal rules of the art upon plates of metal, and hard stone, able to resist the waters of the deluge; which treasure he carefully hid, and, after quitting the ark, went and took them from the place where he had deposited them (2). It is pretended, that *Mizraim* learned of his father *Ham* all those abominable secrets; and that the pretenders to that science consider *Ham* as their first founder, and to have been the same with *Zoroastres*, and honour him as a god. The first author of this opinion, seems to have been the counterfeit *Clemens* (3).

(S) Though St. *Ambrose* and others conceive from the words of *Moses*, that the matrimonial duty was superseded and suspended during the time *Noah*

(19) *Ibid. p.* 677. (1) *See before, p.* 173, *in the notes.* (2) *Cassian. collat.* 8. *c.* 21. *Pseudo-Beros. lib.* iii. *p.* 80. *apud Bayle dict. hist. art. Cham.* (3) *Lib.* iv. *recognition. Apud Bochart. phaleg. lib.* iv. *cap.* 1.

and

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gined, that the crime which he committed againſt his father was infinitely more enormous than it is repreſented in Scripture: ſome concluding that *Ham* caſtrated *Noah* (T); others,

and his family lived in the ark (4); nevertheleſs it is an opinion which has ſpread pretty much, that *Ham* did not obſerve continency on that occaſion, but that his wife brought forth *Canaan* in the very ark (5).

(T) Some *Jewiſh* doctors have aſſerted this, and pretend that what prompted *Ham* to ſo violent an act, was to prevent *Noah*'s having any more ſons; as if he feared his ſhare in the diviſion of the world would be too ſmall (6). Some grave authors have undertaken to refute this fancy very ſeriouſly, by theſe words of Scripture: Noah *awoke from his wine, and knew what his younger ſon had done unto him.* If he had performed, ſay they, upon his father ſo painful an operation as that of caſtrating muſt have been, *Noah* would not have ſlept till he was ſober; but the anguiſh would quickly have awakened him, and he would have ſurpriſed the criminal in the very fact; nor would he have had any occaſion to have asked who he was (7). From ſuch conceits as theſe ſome have drawn arguments to prove, that all the pagan gods were taken from the *Jewiſh* traditions. Thus they pretend, that *Noah* is the *Saturn* and the *Uranus* of the pagans; and that the ſtories which are told of *Jupiter*'s caſtrating his father *Saturn*, and *Chronus* caſtrating his father *Uranus*, are borrowed from this notion of *Ham* (8).

Upon this occaſion we are tempted to introduce a paſſage out of the Count *de Gabalis*. He ſuppoſes that *Noah*, after the deluge, gave up his wife *Veſta* to the ſalamander *Oromaſis*, prince of the fiery ſubſtances, and perſuaded his three children to reſign alſo their three wives to the princes of the three other elements (9). *Ham*, adds that author, rebelled againſt the counſel of *Noah*, and could not reſiſt the charms of his wife; but his want of complaiſance marked all his black poſterity: the frightful complexion of the inhabitants of the torrid zone is the puniſhment of the profane ardour of their father.—You believe, for inſtance, continues he, that the injury which *Ham* did his father, was the ſame as is literally expreſſed; but it was, indeed, a very different thing. *Noah* being come out of the ark, and ſeeing his wife *Veſta*'s beauty rather improved by the familiarity which ſhe had with her gallant *Oromaſis*, his love for her returned upon him. *Ham*, fearing leſt his father might yet people the world with children

(4) *Ambroſ. de Noa & arca, c.* 21. *apud. Salian. tom.* i. *p.* 290. (5) *Vid. Heidegg. vol.* i. *p.* 409. (6) *Referente R. Levi in Gen. cap.* ix. *apud Salian. tom.* i. *p.* 297. (7) *Salianus, ibid.* (8) *Vid. Bayle dict. hiſt. art. Cham, rem. D.* (9) *Entretiens ſur les ſciences ſecretes, p.* 204.

blacker

others, that he rendered him impotent, by virtue of ſome magic charms (U); others again, that he committed inceſt with his father's wife (W); whilſt a fourth party accuſe him

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blacker than his *Ethiopians*, took his opportunity one day, when the good old man had got his doſe of wine, and caſtrated him without mercy (10). We leave the reader to judge which notion is moſt agreeable to Scripture, or becoming the gravity of a commentator, that of the *Jews*, or this of the count *de Gabalis*.

(U) This imagination is taken from the ſpurious *Beroſus*: he ſays, that *Noah*, unable to bear the vicious courſes of *Ham*, who particularly addicted himſelf to magic, became odious to this ſon; and the rather, becauſe he ſhewed more tenderneſs for his other ſons, who were younger; and *Ham*, finding an opportunity of revenge, did not let it ſlip: he graſped the genitals of his father, and muttered ſome words, which rendered him impotent for ever after (11).

(W) This is the ſentiment of Mr. *Von der Hart*, profeſſor of the oriental languages in the univerſity of *Helmſtad*. He believes that the injury which that patriarch received from *Ham*, conſiſted in the infamous temerity which this brutiſh ſon had, to lie either with his own mother, or, at leaſt, with his ſtep-mother. He proves this explanation by divers places of Scripture, where the phraſe to *uncover the ſhame of a woman*, ſignifies to lie with her. In the ſame places of Scripture it is ſaid, that the nakedneſs or ſhame of a woman is the nakedneſs or ſhame of her huſband; and, by conſequence, according to this way of expreſſion, to have ſeen the nakedneſs of *Noah*, is a modeſt phraſe, importing to have had to do with *Noah*'s wife. This author ſuppoſes, 1. That *Ham* watched his time for compaſſing his deſign, when *Noah* was aſleep, after his debauch. 2. That ſomebody, having diſcovered the affair, went and gave the other two ſons of *Noah* notice of it. 3. That they, filled with indignation at the horrid affront which had been put upon the patriarch, repaired to the place as faſt as they could; and, having ſurpriſed their brother in the act, threw their garments over him and his accomplice. 4. That they gave an account to their father of all they had ſeen. 5. That *Noah*, much enraged, ordered by his will, that *Canaan*, who was to be the iſſue of that inceſtuous commerce, ſhould be wholly deprived of the inheritance (1). Theſe hypotheſes, ſays Mr. *Bayle* (2), are learned and ingenious; but if once it be ſuffer'd to ſuppoſe, that the narrations of *Moſes* are ſo diſguiſed, it

(10) *Ibid. p.* 206. (11) *Pſeudo-Beroſus, lib.* iii. *p.* 80. (1) *See the book intituled, Ephemeridum philologicarum tomus, in the Leipſic journal for* 1693. *p.* 466. (2) *Dict. hiſt. art. Cham, rem. F.*

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him of all sorts of uncleanness (A). This character is very conformable with what we meet with in the antients concerning *Cronus*, with whom, among many others (B), *Ham* is supposed to have been the same.

IF we may judge by the number of persons in the three generations of *Ham*'s line mentioned by *Moses* [x], which exceeds the numbers of persons descended from both his brothers in the same degree, he must have had the most numerous issue of the three sons of *Noah*, and a greater part of the earth to his share. But though much mention is made of the latter posterity of *Ham*, in the succeeding part of the *Jewish* history, *Moses* has recorded nothing relating to his first descendants, besides their names, and some general circumstances, excepting *Canaan* and *Nimrod*.

*Of* Canaan.

CANAAN (C) was the fourth son of *Ham*, if we may be allowed to judge by the order in which we find his name

[x] Genes. x. 6.

may be feared, that the same liberty will be taken with the history of the temptation, and of the fall of *Adam*, as some have dared to do.

(A) The reason of *Noah*'s discarding *Ham* seems not to have been so much on account of the personal injuries he had received from him, as his other immoralities. That unhappy man, it is pretended, not only taught, that men should live as they did before the flood, and commit all sorts of incests, and something worse; but practised those abominable lessons himself. We chuse to express them in the words of the author. *At vero cum publice corrumperet mortale genus, asserens & re ipsa exequens, congrediendum esse, ut ante inundationem, cum matribus, sororibus, filiabus, masculis, brutis, & quovis alio genere, ob hoc ejectus a Jano piissimo, & castimonia atque pudicitia refertissimo* (3).

(B) The history of *Cronus* from *Sanchoniatho*, whose account of him is the most full, will be given in the next section. *Marsham* thinks *Ham* is to be found in profane history under the names of *Hammon*, *Thamus*, *Thammuz*, *Adonis*, *Osiris*, *Baal*, *Belus*, *Jupiter*, and *Saturn*, the second (4). The same author says, the *Hebrew* chronology requires, that *Ham* should be the same with *Menes*, the first king of *Egypt*, whom almost all other authors make to be *Mizraim*, his second son (5).

(C) The *Hebrew* word is כנען, and not pronounced as we commonly do *Canaan*, making *Ca* the first syllable, but *Chenaan*, or rather *Chnaan*, the *sheva* joining the *ch* and *n* into one syllable, and so the *Jews* pronounce it; which reading brings

(3) *Pseudo-Berosus, lib.* iii. *p.* 80, 32, 33. (4) *Canon. chron. p.* 23, 30, 31. (5) *Ibid. p.* 23.

the

name placed in Scripture. Neither the length of his life, nor the time of his birth, are mentioned by *Moſes*: however, ſome will have it, that he was born in the ark; and that, becauſe he was the fruit of an unſeaſonable incontinence, therefore he was a wicked man. It has been already obſerved, that the curſe given by *Noah* to *Canaan* was peculiar to this ſon of *Ham*, and does not ſeem to have extended to the reſt of his brethren. And, indeed, the prophecy of *Noah*, that *Canaan ſhould be a ſervant of ſervants to his brethren*, ſeems to have been wholly completed in him. It was completed with regard to *Shem*, not only in that a conſiderable part of the ſeven nations of the *Canaanites* were made ſlaves to the *Iſraelites*, when they took poſſeſſion of their land, as part of the remainder of them were afterwards enſlaved by *Solomon*[y]; but alſo by the ſubſequent expeditions of the *Aſſyrians* and *Perſians*, who were both deſcended from *Shem*; and under whom the *Canaanites* ſuffered ſubjection, as well as the *Iſraelites*: not to mention the conqueſt of part of *Canaan* by the *Elamites*, or *Perſians*, under *Chedorlaomer*[z], prior to them all. With regard to *Japhet*, we find a completion of the prophecy, in the ſucceſſive conqueſts of the *Greeks* and *Romans* in *Paleſtine* and *Phœnicia*, where the *Canaanites* were ſettled; but eſpecially in the total ſubverſion of the *Carthaginian* power by the *Romans*; beſides ſome invaſions of the northern nations, as the poſterity of *Thogarma* and *Magog*; wherein many of them, probably, were carried away captive.

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It is believed, that *Canaan* lived and died (D) in the country called after his name; where formerly they ſhewed his tomb, which was twenty-five foot long, in a cave of the mountain of the *Leopards*, not far from *Jeruſalem*[a].

[y] 2 Chron. viii. 7, 8, 9.
[z] Geneſ. xiv. 4, 7, 8, &c.
[a] See Calmet dict. de la Bible, art. Canaan.

the word nearer the *Chna* of *Sanchoniatho* and *Stephanus* (6): it ſignifies a *merchant*, or *trader*, as the *Canaanites* or *Phœnicians* were.

(D) The *Mohammedans* are not uniform in their opinions concerning *Canaan*; ſome agreeing with the account given of him in Scripture; and others affirming, that he was born after the flood, and went not into the ark, but was drowned in the deluge, as hath been already obſerved (7).

(6) *De urbib. in voce* Χνᾶ.
(7) *See chap.* i. *ſect.* 1.

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CANAAN ſeems to have been known to the antient heathens. *Sanchoniatho* expreſly ſays, *Chna* was the firſt *Phœnician*, or the firſt who was called a *Phœnician*[b]. The Scripture mentions nothing particular, with reſpect to any of his ſons; but the tranſactions of the *Iſraelites*, with their deſcendants, make up a great part of the *Jewiſh* hiſtory; and will be treated of in their proper place.

*Of* Nimrod.

NIMROD was the ſixth ſon of *Cuſh* (E), and, in all appearance, much younger than any of his brothers; for *Moſes* mentions the ſons of *Raamah*, his fourth brother, before he ſpeaks of him. What the ſacred hiſtorian ſays of him is ſhort; and yet he ſays more of him than of any other of the poſterity of *Noah*; till he comes to *Abraham*. He tells us, that *Nimrod began to be a mighty one in the earth*; that he was *a mighty hunter before the* LORD, even to a proverb; and that *the beginning of his kingdom was* Babel, *and* Erech, *and* Accad, *and* Calneh *in the land of* Shinaar[c].

FROM this account a great idea hath been conceived of his ſtrength and valour. Some repreſent him as a giant[d] (F); all conſider him as a great warrior. It is generally thought, that, by the words *a mighty hunter*, is to be underſtood, that he was a great tyrant; but ſome of the *rabbins*[e] interpret thoſe words favourably, ſaying, that *Nimrod* was qualified by a peculiar dexterity and ſtrength for the chace, and that he offered to GOD the game which he took; and ſeveral of the moderns are of opinion, that this paſſage is not to be underſtood of his tyrannical oppreſſions, or of hunting of men, but of beaſts[f] (G). It muſt be owned,

[b] Apud EUSEB. præp. evang. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 39. [c] Gen. x. 8, 9, 10. [d] EUTYCH. annal. p. 63. ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. [e] ABEN EZRA, KIMHI. See alſo GROT. [f] BOCHART phaleg. lib. iv. cap. 12. PERIZON. orig. Bab. cap. 12. p. 230.

(E) Some *Mohammedan* authors confound the genealogies of the ſons of *Noah* at a ſtrange rate. One of them ſays, that *Nimrod* was the ſon of *Canaan*, and brother of *Cuſh*, whom the *Perſians* ſurname *Fil dendam*, that is, *the elephant's tooth* (1).

(F) The *Hebrew* word גבר *gibbor*, which our verſion renders *a mighty one*, is, by the *Septuagint*, tranſlated *a giant* (2).

(G) A writer of great authority in the eaſt has a ſingular notion, that *Nimrod*, by hunting, provided food for the builders of *Babel* (3).

(1) *The author of Lobb al Tawarikh. apud D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Nemrod, p.* 668. (2) *Gen. x.* 8. (3) *Abu'lfarag. hiſt. dynaſt. p.* 12.

that

that the phraſe, *before the* LORD, may be taken in a favourable ſenſe, and as a commendation of a perſon's good qualities; but in this place the generality of expoſitors underſtand it otherwiſe (H). Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.

HUNTING muſt have been one of the moſt uſeful employments in the times juſt after the diſperſion, when all countries were over-run with wild beaſts, of which it was neceſſary they ſhould be cleared, in order to make them habitable; and therefore nothing ſeemed more proper to procure a man eſteem and honour in thoſe ages, than his being an expert hunter, as *Nimrod* probably was. By that exerciſe, we are told, the antient *Perſians* fitted their kings for war and government [g]; and hunting is ſtill, in many countries, conſidered as one part of a royal education.

THERE is nothing in the ſhort hiſtory of *Nimrod* which carries the leaſt air of reproach, except his name, which ſignifies a rebel (I); and that is the circumſtance which

[g] Vid. XENOPH. Cyropæd. lib. i.

(H) The phraſe, *before the* LORD, ſeems to be in itſelf perfectly indifferent, and made uſe of only by way of exaggeration; however, it being often introduced in Scripture, where wicked actions are mentioned, therefore, inſtead of *before the* LORD, St. *Auſtin* will have it to be rendered *againſt the* LORD (4); in which he is followed by ſeveral (5). The *Jeruſalem* targum, and that of *Ben Uzziel*, both take this character of *Nimrod* in an ill ſenſe.

(I) This name is generally derived from מרד *marad*, to *rebel*; but if a compoſition may be allowed of, a more favourable etymology, and more agreeable to *Nimrod*'s occupation, might be offered from נמר *namer*, a *leopard*, which may by a metonymy denote wild beaſts in general, and רדד *radad*, to *fell* or *beat down*, or רדה *radah*, to *ſubdue* or *take*. The *Arabs* make *Nemrud*, the plural of which is *Nemaredah*, the ſame with *mared*, a *rebel*. However, a certain *Perſian* author, who makes *Nimrod* the ſame with *Cay Caus*, a king of the ſecond dynaſty of *Perſia*, gives the name a *Perſian* derivation, as if it was *Nemurd*, that is, *immortal*; which appellation, he ſays, was given to him on account of his long reign of above 150 years (6). If the firſt of the three ſignifications be the right, the name muſt have been given him by his enemies, not by his ſubjects (7). The *Greeks* write the name *Nembrod* and *Nebrodes*.

(4) *De civit. Dei, lib.* xvi. *cap.* 4. (5) *Joh. Sariſbur. Polycrat. lib.* i. *p.* 13. *& lib.* viii. *p.* 559. *Nic. Abram, pharus V. T. lib.* v. *cap.* 5. §. 16. (6) *The author of Mefatih al Olum, apud D'Herbelot. bibl. orient, art. Nemrod.* (7) *Vid. Hyde de rel. vet. Perſar. p.* 35.

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ſeems to have occaſioned the injurious opinions which have been entertained of him in all ages. Commentators, being prepoſſeſſed in general, that the curſe of *Noah* fell upon the poſterity of *Ham*, and finding this prince ſtigmatized by his name, have interpreted every paſſage relating to him to his diſadvantage. They repreſent him as a rebel againſt GOD, in perſuading the deſcendants of *Noah* to diſobey the divine command to diſperſe, and in ſetting them to build the tower of *Babel*, with an impious deſign of ſcaling heaven (K). They brand him as an ambitious uſurper, and an inſolent oppreſſor; and make him the author of the adoration of fire (L), of idolatrous worſhip given to men, and

(K) An *Arab* author ſays, that *Nimrod* built this tower, that he might aſcend to heaven to ſee *Abraham*'s GOD, who had delivered him from the fiery furnace into which that tyrant had caſt him. They worked at this building three years, and when *Nimrod* had got on the top of it, he wondered to ſee the heaven as far from him as it was before; but his aſtoniſhment increaſed, when this tower, and another, which had been built for the ſame purpoſe, were ſucceſſively overthrown. Still perſiſting in his deſign, he would be carried to heaven in a cheſt, borne by four monſtrous birds: but after wandering for ſome time through the air, he fell down on a mountain with ſuch a force as made it ſhake; to which, as this writer imagines, alludes that paſſage in the *koran*, *tho' the ſtratagems of the impious make the mountains tremble* (1).

*Nimrod*, by this diſappointment, finding he could not make war with GOD in perſon, inſtead of acknowleging his power, proceeded to perſecute thoſe who adored any beſides himſelf; but GOD, by dividing *Nimrod*'s ſubjects, and confounding their language, deprived him of the greater part of his people, and plagued thoſe who continued to adhere to him, by a cloud of gnats, which deſtroyed almoſt all of them.

Another author adds, that one of thoſe gnats, having entered into the noſtril or ear of *Nimrod*, penetrated to one of the membranes of his brain, where, growing bigger every day, it gave him ſuch intolerable pain, that he was obliged to cauſe his head to be beaten with a mallet, in order to procure ſome eaſe; and that he ſuffered this torture for the ſpace of four hundred years, GOD being willing to puniſh, by one of the ſmalleſt of his creatures, him who inſolently boaſted himſelf to be the lord of all (2).

(L) The orientals make *Nimrod* the author of the ſect of the *Magi*, or worſhippers of fire;

(1) *Cap.* xiv. *ver.* 46. (2) *Vid. D'Herbelot. bibl. orient. art. Nemrod.*

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and the first persecutor on the score of religion (M). On the other hand, some account him a virtuous prince, and so far from advising the building of *Babel*, that they say he left the country, and went into *Assyria*, because he would not give his consent to it (N). Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.

NIMROD is generally thought to have been the first king after the flood (O); though some authors, supposing a plantation or dispersion prior to that of *Babel*, have made kings in several countries before him. *Mizraim* is supposed by many, who contend for the antiquity of the *Egyptian* monarchy, to have begun his reign a good while earlier than *Nimrod* [i]; and others, from the uniformity of the languages spoken in *Assyria*, *Babylonia*, *Syria*, and *Canaan*, affirm those countries to have been peopled before the confusion of tongues [k].

THE four cities (P) *Moses* gives to *Nimrod*, made a large

[i] Vid. MARSH. chron. can. p. 18, 23. [k] HORNIUS ad Sulpit. Sever. p. 21.

they tell us, that accidentally seeing fire rise out of the earth, at a great distance from him, in the east, he worshipped it; and appointed one *Andesham* to attend the fire there, and throw frankincense into it (3).

(M) The person persecuted by *Nimrod*, according to several *Jewish*, *Christian*, and *Mohammedan* authors, was *Abraham*, who, by the *Hebrew* chronology, might have been his contemporary.

(N) *Jonathan ben Uziel* paraphrases the passage (4) thus; *Nimrod*, going out of that land, reigned in *Assyria*, because he would not come into the measures of those who were concerned in the division: therefore GOD gave him another country, where he built four other cities, *viz. Nineveh*, *Platiathkartha*, *Parioth*, and *Telasar*.

(O) The eastern writers make him not only the first king of *Babel*, but of all the world; and say he was the first who wore a crown, the model of which he took from the figure of one he had seen in the sky: for, being pleased with the appearance, he sent immediately for an artist, and had a crown of gold cast in the same form, which he put upon his head; from whence his subjects took occasion to say, that it came down to him from heaven (5).

(P) We might be able to make some judgment concerning the extent of the first *Babylonish* kingdom, could we fix the situations of these four cities: but this is very difficult; all of them having been long since destroyed, and authors differing so much in opinions about 'em. There are even two traditions,

(3) *Vid. Eutych. annales, p.* 63,64. *Ebn Amid, p.* 29. (4) *Gen.* C. II. (5) *Ebn Amid, p.* 29. *Eutych. annal. p.* 63.

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large kingdom in those early times, when few kings had more than one: only it must be observed, that possessions might at first have been large, and afterwards divided into several parcels; and *Nimrod* being the leader of a nation, we may suppose his subjects settled within those limits. Whether he became possessed of those cities by conquest, or otherwise, does not appear: it is most probable he did not build *Babel*, all the posterity of *Noah* seeming to have been equally concerned in that affair; nor does it appear, that he built the other three, though the founding of them, and

with regard to the ruins of *Babel*; some placing them at *Felugia*, a village on the *Euphrates*, about thirty-six miles to the south-west of *Baghdad*, on the *Tigris*; others, about the same distance from *Felugia* southward, on the first of those rivers: how much more uncertain then must be the situation of the rest, which were towns not so famous, and whose ruins, if any remain, are seldom inquired after!

According to the eastern authors, *Erech*, or *Arach*, is *Hadas*, or *Edessa* (6), called by the *Syrians Urhoi*, by the *Arabs Roha*, and by the inhabitants *Orfa*; *Accad*, or *Akbar*, as some write it, is *Nisibin*; and *Calneh*, *Calanne*, or *Calya*, is *Ctesiphon*, or *Medain* (7): and if they are not mistaken, the distances of these cities from each other will give *Nimrod*'s kingdom a great extent, as do some traditions concerning him (8); but the *Asiatics*, in many things relating to their own antiquities, are not to be relied on more than the *Europeans*. We are of opinion, the *Babylonian* kingdom, under *Nimrod*, was much more limited; and rather agree with those who believe *Erech* to have been a city of *Chaldea*, which from thence took its present *Arabic* name of *Erak* (9). This seems to be the *Arecca* of *Ptolemy*, and *Arecha* of *Marcellinus*, who places it in *Susiana* (10). Neither can *Erec* be *Urhoi*, or *Edessa*, in the opinion of those who hold *Ur* of the *Chaldees* and *Urhoi* to be the same: for *Erec* and *Ur* are distinguished in Scripture as two different cities. *Calne* we admit to be *Ctesiphon*, of *Medain*, nearer either of the aforesaid ruins of *Babel* than is *Baghdad*; and, as for *Accad*, we may suppose it to have been some city in the neighbourhood of the other three, long since ruined, and the memory of it lost: and thus will this early monarchy be reduced to such dimensions, as, in all probability, the first could not exceed,

(6) *Vid. targum Jonathanis & Hierosol.* (7) *Ephrem Syrus comment. in Genes. ubi de Nimrod, apud Assemani bibl. orient. tom. i. p. 26. Abu'lfarag. p. 18.* (8) *See Thevenot's travels, part ii. book i. chap. 9, and 13.* (9) *Hyde in notis ad Peritsol. itinera mundi, p. 65. D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Erac.* (10) *Lib. xxiii.*

many

many more, with other works, are attributed to him (Q). Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.
It may ſeem alſo a little ſtrange, that *Nimrod* ſhould be preferred to the regal dignity, and enjoy the moſt cultivated part of the earth then known, rather than any other of the elder chiefs or heads of nations, even of the branch of *Ham*. Perhaps it was conferred on him for his dexterity in hunting; or, it may be, he did not aſſume the title of king till after his father *Cuſh*'s death, who might have been ſettled there before him (R), and left him the ſovereignty: but we incline to think, that he ſeized *Shinaar* from the deſcendants of *Shem*, driving out *Aſhur*, who from thence went and founded *Nineveh*, and other cities in *Aſſyria*.

THE Scripture does not inform us when *Nimrod* began his reign (S). Some[1] date it before the diſperſion; but ſuch a conjecture does not ſeem to ſuit with the *Moſaical* hiſtory: for before the diſperſion we read of no city but *Babel*; nor could there well be more, while all mankind

[1] Vid. NIC. ABRAM, pharus V. T. lib. v. §. 7.

(Q) *Abu'lfarag* ſays *Nimrod* built three of theſe cities, mentioned by *Moſes*, *viz. Erech*, *Accad*, and *Calya* (1), or *Calne*. Others aſcribe to him the building of *Babel*, *Nineveh*, *Reſen*, and ſeveral other cities, among which was *Adherbijan* (2), in the *Perſian* province of the ſame name. An *Arab* author mentions a city called *Takharat*, or *Takharan Sar*, where *Nimrod* coined money (3). Others write, that he dug ſeveral rivers in *Erak*, derived from *Euphrates*, of which that of *Cutha*, in the way [from *Babel*] to *Cufah*, was one (4).

(R) A *Perſian* author of great authority affirms, that *Cuſh*, or *Cutha*, was king of the territory of *Babel*, and reſided in *Erak*; and attributes to him the making of the river *Cutha* (5). Dr. *Hyde* places the original ſeat of *Cuſh* in the ſame country, which he calls *the moſt antient Cuſh* (6); and ſays, that his poſterity removing into *Arabia*, it thence took the name of *Cuſh* alſo (7).

(S) The *Arabs* ſay, that *Nimrod* reigned in *al Sowad*, that is, *the black country*; for ſo they call *Irak Arabi*, from the black tents of the *Scenite Arabs* ſcattered over the province (8). They ſuppoſe his father *Cuſh* reſided at *Erac*, in the province of *Babel* (9); though *Babel* is generally thought, by Chriſtian authors, to have been the regal ſeat of *Nimrod*.

(1) *Abu'lfarag. hiſt. dyn. p.* 18. (2) *Eutych. annal. p.* 64. (3) *Safioddin. apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 74. (4) *Ahmed Ebn Yuſef, apud Hyde, ibid. p.* 71, 73. (5) *Al Tabari in cap. de morte Saræ, apud Hyde de rel. velt. Perſ. p.* 40. (6) *Hyde, ibid. p.* 38. (7) *Id. ibid. p.* 37. (8) *Abu Mohammed Muſtafa apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 42, 43. (9) *Vid. Hyde ibid. p.* 40.

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were yet in a body together; but when *Nimrod* aſſumed the regal title, there ſeem to have been other cities built, which ſhews it was a good while after the diſperſion. We have placed the beginning of his reign thirty years from that event, and, in all likelihood, it ſhould be placed rather later than earlier.

AUTHORS have taken a great deal of pains to find *Nimrod* in profane hiſtory: ſome have imagined him to be the ſame with *Belus* [m], the founder of the *Babyloniſh* empire; others, with *Ninus* [n], the founder of the *Aſſyrian* (T): ſome think him the ſame with *Evechous*, the firſt *Chaldæan* king after the deluge [o]; and a fourth ſort perceive a great reſemblance between him and *Bacchus*, both in actions and name [p]. Some of the *Mohammedan* writers ſuppoſe *Nimrod* to have been *Zohak*, a *Perſian* king of the firſt dynaſty [q]; other, *Cay Caus*, the ſecond king of the ſecond race [r]; and ſome of the *Jews* ſay he is the ſame with *Amraphel*, the king of *Shinaar*, in *Moſes* [s]. But there is no certainty in theſe conjectures, nor have we any knowlege of his immediate ſucceſſors (U).

The Scripture mentions nothing as to the death of *Nimrod*; but authors have taken care, that ſuch an eſſential

[m] PETAV. doct. temp. l. xiii. p. 283. [n] HYDE de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 43, 44. [o] SYNCELL. p. 90. [p] Vid. CALMET dict. de la Bible, art. Nemrod. BEDFORD Script. chron. p. 265, 266. [q] TARIKH MONTAKHAB apud D'HERBELOT, art. Nimrod & Noah. [r] See before, p. 277, in the notes. [s] BEN UZHIEL. YARHI, R. DAV. GANZ. in Zemach David.

(T) Many have confounded the *Babylonian* and the *Aſſyrian* empire together, by miſtaking the ſenſe of the text (10), as if both of them had been founded by *Nimrod*; but this point will be diſcuſſed hereafter, when we come to ſpeak of the foundation of the *Aſſyrian* empire.

(U) Some Chriſtian and *Mohammedan* hiſtorians call the moſt antient kings of the *Babylonians*, who ſucceeded *Nimrod*, *Nimaredah*, that is, *Nimrods* (11). Some of the latter ſay, he reigned in *al Sowad* 400 years; and that he was ſucceeded by a prince of the ſame family, called *Nabat Ebn Koud*, who ruled 100 years (12): and ſome of the former tell us, that *Bokhtanſer* [or rather *Bakht Naſr*, which is the name the orientals give to *Nebuchadnezzar* king of *Babylon*] was of his race (13).

(10) *Gen.* x. 11. (11) *Vid. D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. art. Nemrod.* (12) *Abu Mohammed Muſtafa apud Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 42, 43. (13) *Abu'lfarag. hiſt. dyn. p.* 72.

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circumſtance in his hiſtory ſhould not be wanting. Some of the *rabbins* pretend he was ſlain by *Eſau* (W), whom they make his contemporary. There is a tradition, that he was killed by the fall of the tower of *Babel*, which was overthrown by tempeſtuous winds, while *Nimrod* was in it [s]. Others ſay, that as he led an army againſt *Abraham*, GOD ſent a ſquadron of gnats, which deſtroyed moſt of them; and particularly *Nimrod*, whoſe brain was pierced by one of thoſe inſects [t].

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WE now come to the hiſtory of *Shem* and his poſterity; which, for convenience, we have placed laſt, though he was the ſecond ſon of *Noah* by birth, and by prerogative the eldeſt, the right of primogeniture ſeeming to have been lodged in him.

*Of* Shem *and his poſterity to* Abraham.

THE poſterity of *Shem* are twice recited by *Moſes*. In the firſt place [u], he only mentions the names of ſuch of his deſcendants as were concerned in the firſt diſperſions. In the other [w], he deduces the genealogy in the line of *Arphaxad* down to *Abraham*. But the ſacred writer having been more brief in the hiſtory of theſe patriarchs, than in that of the branch of *Ham*, relating nothing farther of any of them than their ages, and the year of their lives wherein they begot their ſons (from whence we are enabled to collect the chronology of this period, and no more); for the reſt we muſt have recourſe to the traditions and conjectures of the *Jewiſh* and Chriſtian writers, where we ſhall not want for matter.

SHEM was born ninety-eight years before the flood; for two years after it, at the birth of *Arphaxad*, he was one hundred years old [x]. We ſhall have given the reader all

[s] ABU'LFARAG. hiſt. dyn. p. 12. [t] HYDE de rel. vet. Perſ. p. 74. See before, p. 278, in the notes. [u] Gen. x. 21. [w] Gen. xi. 10. [x] Ibid.

(W) They tell the following ſtory, as the occaſion of this accident: that the coat which GOD made *Adam*, was with his body in the ark; and that when *Noah* and his ſons quitted that veſſel, *Ham* took it; by which means it afterwards fell to *Nimrod*, who putting it on, all kinds of beaſts and birds came and fell down before him, as thinking him to excel in ſtrength, and made him king over them, according to the text, where he is ſaid to be *a mighty hunter before the* LORD. *Eſau*, ſeeing the coat upon *Nimrod*, conceived ſo ſtrong a deſire for it, that he ſlew him, and ſtripped him of it (14).

(14) *Eliezer Pirke, cap.* 24.

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that is to be found in Scripture concerning this patriarch after the deluge, when we have acquainted him, that he assisted his brother *Japhet* in covering the nakedness of their father [y], and shared in his blessing for so doing: *Blessed be the* GOD *of* Shem, said *Noah*, *and* Canaan *shall be his servant* [z].

IT hath already been observed in what manner this prophecy was accomplished: but there is one thing peculiar in these words of *Noah*, which ought to be taken notice of; and that is, that he blesseth the GOD of *Shem*, and says nothing of that kind with regard to *Japhet*: by which circumstance is plainly intimated, that the knowlege and worship of the true GOD was to be found in the branch of *Shem*; and that, though *Japhet* himself did at that time believe in the true GOD, yet his posterity should quickly fall away from the faith, and worship such gods as did not deserve to be blessed; and therefore *Noah*, who foresaw what would happen, suppressed that short doxology, in giving his blessing to *Japhet*. However, this prophecy seems to have no farther prospect, than till the coming of the Messiah in the line of *Shem*, which was the prime prerogative of that patriarch; for, since that time, most of *Japhet*'s posterity have received the knowlege of the true GOD.

THE *Jews* suppose the tradition of theological truths to have passed from *Noah* to *Shem*, who communicated them to his children; by which means the true religion was preserved in the world. The rabbins pretend, that *Shem* was intrusted with the will of *Noah*, whereby he divided the earth among his three sons; that he went to school to *Methuselah* for threescore and eighteen years, and kept one himself, after the deluge, upon mount *Tabor*, where he taught morality; that he instructed *Abraham* in the ceremonies relating to sacrifices, which that patriarch afterwards observed. They say farther, that GOD gave him the spirit of prophecy an hundred years after the flood, and that he discharged the function of a prophet for the space of four hundred years, without reaping much fruit of his labour, mankind being become greatly corrupted. They attribute also to him the invention of astronomy, together with the manner of computing by months and years [a], and of intercalating the former, having learnt these secrets from

[y] Gen. ix. 23. [z] Gen. ix. 26. [a] SCIP. SGAMBAT. archiv. Vet. Test. lib. i. p. 165. apud Calmet dict. de la Bible, art. Sem.

*Noah* [b]. Thoſe who confound *Shem* with *Melchizedek* (X) aſcribe to him the 109th *Pſalm*, and a treatiſe of phyſic [c] (Y). Some make him to have been the firſt king in the world, and to have founded three cities, one in each of the three parts of the earth, known to the antients (Z).

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THE eaſtern writers ſay, that *Shem*, in purſuance of the directions of *Adam* and *Noah* [d], together with *Melchizedek*, the ſon of *Phaleg*, took *Adam*'s body out of the ark; and, being conducted by an angel, carried it to mount *Calvary*, where they buried it: after which, *Shem*, conſtituting *Melchizedek* the prieſt of GOD, left him behind to attend at the ſepulchre; and pretended, on his return, that

[b] ELIEZER Pirke, c. 8. [c] SCIP. SGAMBAT. archiv. V. T. lib. i. p. 165. [d] See before, p. 167, in the notes.

(X) The Jews, followed by many Chriſtian authors, antient and modern, are of this opinion; which has nothing to countenance it in Scripture: nor is it likely ſo eminent a patriarch would diveſt himſelf, as it were, of the ſovereignty which he held over his own branch, to ſettle in *Canaan*, and become a petty prince within the dominions of another, who was to be his ſervant (2), namely *Ham*. The learned, who were of this opinion, have been led into it by looking on the tradition of the *Jews* as ſome authority (3). Yet, it is ſince the time of *Joſephus*, who ſpeaks of *Melchizedek* only as a *Canaanitiſh* king (4), that they have made him the ſame with *Shem*; which ſeems to have been a notion altogether unknown to St. *Paul* (5). The oriental Chriſtians make *Melchizedek* the ſon of *Phaleg* (6); for the *Septuagint* chronology, which is generally received among them, will not allow him to be the ſame with *Shem*. A learned *Syrian* author, who holds a middle opinion between them and the *Jews*, will have *Melchizedek* to be the ſon of the laſt-mentioned patriarch (7).

(Y) The *Hebrew* manuſcript of this book, we are told, is to be found in the elector of *Bavaria*'s library (8).

(Z) Theſe three cities are; *Sebta* [or *Ceuta*], a maritime town in *Africa* [on the coaſt of *Barbary*], *Salernum* in *Italy*, and *Salem* in *Judea* (9). Others ſay he only laid the foundations of [this laſt, ſuppoſing it to be] *Jeruſalem* (10).

(2) *Gen.* ix. 26. (3) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 174. (4) *Antiq. lib.* i. *cap.* 11. (5) *Heb.* vii. 2. (6) *Ebn. Amid. p.* 13. *Eutych. annal. p.* 50. (7) *Abu'lfarag. hiſt. dynaſt. p.* 10. (8) *Calmet, dict. de la Bible, art. Sem.* (9) *Vid. Scip. Sgambat. arch. Vet. Teſt. lib.* i. *p.* 165. (10) *Shalſh. Hakk. p.* 93, *a.*

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he died by the way, and was buried[e]. Some say, *Shem* interred there no more than the skull of *Adam*, which had been given him by *Noah*[f].

THOSE who seek to reconcile the heathen mythology with the *Mosaic* history, are greatly at a loss, to find among the gods, or heroes, one, who, in name or character, hath any resemblance to *Shem*; and therefore are reduced to that ridiculous shift of making him the god of hell (A).

SHEM, having lived 502 years after the flood, died at the age of 600. He left five sons, *Elam*, *Ashur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*[g]. The more moderate *Persian* historians say, their first king, *Cayumarras*, was a son of *Shem*[h]; meaning, probably, *Elam*, whom *Moses* makes the founder of that nation.

THE Scripture has recorded no one action of any of these sons of *Shem*, except *Ashur*; and the passage relating to him is a very material one, as it fixes the true time of the foundation of the *Assyrian* kingdom. This remarkable fact is related by *Moses*, in these words; *Out of that land* [namely, *Shinaar*] *went forth* Ashur, *and builded* Nineveh, *and the city* Rhoboth, *and* Calah[i], *and* Resen, *between* Nineveh *and* Calah: *the same is a great city*[k]. We are sensible this text is by many applied otherwise, and rendered, according to the marginal reading of our translation, *He went out into* Assyria; as if *Nimrod* was the person spoken of; but we shall shew hereafter, that such a sense

[e] EBN AMID, p. 13. EUTYCH. annal. p. 50. [f] See before, p. 167, in the notes. [g] Gen. x. 22. [h] Vid. D'HERBELOT bibl. orient. art. Sam. [i] Gen. x. 11. [k] Ib. ver. 12.

(A) As those authors, who fansy a resemblance between *Saturn* and *Noah*, have, on account of the similitude of names, made *Ham Jupiter*, and *Japhet Neptune*, *Shem* must of consequence be *Pluto* (4); but such an hypothesis, we think, is not for the honour of that patriarch, any more than another, which supposes him to be *Typhon*: we should have been glad therefore to have known what reasons *Calmet* had to believe, that profane historians intend *Shem* by *Typhon*, whom he owns to have been a famous giant, or male ficent deity (5); and, indeed, was had in great detestation by the *Egyptians*, as a monster of wickedness; having embroiled the nation in a rebellious war, and murdered his brother *Osiris*.

(4) *Vid. Bochart. phaleg. lib. i. cap. 5. art. Sem.*

(5) *See his dict. de la Bible,*

puts

puts a manifeſt force upon the words. As to the epoch of this *Aſſyrian* kingdom, we ſuppoſe it might have been founded about the ſame time with that of *Babel*; that is, 30 years after the diſperſion.

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As to the ſituation of the cities built by *Aſhur*, in order to determine the extent of this firſt *Aſſyrian* kingdom, we find ourſelves more at a loſs than we were with regard to thoſe which compoſed the kingdom of *Babel*. However, we may venture to draw this inference, that, as the number of cities of which each monarchy conſiſted was equal, ſo it is probable their dimenſions were much the ſame; and that the other three cities lay at no great diſtance from *Nineveh*, whoſe ſituation has been, in ſome meaſure, preſerved by tradition (B).

A R-

(B) *Nineveh* is ſuppoſed to have ſtood on the eaſt ſide of the *Dijlat*, or *Tigris*, oppoſite to *Moſul*; at leaſt, the tradition of the country will have it ſo: but there are no ruins to be ſeen there, as there are at old *Babel* (6): though a certain traveller pretends to have diſcovered, and thoroughly viewed ſome remains; by which he judged the city to have been built in form of a long ſquare, in length 150 furlongs, and in breadth 90; which, at eight furlongs to an *Italian* mile, make threeſcore miles in compaſs (7).

The city *Reboboth* is by many ſuppoſed to be *Reheboth*, on the *Euphrates*, the ſame, probably, with that called *Rahabat Malek*, not many miles below the place where the *Khabur* falls into the *Euphrates* (8); and *Reſen* to be the *Reſania* of the antients, in *Meſopotamia*, ſtill in being, and called *Ras alain*, that is, *the head of the fountain*, on account of the many ſprings riſing thereabouts; and, among the reſt, that of the *Khabur*: it is alſo called *Ain Wardah*. But others endeavour to find *Reboboth* and *Reſen* nearer *Nineveh*; and object, that they cannot be *Rahabat* and *Ras alain*, becauſe theſe laſt are not in *Aſſyria*, which lies to the eaſt of *Tigris*. They ſuppoſe, that *Reboboth* is the ſame with the *Birtha* of *Ptolemy*, or *Virtha* of *Ammianus Marcellinus* (9), ſituate at the mouth of the river *Lycus*; from which the preſent ruins of *Nineveh* are not many miles diſtant to the north: and the reaſon they give is, becauſe *Birtha* ſignifies in the *Chaldee* the ſame which *Reboboth* does in the *Hebrew*; that is, *ſtreets*. And, as a confirmation, that theſe names are the ſame, *Ptolemy* alſo places a *Birtha* on the *Euphrates*, about the place where we have ſuppoſed the other *Reboboth* to have ſtood; nor does his placing it above the confluence of the *Khabur* and

(6) *See Thevenot's travels, part* ii. *chap.* 11. *p.* 52. *Rauwolf's travels, part* ii. *chap.* 9. *p.* 188. (7) *See the preacher's travels, p.* 89. (8) *Geog. Nub. clim.* 4. *part* 6. *p.* 199. (9) *Lib.* xx.

*Euphrates*,

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ARPHAXAD, or, as the *Maſoretes* read the name, *Arpachſhad*, the third ſon of *Shem*, had one advantage above the reſt of his brethren, namely, of having the patriarchal line continued through him. Many derive the name, as well as the nation of the *Chaſdim*, or *Chaldeans*, from *Arphaxad* (C); which opinion ſeems more reaſonable

*Euphrates*, inſtead of below it, lay any good objection in the way; ſince *Ptolemy* is full of ſuch faults. It may rather be objected, that *Moſes* ſeems to have given all the cities he mentions, the names they went by in the country where they ſtood, as near as the *Hebrew* orthography would allow: but, in ſuch doubtful caſes, we muſt always make allowances; ſo that *Birtha*, or *Virtha*, may ſtand for *Reboboth*; ſince we cannot find a more likely place.

*Calah*, the next city, is ſuppoſed to be the *Calach*, ſituate about the ſprings of the river *Lycus* (2), mentioned by *Strabo*, as the capital of a province called *Calachene*, which ſeems to be the ſame with *Ptolemy*'s *Calacine*, above *Adiabene*, towards mount *Niphates*. *Bochart* thinks it is the ſame with *Halah*, whither the *Iſraelites* were carried captives (3); the *beth* being ſometimes changed into the *kaph*; of which that author produces ſome inſtances (4).

Could we be ſure of being right as to the ſituation of *Calah*, that of *Reſen* would be found of courſe; for *Moſes* ſays it lay between it and *Nineveh*; which is enough for our purpoſe, without ſuppoſing it to be the *Lariſſa* of *Xenophon*, according to whoſe deſcription, it was a great city (5), as *Reſen* is likewiſe ſaid to have been. The difference of the names may eaſily be accounted for, from the uſage of the *Greeks*, who either could not, or would not, write exotic names properly. But we muſt own *Lariſſa* ſeems to lie too much out of the way to be *Reſen*; for it ſtood on the *Tigris*, to the ſouth of *Nineveh*; whereas it ſhould rather have been ſituate to the northward of that city, and at a diſtance from the river, to lie in the way between *Nineveh* and *Calah*. We may, however, ſuppoſe *Reſen* to have been ſome city in the neighbourhood of thoſe other two, long ſince deſtroyed.

(C) Some rabbins are of this opinion (6). And, if the authority of *Joſephus* be of any weight, he affirms the ſame: *Arphaxad*, ſays he, *gave name to the* Arphaxadæans, *at preſent called* Chaldeans; *whoſe prince he was* (7). He certainly does not mean, as Dr.

(2) *Geog. lib.* xi. *p.* 347, & 365. (3) 2 *Kings* xvii. 6. *and* xviii. 11.
(4) *Vid. phaleg. l.* iv. *cap.* 22. (5) *De exped. Cyri min. l.* iii. *p.* 182.
*in Shalſhel. Hakkab, p.* 93. (7) *Antiq. l.* i. *c.* 7.

*Wells*

able than that which makes *Cheſed*, the ſon of *Nahor*, *Abraham*'s brother, to be the founder of them; though poſſibly the *Chaſdim* had another original; for nothing is mentioned in Scripture concerning it. Some Mohammedan authors make *Arphaxad* both a prophet and an apoſtle, and lodge the chief ſovereignty over the nations of the world in his deſcendants (D). *Arphaxad* was born in the hundredth Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.

*Wells* obſerves (8), that the name *Chaldeans* is derived directly from the name *Arphaxad*; but perhaps he meant, that the true name *Chaſdim* is derived thence; that is to ſay, from כשד, the three laſt letters of *Arpachſhad* (9): and from *Chaſdim*, the *Greeks* have made *Chaldæi* inſtead of *Chaſdæi*, by changing the *ſ* into *l*. And this opinion is more probable, becauſe the *Chaldeans* were not only called *Khaſdim* (10) before *Cheſed* was born (11), but appear to have been a nation when *Abraham* came out of *Ur* of the *Chaſdim* (12); at which time *Cheſed* was neither old, nor conſiderable enough, to have built towns, and founded a nation. And this argument is ſo cogent, that *Bochart*, and others, at the ſame time that they treat this etymology as a chimera, are obliged to fly to the common ſubterfuge on this occaſion, and ſay, that the city of *Ur* is called *Ur of the Chaldees* by a prolepſis (13); which will hardly ſerve in this caſe, for the reaſons already alleged. After all, nothing can be determined as to this point, nor will it be repugnant to Scripture, to deny the derivation of the name of *Khaſdim*, either from *Arphaxad* or *Cheſed*.

Some compound *Arphaxad*'s name of רפא כשד, *rafa Khaſhed*; that is, *the healer, or prelate of* Chaldea; ſuppoſing it to have been given to *Cainan* as a name of dignity (14).

(D) According to a curious, though fabulous Mohammedan tradition, aſcribed to *Ebn Abbas*, *Shem*, being called by *Noah* at day-break, to aſſiſt at morning-prayer, aroſe, and awakened his children; of whom only *Arphaxad* got up, and attended his father to *Noah*, who gave them his benediction, and prayed for them: whereupon God revealed to him, that the gift of prophecy, together with the apoſtleſhip, ſhould be granted to the children of *Shem*, and, in an eſpecial manner, to the family of *Arphaxad* his eldeſt ſon; which gift ſhould neither be taken from them, nor transferred to any other: and that the ſame family ſhould alſo enjoy the prerogative of ſovereignty and empire over the other nations,

(8) *Geog. of the Old Teſt. vol.* i. *p.* 187. (9) *Vid. Lightfoot oper. vol.* i. *p.* 13. (10) *Gen.* xv. 7. (11) *Gen.* xxii. 22. (12) *Gen.* xi. 31. (13) *Vid. phaleg. lib.* ii. *cap.* 4. *Heidegg. hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *p.* 458. §. 43. (14) *Vid. Bolduc de eccleſ. ant. legem, lib.* ii. *cap.* 2.

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hundredth years of his father, two years after the flood[l]; and having begat the succeeding patriarch in the 35th year of his age[m], died, after he had lived, in all, 438 years[n]; which is the sum of what the Scripture relates concerning him; though writers have added several conjectures of their own (E).

WHO this son so begotten by *Arphaxad* was, has occasioned no small dispute among the learned: according to the *Hebrew* and the *Samaritan*, *Salah* was his son; but, in the *Septuagint* version, we find *Cainan* put in between the two, as the son of the first, and father of the latter. This variation not only adds another link to the chain of succession, but alters the chronology of this period, making that of the *Septuagint* to exceed the *Samaritan* by one hundred and thirty years, the age fixed for *Cainan* to have begotten his son. Those who adhere to the *Septuagint*, draw their chief argument from St. *Luke*'s[o] mentioning *Cainan* in his genealogy of CHRIST, which has been already answered[p] (F). However, the *Septuagint* version having

[l] Gen. xi. 10. [m] Ibid. ver. 12. [n] Ibid ver. 13.
[o] Luke iii. 36. [p] Page 258.

which should be divided successively between the *Persians*, the *Greeks*, the *Romans*, and the *Arabs*, to the end of the world (15).

(E) A certain author makes him one of the *Rephaim* (in consequence of the etymology he has given of his name), supposing them to have been believers, and sent by *Noah*, to recal mankind to the worship of GOD; wherefore they were named *Rephaim*; that is, *healers* and *restorers*, to wit, *of souls*. He farther advances, upon no better grounds, that *Cainan*, or *Arphaxad* (whom he makes to be the same), was the founder of the empire of *China*; that the sect of the Bonzes was introduced into *Japan* by him, or his disciples; and that the Brachmans took their rise in *Chaldea*, soon after the arrival of that patriarch in the country of *Etham* (whither he was sent with a colony by *Noah*), about the year of the deluge 68; the chief of which colony was called *Yarcha*; which, in the *Hebrew*, is *Rapha*; that is, a *curator* or *healer* (16).

(F) To the arguments already produced on this head (17) may be added; 1. That *Cainan* was unknown to *Onkelos*, the *Chaldee* paraphrast, *Philo*, and *Josephus*, and to the

(15) *See D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Noub, p.* 677. (16) *Bolduc. de eccles. ant. legem, l.* ii. *cap.* 2. *See before, p.* 176, 177, *in the notes.* (17) *Page* 258.

*Syriac*,

having been received over a great part of the world, *Cainan* passeth for one of the patriarchs, as well as a founder of nations (G) in many countries; and there are more traditions concerning him (H), than of *Salah*, the true son and successor of *Arphaxad*.

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SALAH

*Syriac*, *Persian*, and *Arab* translators, as well as to the author of the *Vulgate*. *Berosus* also, placing *Abraham* in the tenth generation after the flood (18), leaves no room for *Cainan*. *Theophilus Antiochenus* (19), and *Dositheus* (who was contemporary with the apostles themselves), do also omit him, as do the more correct *Greek* writers (20). He is wanting in the *Roman* and *Paris* editions of the *Septuagint*, in a place (21) from whence omissions of this kind are usually supplied; which would scarce have happened, in case there had been such a person. Nor is he to be found in that edition of the *Septuagint* itself, which, having been placed in the *Alexandrian* library of *Cleopatra*, and received in *Egypt*, *Palestine*, and *Syria*, was inserted by *Origen* in his *Hexapla*; and which, according to *Jerom*, was formerly reckoned the only faultless and uncorrupted copy; the other copy, called the *Vulgate*, having been corrupted at the pleasure of antient writers (22). It is true, *Origen* mixed *Theodotion*'s version with the other, but took care to mark with an asterisk what it had less, and with an obelisk what it had more, than the *Alexandrian* MS. which method we see observed by *Procopius Gazæus* (23). The various readings in the several *Greek* copies, as well with regard to the years of *Arphaxad* after the birth of *Cainan*, as to those of *Cainan* after the birth of *Salah*, are no small evidence of corruption in this point (24).

Some of the moderns, to reconcile St. *Luke* with the *Hebrew*, make *Cainan* and *Salah* (25), others, *Arphaxad* and *Cainan*, to be the same person (26).

(G) The *Alexandrian* chronicle (27) derives the *Sarmatians* from *Cainan*; *Eustachius Antiochenus* (28 the *Saggodians*; *George Syncellus* (29), the *Gasspheni*; *Epiphanius* the *Cajani* (30); *Salianus* (31) thinks the river *Caina* in *India* takes its name from him.

(H) Besides the particulars already mentioned, it is said, *Cainan* was the first after the

(18) *Apud Joseph. antiq. lib.* i. *c.* 8. (19) *Lib.* iii. *ad Autolyc.* (20) *Vid. Massæum, lib.* ii. *Perer. in Genes. c.* x. (21) *Vid. Massæum, l.* ii. *Perer. in Genes. c.* x. (22) *Hieronym. epist.* 135. (23) *Vid. Procop. in Genes.* xi. (24) *Vid. Heidegg. hist. patr. tom.* ii. §. 10. *p.* 8. (25) *Herman. contract. Joh. Lucidus Lud. de Dieu. Fr. Gomarus, &c.* (26 *Bolduc. ubi sup.* (27) *Page* 70. *ed. Raderi.* (28) *Apud Heidegg. tom.* ii. *exerc.* 1. §. 12. (29) *Chronogr. p.* 46. (30) *Apud Heidegg. ubi supra.* (31) *Apud eundem ibid.*

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SALAH is the only patriarch concerning whom the Chriſtian writers have obſerved an equal ſilence with *Moſes*. He hath been thought by ſome to be the ſame with the prophet *Saleh*, ſent to preach the true religion to the tribe of *Thamud*, in *Arabia Petræa* [q]; but this perſon appears to have been much later than the patriarch (I).

IT is the general opinion, that the *Hebrews* derive their name from the patriarch *Eber* (K), the ſon of *Salah*; and many of the *Jews* (as well as Chriſtians) attribute to him the honour of being the founder of their name and nation [r] (L). But there is much more appearance, that the name of

[q] HYDE de rel. vet. Perſar. p. 58. D'Herbelot. bibl. orient. art. Salah. [r] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. i. c. 7. SHALSH. HAKK. p. 803. EUTYCH. ann. p. 47.

flood who invented aſtronomy, and that his ſons made a god of him, and worſhipped his image after his death. The founding of the city of *Harran* in *Meſopotamia* is alſo attributed to him; which, it is pretended, he ſo called from a ſon he had of that name (32).

(I) An *Arab* writer makes the prophet *Saleh* to be the ſon of *Aſaf*, the ſon of *Caſſekh*, the ſon of *Hawer*, the ſon of *Khaber*, the ſon of *Thamud*, [the ſon of *Gather*], the ſon of *Aram*, the ſon of *Sem* (33); ſo that he was five generations later than the patriarch *Salah*, who was the third in deſcent from *Noah*. Beſides, the deſtruction of the tribe of *Thamud* was ſubſequent to that of the tribe of *Ad*, to whom the prophet *Hud*, or *Eber*, was ſent, as we learn from one of the commentators (34) on the *koran*; and conſequently *Saleh*, the prophet of the *Thamudites*, muſt be poſterior to *Eber*.

(K) The *Hebrew* word עבר *eber*, ſignifies *beyond*, or ſimply, *a paſſage*: for what reaſon he was ſo called is uncertain: but, if the *Hebrews* were ſo called from him, as moſt imagine, why might it not have been given him prophetically by *Salah*, to denote the future paſſage of his poſterity over the *Euphrates*, into the land of *Canaan*; in the ſame manner as many ſuppoſe *Eber* gave his ſon the name of *Peleg*, foreſeeing the diviſion of the earth, which was to happen towards the middle or end of his life? This patriarch's name is, in ſome verſions, confounded with that of הבר *Heber*, which both occur in one chapter (35).

(L) The maintainers of this opinion bring many arguments to ſupport it, of which two

(32) *Abu'lfarag. hiſt. dynaſt. p.* 11. *D'Herbelot, art. Salah, p.* 740. (33) *Tarikh Montakhab. apud D'Herbelot, ibid. p.* 741. (34) *Hoſſein Waedh. apud D'Herbelot, ibid. p.* 741. (35) 1 *Chron.* viii. 12, 17, 22.

of *Hebrews* was given to *Abraham* and his deſcendants, on account of his paſſing over the rivers in his way from



only ſeem to be of any weight: 1. That a patriarch of that name being found among the anceſtors of the *Jews*, it is reaſonable to believe they derived their name from him. 2. That *Shem* is expreſly ſaid to be *the father of all the children of Eber* (36).

To the firſt of theſe it is anſwered, that as *Moſes* intimates nothing that way, the bare affinity of the name is not ſufficient to determine the point in favour of that opinion. And as for what they allege, either of the ſuperior piety and merit of *Eber* above the other patriarchs, or of the *Hebrew* language being peculiarly ſpoken or preſerved by him and his poſterity, it is not only begging the queſtion, there being no foundation in Scripture for thoſe ſuppoſitions, but may be preſumed to be falſe as to the firſt (ſince he cannot be ſuppoſed to have been more pious than *Shem*), as it appears to be with regard to the laſt (37), the *Hebrew* having been ſpoken by nations which were not of his poſterity.

To the ſecond argument it is replied, that the word *Eber*, in the before-mentioned text, has not reſpect to a perſon, but to place; and conſequently, that the words do not ſignify the children of the patriarch *Eber*, but the people who dwelt on one ſide or other of the river; meaning thereby, either the *Euphrates*, or *Tigris*, or both; which parts were the ſeat of *Shem*'s poſterity. To enforce which acceptation, it may be farther obſerved, that if *Eber* be taken here as a proper name, then, under the deſignation of his children, muſt be comprehended not only the *Hebrews* properly ſo called, deſcended from him by *Peleg*, and the *Arabs*, who were *Joktan*'s poſterity, and ſettled on this ſide of the river, but alſo thoſe who remained on the other ſide of the river, either in *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, or *Elymais*: but it could never be *Moſes*'s meaning, to make *Shem* the father of *Eber*'s children in this ſenſe; which ſeems to have nothing in view; being too extended to illuſtrate any thing relating particularly to the *Hebrews* or *Jews*, and too limited to reflect any honour on *Shem*, who was the father of many nations, and ſome more conſiderable than thoſe deſcended from *Eber*. Nothing therefore ſeems to favour this opinion, unleſs it may be ſaid, that *Moſes*, in this place, had a mind to pay a compliment to all the poſterity of *Eber* in general, on account of the relation they bore to the *Jews*, as being collateral branches of the ſame anceſtor. But this point we ſhall more critically examine, when we come to the hiſtory of *Abraham*.

(36) *Geneſ.* x. 21.

(37) *See the next note.*

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*Irak*, or *Chaldea*, into *Syria*[s]: so that a *Hebrew* should signify nothing else, in the original sense of the word, than a man from beyond the *Euphrates*.

In consequence of the same opinion, it has been commonly believed by the antients, as well as moderns, that the *Hebrew* language also took its name from *Eber*, and that, at the confusion of tongues, it remained solely in the family of that patriarch, and his descendants[t] (M): but, as the first part of this assertion hath no better ground than the former opinion; so the latter is false in fact, the *Hebrew* language having been common to people who had no affinity with the family of *Eber*; as the *Phœnicians*, or *Canaanites*, who, in the time of *Abraham*, spoke *Hebrew*, or a language differing very little from it.

The building of *Babel* is referred to the time of *Eber*, just before the birth of his son *Peleg*, in the 34th year of his age, and of the flood 101, according to the *Hebrew* calculation. But some of the rabbins, and Christian fathers, who refer that event to a subsequent part of *Peleg*'s life, say, *Eber* gave him that name prophetically, to denote a division of the earth, which was to happen some time after; and, accordingly, reckon *Eber* a prophet, chiefly upon that account[u].

[s] Vid. Abu'lfarag. p. 11. Hyde, de rel. vet. Persar. p. 47, &c. [t] Vid. Ebn Amid, p. 14. Shalsh. Hakk. p. 803. [u] Zemach Dav. part. i. p. 6. Seder Olam, cap. i. p. 2. Yarhi ad Genes. x. 25. Hieron. in quæst. Hebr. in Genes. Chrysost. hom. xxx. in Genes.

(M) The confusion of tongues having been considered as a punishment of the temerity of those who undertook to build *Babel*; many authors, possessed with high sentiments of *Eber*, have presumed, that the posterity of that patriarch, who was destined by God to be the stock of the holy people, and the depository of the true religion, had no share in that enterprize, nor, consequently, in the punishment which attended it. But if *Eber*'s children were not concerned in it, it must have been because none of them were grown up to an age capable of assisting in that work; the dispersion having happened at the birth of *Peleg*, who is, by many, supposed to have been *Eber*'s eldest son. For it seems to be incontestable, that all the descendants of *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were concerned in that building (38). However, it is plain, *Eber*'s posterity shared in the punishment, for their language was divided; witness the difference between the *Arabic* (the language of *Joktan*'s posterity) and the *Hebrew*; not to mention the *Chaldee*.

(38) *See sect.* iv.

Till

THIS this time, all mankind lived in a body together, and ſpoke one language; but GOD, being offended at the building of that city and tower, confounded their ſpeech, and diſperſed them abroad, in order to people and plant the earth. But what particular language the firſt was, in what manner it was confounded, together with an account of the whole tranſaction relating to the building of *Babel*, and the diſperſion of mankind, muſt hereafter be the ſubject of different ſections. Year of flood 350. Bef. Chr. 1998.

THE original of idolatry, by image-worſhip, is, by many, attributed to the age of *Eber* (N), though moſt of the fathers place it no higher than that of *Serug*; which ſeems to be the more probable opinion, conſidering that, for the firſt hundred and thirty-four years of *Eber*'s life, all mankind dwelt in a body together; during which time it is not reaſonable to ſuppoſe idolatry broke in upon them; then ſome time muſt be allowed, after the diſperſion, for the ſeveral nations, which were but ſmall at the beginning, to increaſe, and ſettle themſelves: ſo that if idolatry was introduced in *Eber*'s time, it muſt have been towards the end of his life, and could not well have prevailed ſo univerſally, and with that obſtinacy, which is imagined by authors. However, the *Arabs* have a tradition that *Hud* (O), who is generally ſuppoſed to have been the ſame perſon with *Eber*, was ſent to preach to one of their antient tribes, named *Ad*, who had corrupted themſelves with the worſhip of idols, and were afterwards almoſt totally de-

(N) Dr. *Hyde* thinks, idolatry may, by numerous arguments, be proved to have begun as high as the times of *Eber* and *Salah*, who preached to their countrymen, the idolatrous *Arab* tribes of *Ad* and *Thamud* (39). But we have already obſerved, that the apoſtle of the *Thamudites* was much later than the patriarch *Salah*; and the miſſion of *Eber* is not an authority to build upon.

(O) It ſeems as if the *Arabs* had ſome notion of the *Hebrews* being ſo called from *Eber*; and therefore from the other name of that nation, *viz. Jews*, which they pronounce *Hud* and *Yehud*, they have given this prophet the name of *Hud* alſo.

*Schickard*, on the credit of two authors, one an *Arab*, who places *Hud* between *Salah* and *Eber*; and the other a *Turk*, who ſets him between *Arphaxad* and *Eber*; conjectures, *Hud* is *Cainan* (40). But this is againſt the current of *Mohammedan* writers, who make him the ſon of *Salah* (41), and the ſame with *Eber* (42).

(39) *Hyde de rel. vet. Perſ. p.* 58. (40) *Schickard tarikh regum Perſiæ.* (41) *Tarikh montakh apud D'Herbelot, bibl. orient. art, Houd.* (42) *Vid. Ebn Amid, p.* 14. *Eutych. annal. p.* 46.

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ſtroyed for not hearkening to him [w]. They alſo ſay, he ended his days in the province of *Hadramaut*, where they ſtill pretend to ſhew his ſepulchre, near *Merbat*, and within two miles of *Haſec*, a port on the *Indian* ſea: there is a ſmall town built about it, which is now called *Kabr Hud*, or *the ſepulchre of* Hud [x].

EBER is ſuppoſed, by many, to have built *Hebron* in *Canaan*, and *Tanis* in *Egypt:* but thoſe are groundleſs imaginations [y]. Some refer the golden age to the time of him and his ſon *Peleg* [z]: and, indeed, if we can ſuppoſe there ever was ſuch a pacific and innocent ſtate on this ſide the flood, it is moſt likely to have been in the days of *Noah* and his three ſons [a], that is, during the time their poſterity continued in their firſt habitation, before their removal to *Shinaar*, and a while after the diſperſion, which, probably, gave it a ſhort interruption.

EBER had two ſons, *Peleg* and *Joktan*; *Peleg* was born juſt after the diſperſion happened, on which occaſion, that name (P) was given him. Venerable *Bede* affirms, that temples were firſt built in his days; and that ſeveral of the chiefs of nations were worſhipped for gods. On the death of this patriarch, we are told, that contention aroſe between his ſons and thoſe of his brother *Joktan*; whereupon men began to build caſtles for their defence [b].

THE Scripture mentions only one ſon of *Peleg*'s, beſides which, the orientals have given him another, mentioned in Scripture, though not as *Peleg*'s ſon; namely, *Melchiſedek* [c]. They ſay, he begat him two hundred and nine years after the birth of his brother [d], which is a more rational opinion, though perhaps no better grounded, than that of the *Jews*, who make him to be the ſame with *Shem*. Of this perſon we have already related ſome particulars, and may have occaſion to ſay more hereafter.

[w] Vid. POCOCK. ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 36. D'HERBELOT. bibl. orient. art. Houd. [x] Vid. D'HERBELOT, ibid. art. Cabar Houd. [y] Vid. HEIDEG. hiſt. patr. tom. ii. p. 11, 13. [z] Vid. GORDON chron. lib. ii. cap. 2. [a] Vid. BOCHART. phaleg. lib. i. cap. 1. [b] ABU'LFARAG. p. 12. [c] EBN AMID, p. 28. EUTYCH. annal. p. 48. [d] EBN AMID, ibid.

(P) The name פלג *Peleg*, or *Phaleg*, ſignifies *diviſion*. The diviſion of the earth, and diſperſion of mankind, was, doubtleſs, the ſame tranſaction; though ſeveral authors make two of them, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

JOKTAN

JOKTAN is generally ſuppoſed to have been *Peleg*'s elder brother, upon a preſumption, that he and his thirteen ſons were leaders of colonies, at the diſperſion of *Babel* [e]. They are, indeed, mentioned at the ſame time with the other heads of nations; and are, doubtleſs, to be included amongſt thoſe *by whom*, it is ſaid, *the nations were divided in the earth after the flood* [f]: but we do not think it follows from thence, that they muſt have been leaders in that firſt diſperſion, in caſe their ages would allow it. Beſides, by that means, we ſhould not only poſtpone the time of that tranſaction, which ſeems to be neceſſarily connected with the birth of *Peleg*, but introduce five generations in the line of *Shem* as concerned in it, which are two more than we find of the deſcendants of *Ham* and *Japhet*; and therefore we have reſerved them for a ſecond remove, or plantation.

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THE Scripture gives to *Joktan* thirteen ſons; whereas the *Arabs*, who derive their original from *Joktan*, or, as they more uſually call him, *Kahtan*, aſſign him one and thirty by the ſame mother, of whom all but two, leaving *Arabia* (R), went and ſettled in *India* [g]. *Yarab*, the elder of the two who ſtayed, ſucceeded his father in the kingdom of *Yaman*, or *Arabia Felix*, and gave his name to that country, as well as to the *Arabic* language, which he firſt ſpoke [h]. *Jorham*, the younger, founded the kingdom of *Hejaz* [i], which contained part of *Arabia Petræa*, and other territories.

WE find little ſaid concerning the three ſucceeding patriarchs, *Reu* (S), *Serug*, and *Nahor*: however, ſome authors refer the founding of certain kingdoms and cities (T); the invention

[e] EBN AMID, p. 28. EUTYCH. annal. p. 48. [f] Geneſ. x. 32. [g] AHMED EBN YUSEF, apud Pocock. ſpec. hiſt. Arab. p. 40. [h] POCOCK. ibid. p. 40, 55, 151. [i] Idem ibid. p. 40, 78.

(R) *D'Herbelot* mentions four other ſons of *Kahtan*, namely, *Hadramaut* (the ſame with *Hazarmaveth*), *Seba*, *Oſir*, and *Khawilah*, or *Havilah* (42).

(S) According to the different pronunciation of the ע, this patriarch's name is variouſly written, *Reu*, and *Ragau*; and, by prefixing an א, ſometimes *Eru*, and *Argau*.

(T) The building of *Babel* is, by ſome, placed in the ſeventieth year of *Reu* (43), and the beginning of *Nimrod*'s reign in his hundred and thirtieth

(42) *D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Saba & Hegiaz.* (43) *Abu'lfarag. p.* 12.

About

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invention of several arts (U); the spreading of idolatry (W); and

(44). About the same time, others fix the founding of the kingdom of *Egypt*, and the city of *Memphis* by *Mizraim* (45); of the city of *Saba*, in *Arabia Felix*, by a certain queen (46); of the kingdom of *Bohemia*, and its metropolis *Prague* (47); and of the kingdom of the *Amazons* (48): but these last are idle imaginations of the *Jews*. With more probability, though, perhaps, equal foundation, others attribute the building of *Rages*, in *Media*, to *Reu* himself (49); as that of *Saruj*, the capital of *Diyar Modar* (50), might be to his son *Serug*, who is supposed to have dwelt in the place where that city now stands (51). In *Nahor*'s time, we are told, that *Armunes*, a king of *Canaan*, built *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and *Zoar*; to the two first of which he gave the names of his two sons, and to the last that of their mother (52).

(U) It is pretended, that the first mint for coining, and the first foundery for gold and silver ornaments, were erected in the days of *Reu* (53). Others attribute this invention to *Terah* (54); as that of coining gold and silver is ascribed to *Serug* (55). Weights and measures are said to have been invented by *Samirus*, king of the *Chaldeans*, in the days of the same patriarch (56), though the use of them seems not to have been instituted till *Nahor*'s time (57). The art of weaving silks, and of dying, is also attributed to the said king (58).

(W) Though the generality of authors, and, particularly, of the fathers, agree to place the origin of idolatry in the time of *Serug* (59), whom some suppose to be the introducer of it, erroneously making him (if he be not a different person from the patriarch) of the race of *Japhet* (60: yet others make it more early (61)); and it is said, that, in *Reu*'s days, mankind was fallen into various kinds of false worship; some adoring the heaven, others the celestial bodies, others animals and plants, others the images of their deceased friends (62). About the same time, also, the custom of mens sacrificing their children to devils is pretended to have been introduced on the following occasion: A certain rich man dying, his son made a

(44) *Ebn Amid*, p. 29. (45) *Idem ibid. Midrash*, sect. אמור. (46) *Ebn Amid, ubi supra.* (47) *R. David Ganz. in Zem. Dav.* p. 4. *Juchasin*, p. 135. (48) *Shalshel. Hakkab.* p. 94, 95. (49) *Hyde de rel. vet. Pers.* p. 55. (50) *Geogr. Nubiens.* p. 203. (51) *Hyde, ubi sup.* p. 57. (52) *Abu'lfarag.* p. 13. (53) *Ebn Amid*, p. 30. (54) *Shalsh. Hakkab.* p. 94, a. (55) *Abu'lfarag.* p. 12. (56) *Idem ibid.* (57) *Ebn Amid*, p. 30. *Eutych. annales*, p. 63. (58) *Abu'lfarag. ubi supra.* (59) *Joh. Damasc. Epiphan. panar. l.* i. *Chronic. Alex.* p. 113. *Abu'lfarag.* p. 12. *Eutych. annal.* p. 56. *Vid. etiam Hyde de rel. vet. Pers.* p. 57. *Heideg. hist. patr. tom.* ii. *exerc.* 1. §. 32. *Gurtler. hist. univ.* p. 93. (60) *Euseb. chron. Græc.* p. 13. *Cedren. compend. hist.* p. 36. *Suidas in voce* Σερούχ. *Malela chron.* p. 94, &c. (61) *See* p. 295. (62) *Ebn Amid*, p. 29. *Eutych.* p. 59.

golden

and ſome other particulars, of leſs moment (X); to their times.

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TERAH, the ſon of *Nahor*, was the father of *Abraham*, the founder of the *Hebrew* or *Jewiſh* nation. The Scripture informs us, that *Terah*, after the ſeventieth year of his age, begat three ſons, *Abram*, *Nahor*, and *Haran* [k]. But of theſe ſons, *Haran* only, who was the eldeſt, at leaſt much older than *Abram*, was born in that year; and the other two, probably, much later [l], and, as is ſuppoſed, by a different mother [m]. *Haran* died in his native country,

Abraham born.

[k] Geneſ. xi. 26. [l] See before, p. 256. [m] Vid. HEIDEG. hiſt. patr. tom. ii. exerc. 3. §. 3.

golden ſtatue in repreſentation of him, and placed it on his tomb, ſetting a ſervant to watch it. Some time after, the ſon was robbed of all he had, and, coming to make his complaints at his father's ſepulchre, the devil ſpoke out of the image, and promiſed to reſtore him all he had loſt, if he would offer his youngeſt ſon as a ſacrifice to him, and bathe himſelf in his warm blood; which he did, and, thereupon, the devil, coming out of the image, entered into the young man, and taught him magic. But, at length, this practice of human ſacrifices growing frequent, GOD ſent a violent earthquake, the firſt of the kind, with a whirlwind, which broke all their idols in pieces, and overthrew their temples (63). The riſe of the *Sabian* religion, is, by ſome, referred to the age of *Nahor* (64).

(X) The oriental authors mention a king called *Karun*, who reigned in the days of *Reu*, but ſay not where. They pretend, he was a famous chymiſt, and built a city called *Ukiſh* (65), or *Ukinin* (66), with bricks of gold. But this ſeems to be the ſame perſon whom the *Mohammedans* make coeval with *Moſes*, and the *Korah* of the Scriptures. We are alſo told, that, in the time of *Serug*, a king of *Egypt*, called *Afifanus*, built a ſhip, and invaded the inhabitants of the ſea-coaſt; and that he was ſucceeded by *Pharaoh*, the ſon of *Sanes*, from whom the *Pharaohs* were denominated (67): that the giants began to increaſe in *Nahor*'s time; of whom one was *Ad*, a famous king of the *Arabs* (68); and another, *Helen*, who aſſiſted at the building of the tower of *Babel*, and was worſhipped by the *Greeks* (69): and that the troubles of *Job* happened in the twenty-fifth year of the laſt-mentioned patriarch (70).

(63) *Eutych.* p. 63. *Ebn Amid*, p. 30. (64) *Eutych.* p. 63. (65) *Ebn Amid*, p. 30. (66) *Eutych. annales*, p. 60. (67) *Abu'lfarag.* p. 12. (68) *Ebn Amid, ubi ſupra. Eutych. annales*, p. 63. (69) *Suidas in voce* Σερούχ. (70) *Arudb. Cananæus apud Abu'lfarag.* p. 13.

in

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in *Ur* of the *Chaldees* (Y), before his father, leaving a son named *Lot*, and two daughters, one named *Milcah*, and the other *Iscah* [n]. *Nahor* married *Milcah*, his niece, and *Abram Sarai*, his half-sister [o].

TERAH, who is generally supposed to be the same whom the *Asiatics* call *Azer* (Z), is, on all hands, allowed to

[n] Genes. xi. 27, 28, 29.

[o] Ibid. ver. 29, and xx. 12.

(Y) Several writers taking *Ur*, which signifies *fire*, for an appellative, pretend, that *Haran* was burnt; some saying, that that accident happened as he endeavoured to take the images of *Terah* out of the fire, into which *Abraham* had thrown them (71). Others, as he attempted to quench the flames of an idol-temple which *Abraham* had set on fire (72). A third party say, that *Abraham* being thrown by *Nimrod* into a burning furnace, *Haran* was intent upon the event, resolving to follow the religion which prevailed; and, seeing his brother come out unhurt by the flames, upon *Nimrod*'s demanding whom he believed in, *Haran* replied, in the GOD of *Abraham*: whereupon he was cast into the furnace, and *died in the presence of his father*, as the rabbins express (73) what our translation renders *before his father*. It is said, the fire had power over him, because his faith was not so strong as *Abraham*'s, nor was he destined to so great things (74). *Epiphanius* says, that *Terah*'s surviving *Haran*, was a punishment for his daring to make images of clay; and that, before him, no father had seen his children die a natural death (75). *Josephus* affirms, that *Haran*'s sepulchre was to be seen at *Ur* in his time (76).

(Z) Some of the *Mohammedan* authors write, that *Azer* was the father of *Abraham*, and son of *Terah* (77); and *D'Herbelot* says, that the *Arabs* always distinguish them in their genealogies as two different persons; but that because *Abraham* was the son of *Terah*, according to *Moses*, it is therefore supposed [by *European* writers], that he is the same with the *Azer* of the *Arabs* (78). How true this observation may be, in relation to some authors, we cannot say; but we are sure it cannot be true of all: for several *Arab* and *Turkish* writers expressly make *Azer* and *Terah* the same person (79). *Azer*, in antient times, was the name of the

(71) *Cedrenus apud Bayle dict. hist. art. Abraham, rem. B.* (72) *Abu'l-farag. hist. dyn. p.* 13. (73) *Ben Uzziel ad Gen.* xi. 28. *Maimon. Yad Hazzak. & de idololat. cap.* 1. *Shalshel. Hakkab. p.* 8. (74) *Judæi apud Lyranum & Tostatum, citante Saliano annal. tom.* i. *p.* 402. (75) *Epiphanius de hæres. lib.* i. *p.* 8. (76) *Antiq. lib.* i. *cap.* 6. (77) *Tarikh Montakhab apud D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Abraham, p.* 12. (78) *D'Herbelot ibid.* (79) *Ebn Shohnah, Mirat Kainat, &c. MS. See also Pharhang Gehanghiri apud Hyde de rel. vet. Pers. p.* 68.

planet

to have been an idolater: nor can this be denied, since he is expressly said, in Scripture, to have served other gods [p]. The eastern authors unanimously agree, that he was a statuary, or carver of idols: and he is represented as the first who made images of clay, pictures only having been in use before [q]; and taught that they were to be adored as gods [r]: however, we are told, his employment was a very honourable one, and that he was a great man (A); that, at length, he was converted, by the earnest persuasions of *Abraham* (B), and prevailed upon to leave *Ur*. *Josephus* says,

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[p] Josh. xxiv. 2, 14. [q] Epiphan. adverss. hæres. lib. i. p. 7, 8. [r] Suidas in lexico, voce Σεξούχ.

planet *Mars*, and the month of *March* was so called by the most antient *Persians*: for the word originally signifying *fire* (as it still does), it was therefore given by them, and the *Chaldeans*, to that planet (80); which partaking, as was supposed, of a fiery nature, was acknowleged, by the *Chaldeans* and *Assyrians*, as a god, or planetary deity, whom they antiently worshipped under the form of a pillar: whence *Azer* became a name among the nobility, who esteemed it honourable to be denominated from their gods (81); and is found in the composition of several *Babylonish* names. For these reasons, a learned author supposes *Azer* to be the heathen name of *Terah*; and that the other was given him on his conversion (82).

(A) The eastern authors say, *Azer* was a great lord, and in high favour with *Nimrod*, whose son-in-law he was (83), because he made his idols for him, in which art he excelled all others. This employment was very honourable among the *Chaldeans*, the person who followed it being considered as the maker of gods: for it required profound skill in astrology to chuse the proper materials, and fix the proper time, for that work; every kind of wood, as well as stones and metals, being, by the *Chaldeans*, dedicated to its peculiar planet, of whose influence it was thereby believed to participate, more than any other: and an idol thus formed, under a happy position of the heavens, and of the matter appropriated to such a planet, was conceived to be rightly prepared, and made according to art (84). Some of the rabbins say, *Terah* was a priest, and the chief of them (85).

(B) *Mohammedan* authors

(80) *Hyde ibid. p.* 63. (81) *Idem ibid. p.* 64. (82) *Idem ibid. p.* 62. (83) *D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Abraham.* (84) *D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Abraham, p.* 63. (85) *Shalshel. Hakkab. p.* 94.

relate,

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says, he quitted *Chaldea*, being not able to endure the country, after the loss of his son *Haran*[s]. Some would have it, that he did not become an idolater till he was settled at *Haran*[t], which is absurd[u]: and others say, he never was converted[x], any more than his son *Nahor*, who afterwards left *Ur*, to join his father at *Haran*[y]; which seems, from him, to be called the city of *Nahor*[z]: but there is more probability, that both *Nahor* and *Haran* were converted; seeing *Lot* was bred in the true religion, and *Abraham* chose *Isaac* a wife out of the family of *Nahor*; not caring to matry him to the idolatrous daughters of *Canaan*[a]. Wherefore a learned author supposes *Nahor* and *Haran* to have been the names given to those two brothers at the time of their conversion[b].

HOWEVER, *Terah*, towards the latter part of his life, designing to remove from *Chaldea* into the land of *Canaan*, took his son *Abram*, and *Sarai* his daughter-in-law, and his grandson *Lot*, and, leaving *Ur*, came to *Haran*, a city in the north-west parts of *Mesopotamia*; where, having

[s] Antiq. lib. i. cap. 7. [t] TOSTAT. apud Pererium in Genes. cap. xi. [u] Vid. BAYLE dict. art. Abraham, rem. C. [x] CHRYSOST. hom. xxxi, & xxxvii. [y] AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. xvi. cap. 13. [z] Compare Gen. xxiv. 10. with Gen. xxvii. 43. and xviii. 10. [a] Gen. xxiv. 3. [b] HYDE de rel. vet. Pers. p. 62.

relate, that *Abraham* often advised his father to forsake the worship of images, asking how he could worship that which neither heard, nor saw, nor did him any good (86): that this offending *Terah*, he was often ready to fall from words to blows; but that, at length, *Abraham* got the better of his father's obstinacy, refusing to pray for him until he promised to become a convert (87): for while he was an enemy to GOD, he was an enemy, also, to *Abraham* (88). The *Jews* say, he repented (89); and it is thought to have been owing to the merit thereof, as well as of his son *Abraham*, that the chain of the oral law descended from *Adam* to him, and thence to his son *Abraham* (90). There is some ground to think *Terah* was converted by *Abraham*'s persuasions, because he travelled with him from *Ur* to *Haran*, in order to go into *Canaan* (91).

(86) *Shahristani ex alkorano*, c. xix. ver. 39. *apud Hyde de rel. vet. Persar.* p. 68. (87) *Al koran*, c. ix. ver. 116. (88) *Hyde ubi supra.* (89) *Shalshel. Hakkab.* p. 94. (90) *Zoar. apud Hottinger. in smegm. orient.* lib. i. p. 280. (91) *Hyde ubi sup.* p. 59.

dwelt

dwelt for ſome time, he died, being two hundred and five years old. Year of flood 352. Year before Chriſt 1996.

THUS have we collected, in the beſt method we could, what we have found worth notice, from writers of various times, religions, and countries, relating to the poſtdiluvian patriarchs. In the next ſection we ſhall proceed to give part of the fragments of a heathen author, whoſe hiſtory is ſuppoſed to relate to the earlieſt times of this period.

## SECT. III.

### *The hiſtory of* Sanchoniatho *after the flood.*

HAVING in a preceding ſection brought down the *Phœnician* hiſtory of *Sanchoniatho* to the tenth generation, which probably periſhed in the flood, though he takes no notice of that great event; we ſhall here reſume the thread of his narration: premiſing only, that, according to the plauſible hypotheſis which we have formerly mentioned (C), that writer proceeds to continue the idolatrous line of *Cain*, by perſons taken out of the line of *Noah*, and annexing them as ſons to *Amynus* and *Magus*, the laſt of that race. Sancho-niatho's hiſtory continued.

FROM

(C) Biſhop *Cumberland*, ſuſpecting the *Phœnician* records to have been corrupted in this place, has propoſed an amendment of them (92): He ſuppoſes a diſlocation in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth generations, either thro' neglect in tranſcribers, or rather purpoſely made by the *Cabiri*, who wrote thoſe records, to conceal the great judgment of the flood, which ſwept away the race of *Cain* (93), and of which, for that reaſon, they have ſuppreſſed all mention (94). To ſupport this opinion, he alleges, 1. That *Sydyc* and *Miſor* could not be the children of *Amynus* and *Magus*, becauſe the tenth generation in the line of *Genus* or *Cain*, wherein thoſe two laſt perſons are placed, muſt have been drowned in the flood, together with ſuch children as might then be born of them (95), anſwering to *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*. 2. That *Sydyc* being *Melchizedek*, whom he takes to be *Shem*, and *Cronus Ham*, it was neceſſary to

(92) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 43. (93) *Ibid. p.* 49. (94) *Ibid. p.* 47. 177. (95) *Ibid. p.* 41, 677.

join

*Genera-tion* XI.

FROM theſe men, ſays he, were begot *Miſor* (D) and *Sydyc* join them both together under the line of *Uranus*, which *Sanchoniatho* owns to be diſtinct from that of *Genus* (96). 3. That *Miſor* being manifeſtly *Mizraim*, the ſon of *Ham* or *Cronus*, there is a neceſſity of placing him one generation lower than he is placed in *Sanchoniatho*, *viz.* in the twelfth (97); and that, without this change, the beginning of the *Egyptian* kingdom would be placed too near the flood (98). 4. That *Japhet* being ſtill wanting to make up the three ſons of *Noah*, and *Nereus* being the only perſon in *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies which anſwers the Scripture account of him, he has joined him to *Sydyc* and *Cronus* in the line of *Uranus* (99). But the alterations will better appear, by giving the reader a table of *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies, from the place where the biſhop's corrections begin; referring him for our remarks on the ſcheme itſelf to the ſucceeding notes.

*The two lines, as they ſtand in* SANCHONIATHO.

| SETH's line. | | CAIN's line. |
|---|---|---|
| 9. *Eliun* or *Hypſiſtus*, | *Agrus*, | *Agrouerus*, |
| 10. *Uranus*, | *Amynus*, | *Magus*, |
| 11. *Cronus*, | *Miſor*, | *Sydyc*, |
| 12. | *Thoth*, | *Cabiri* or *Dioſcuri*, |
| 13. | | The ſons of the *Dioſcuri*. |

SETH's *line in* SANCHONIATHO, *corrected.*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 9. *Eliun* or *Hypſiſtus*, | | |
| 10. *Uranus*, | | |
| 11. *Sydyc* or *Shem*, | *Cronus* or *Ham*, | *Nereus* or *Japhet*, |
| 12. *Cabiri* or *Dioſcuri*, | *Miſor*, | *Pontus*, |
| 13. The ſons of the *Dioſcuri*, | *Thoyth*, | *Poſidon* or *Neptune*. |

(D) This perſon Dr. *Cumberland* takes to be the *Mizraim* of the Scripture, and the *Menes* of the *Egyptians*, for theſe reaſons: 1. He ſuppoſes *Miſor* to be the ſingular of *Mizraim*, the firſt king of *Egypt* according to the *Hebrews*, as *Menes* is according to the *Egyptians* (1). 2. That *Eratoſthenes*, in *Syncellus* and *Scaliger*'s *Euſebius* (2), affirms *Menes* to be *Meſtraim*, as the *Greeks* write the name of *Mizraim*.

(96) *Ibid. p.* 47. (97) *Ibid. p.* 48. (98) *Ibid. p.* 49. (99) *Ibid. p.* 257, 258, 259. (1) *Ibid. p.* 45, 55. (2) *Chron. Græc. p.* 17.

*Sydyc* (E), *i. e. Well-freed*, and *Juſt*: theſe found out the uſe of ſalt.

FROM *Miſor* came *Taautus* (F), who found out the writing of the firſt letters; whom the *Egyptians* call *Thoor*, the *Generation* XII.

*raim* (3). 3. That *Thoth* was the ſon of *Menes*, as well as of *Miſor*, and the ſecond king of *Egypt* (4). 4. That *Miſor* and *Menes* lived at the ſame time; and, 5. Died the ſame violent death (5). We ſhall conſider this opinion, which we take to be abſolutely untenable, in another place; and ſhall only obſerve at preſent, that we cannot find *Eratoſthenes* has affirmed any ſuch thing, as that *Menes* is *Meſtraim*; which is the mere imagination of thoſe authors who have tranſcribed him.

As to the tranſlation which *Philo* gives of the name *Miſor*, Εὐλυσὴς, or *well-freed*, *Bochart* derives it from the *Syriac Meſro*; but biſhop *Cumberland* rather thinks the notion of freedom to be conſequent to his name, which he ſuppoſes to ſignify a prince, from the root עצר *aſar*, to *rule* or *reſtrain*, by addition of the ſervile *mem* (6) [though to effect this the firſt radical muſt be thrown out]; freedom from any coercive power being the conſequent of his dominion and ſuperiority (7).

(E) *Sydyc* the biſhop ſuppoſes to be *Melchizedek*, and *Melchizedek Shem* (8). All the arguments he brings in favour of the firſt ſuppoſition, is, that *Grotius* (9) affirms *Melchizedek* to be *Sydyc* (10), probably on account of the ſimilitude of the names, *Sydyc* or *Sedec* ſignifying *juſt*, and *Melchizedek* the *juſt king*. Nor does he bring any proof that *Melchizedek* is *Shem*: he only ſays, that he thinks the objections againſt that opinion are ſufficiently anſwered (11) by other authors; ſo that he produces no reaſon to ſupport theſe two opinions, on which his ſyſtem is chiefly grounded. If it be objected, that *Miſor* and *Sydyc* were the ſons of *Amynus* and *Magus*, he anſwers, that *Sydyc* was not the ſon of thoſe perſons, but brother to *Ham* or *Cronus*, and ſon to *Noah* (12); and that the *Cabiri*, who had corrupted the records by ſuppreſſing all mention of the flood (13), have taken the righteous king *Sedec* or *Melchizedek* (14), with *Miſor*, and their children the *Cabiri* and *Thoth*, and placed them in *Cain*'s line, being willing to transfer all the honour gained by them to the family in which their falſe religion began; for which *Sydyc*'s [or *Melchizedek*'s] living in *Canaan* might furniſh a pretence (15).

(F) *Taaut* or *Thoth* is thought to be *Athothes*, the ſon of *Menes*, and the ſecond king of *Egypt*,

(3) *Cumberl. ubi ſup. p.* 54, 185. (4) *Ibid. p.* 44, 55. (5) *Ibid. p.* 55. (6) *Ibid. p.* 98. (7) *Ibid. p.* 179. (8) *Ibid. p.* 47, 173. (9) *In not. ad Heb.* vii. 1. (10) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 174. (11) *Ibid. p.* 175. (12) *Ibid. p.* 47. (13) *Ibid. p.* 47, 177. (14) *Ibid. p.* 47. (15) *Ibid. p.* 178.

the *Alexandrians Thoyth*, and the *Greeks Hermes*: but from *Sydyc* came the *Dioſcuri*, or *Cabiri* (G), called alſo *Corybantes*, and *Samothraces*. Theſe firſt invented the building a complete ſhip.

*Generation* XIII. OF theſe others came, who found out herbs, the cure of bitings, and charms.

URANUS, whoſe parents lived in theſe mens age, as hath been already mentioned, ſucceeding his father *Eliun* in the kingdom, had by *Ge*, his ſiſter, four ſons; 1. *Ilus* or *Cronus*; 2. *Betylus*; 3. *Dagon* or *Siton*; and, 4. *Atlas* (H); beſides much iſſue by other wives: wherefore *Ge* being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached *Uranus*, ſo that

according to *Eratoſthenes*, upon a preſumption, that *Miſor* and *Menes* are the ſame; and becauſe he was alſo a king of *Egypt*, and ſon of a king [tho' it does not appear from *Sanchoniatho*, that *Miſor* was a king], as *Athothes* was (16). It is obſerved alſo, that as *Sanchoniatho*'s line ends with *Miſor* and *Thoth*, ſo *Eratoſthenes*'s line of *Theban* kings begins with *Menes* and *Athothes* (17), as does the firſt dynaſty of the *Thinites* in *Manetho*. And the difference between the names *Thoth* and *Athoth* is no objection, the biſhop producing ſeveral inſtances of proper names in the eaſtern languages, where the initial *A* was frequently left out (18).

(G) Of the *Dioſcuri*, or *Cabiri*, the ſons of *Sydyc*, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter, when we come to the *Grecian* mythology. According to Dr. *Cumberland*'s ſcheme, they were a little branch of *Sydyc* or *Shem*'s race, that lived with *Ham*, or near him (19).

(H) We ſhall conſider theſe four ſons of *Uranus* in their order. 1. *Cronus* is in all probability the ſame with the *Ham* of *Moſes*; the laſt ſeems to have been his proper name, and the other, which may be derived from קרן *Keren*, *an horn*, or power, and importing regal dignity, might have been his *Phœnician* title, as *Belus*, or בעל *Baal*, ſignifying a *lord*, was his *Chaldean* title (20); for the *Babylonians* are ſaid to have called the firſt *Baal Cronus* (21). *Moloch* and *Milcom*, names of the ſame ſignification, are alſo frequently uſed to deſign the ſame man (22): and *Baal-Berith* (23) probably ſignifies this *Cronus*, worſhipped antiently at *Berytus* (24). That *Cronus* is the *Ham* of *Moſes*, appears from the authority of *Eupolemus*, whoſe words are theſe: πρῶτον γε-

(16) *Ibid. p.* 44. 84, 186. (17) *Ibid. p.* 46. (18) *Ibid. p.* 127. *Vid. Bochart. Canaan, p.* 826. (19) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 261. (20) *Vid. ibid. p.* 111, *&c.* (21) *Eupolemus in Alex. Polyhiſt. apud Euſeb. de præp. evangelic. lib.* ix. *cap.* 17. (22) *Vid. Theophil. Antiochen. ad Autolyc. lib.* iii. *Damaſcium in vita Iſidori, & Suidam in voce* Κρόνος. (23) *Judg.* viii. 33. (24) *Cumberl. on Sanchoniath. p.* 152.



νέθαι

that they parted from each other. But *Uranus*, though he parted from her, yet by force invading her, and lying with

νέσθαι Βῆλον, ὃν εἶναι Κρόνον· ἐκ τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Βῆλον καὶ Χαναάν, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Χαναὰν γεννῆσαι τὸν πατέρα τῶν Φοινίκων· τούτου δὲ Χὰμ υἱὸν γενέσθαι, ὃν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λέγεσθαι Ἄσβολον, πατέρα δὲ Αἰθιόπων, ἀδελφὸν δὲ τοῦ Μεσραεὶμ πατέρα [πατρὸς] Αἰγυπτίων (25); which bishop *Cumberland* renders thus: *There was at first* Belus, *who is* Cronus; *but of him came another*, 1. Belus, *and*, 2. Canaan, *who was, or begot, the father of the* Phœnicians; *his son too was*, 3. Chum, *whom the* Greeks *call* Asbolos, *the father of the* Ethiopians, *the brother of*, 4. Mestraim, *the father of the* Egyptians. It is easy, says that author, to adjust this translation to the four sons of *Ham* (26); for two of their names are plainly the same, *Canaan* and *Misraim*; the third, *Chum*, is but slightly altered from *Cush*, the ψ being changed into μ only to express the accusative case, as *Bochart* has well noted [though, by the way, this is an odd manner of accounting for that variation, the *Greeks* having no accusative in *m*, nor indeed any word ending in *m*]: wherefore it only remains, that *Belus*, the successor of *Ham* in his dominions in *Africa*, be allowed to be the same with *Phut* in *Moses*; and

it is reasonable to admit, that he who succeeded his father in that large empire, should bear his title among the *Babylonians*, as he is here called by the *Chaldean* title of honour *Belus*, whereas *Moses* calls him properly by the name given him at his birth (27). We find several footsteps of *Cronus* in that passage of the *Mosaical* history where *Chedorlaomer* and his confederates are recorded to have smitten the *Rephaims* in *Ashteroth Carnaim*, and the *Zuzims* in *Ham*. *Ashteroth* will easily be admitted to be *Astarte*, and *Carnaim* being derived from *Keren*, the root of the name of *Cronus*, may relate to him. And as *Ræphas* is acknowledged by the learned to have been a title of *Cronus*, both from the *Coptic* name of his *Star*, and from the *Septuagint*, who translate *Chiun* (*Cronus*'s known name) by *Ræphas*, written in some copies *Remphas*, which is the clearest account of that passage in *Amos* (28), so from him some of his posterity, who were most like him, and other antediluvians, of long life, great strength and stature, were called *Rephaim*; especially those who dwelt in his city *Ashteroth Carnaim*, and seem to have been his children, and their cities to have taken their fa-

(25) *Apud Euseb. de præp. evangel. lib.* ix. *cap.* 17. *p.* 419. (25) *Gen.* x. 6. (27) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 115. (28) *Chap.* v. 26. *Vid. etiam Pocock. specim. hist. Arab. p. ult.*

with her when he liſted, went away again; and he alſo attempted to kill the children he had by her. *Ge* alſo defended or avenged herſelf, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

BUT when *Cronus* came to man's age, uſing *Hermes Triſmegiſtus* as his counſellor and aſſiſtant (for he was his ſecretary) he oppoſed his father *Uranus*, avenging his mother: but *Cronus* had children, *Perſephone* [*Proſerpina*] and *Athena* [*Minerva*]: the former died a virgin, but by the counſel of *Athena*, and of *Hermes*, *Cronus* made of iron a ſcimetar and a ſpear. Then *Hermes*, ſpeaking to the aſſiſtants of *Cronus* with inchanting words, wrought in them a keen deſire to fight againſt *Uranus* in behalf of *Ge*. And thus *Cronus*, warring againſt *Uranus*, drove him

ther's name (29). As to *Ilus*, or *Il*, it ſeems to be no other than אל *El*, which ſignifies *ſtrong*, and is therefore in *Hebrew* one of the names of GOD.

2. *Betylus* biſhop *Cumberland* does not find mentioned by any other writer; his name ſeems to be of eaſtern original, from the root בטל *Betel*, which, though it often ſignifies diſhonourable idleneſs, yet ſometimes denotes that quiet ſpirit which ſerves religious duties and ſtudy. And in *Arabic* it ſignifies *an hero*, who by ſucceſsful wars procures to himſelf and ſubjects reſt and peace (30).

3. *Dagon* is called, agreeably to *Philo*'s skill in the eaſtern languages, *Siton*, becauſe he was the inventor of ſowing bread-corn; and *Jupiter Arotrius*, from his contriving of ploughs. He was worſhipped by the *Philiſtines* in *Canaan*; and his name, which the biſhop ſuppoſes was given him at his canonization, ſuggeſts to us the reaſon of the divine honours they gave him (31) [being derived from דגן *dagan*, *bread-corn*.]

4. *Atlas* is alſo reckoned one of the moſt celebrated ſons of *Uranus* in the *Atlantian* theology; the *Atlantii* in *Africa* are derived from him. The biſhop ſuppoſes the reaſon of his being cruelly buried alive by his brother (as *Sanchoniatho* tells us preſently) was to ſecure to him and *Thoth* the dominion over the weſtern parts of *Africa*, where the *Atlantii* were ſeated; though that deſign was not effected but by *Hercules* or *Arcles*, called *Aſſis* (the paſtor king of *Egypt*) in the reign of *Antæus* the ſon of *Atlas* (32). The biſhop chuſes rather to conſider *Atlas* as the brother, than the ſon of *Iapetus*, as the *Greeks* repreſent him, becauſe *Sanchoniatho* reports him to be the brother of *Cronus*, whom the *Greeks* alſo agree to be brother to *Iapetus*.

(29) *Cumberl. ubi ſupr. p.* 120, 121. (30) *Idem ibid. p.* 326. (31) *Idem ibid. & p.* 327. (32) *Cumberl. Sanchon. p.* 327, 328.

out

out of his kingdom, and ſucceeded in the imperial power or office.

IN the fight was taken a well-beloved concubine of *Uranus*, big with child. *Cronus* gave her in marriage to *Dagon*, and ſhe brought forth, at his houſe, what ſhe had in her womb by *Uranus*, and called him *Demaroon*.

AFTER theſe things *Cronus* builds a wall round about his houſe, and founds *Byblus*, the firſt city (I) in *Phœnicia*. Afterwards *Cronus*, ſuſpecting his own brother *Atlas*, with the advice of *Hermes*, throwing him into a deep hole of the earth, there buried him.

AT that time the deſcendants of the *Dioſcuri*, having built ſome tumultuary and other ſtronger ſhips, went to ſea, and, being caſt on ſhore near mount *Caſſius*, there conſecrated a temple (K).

THE auxiliaries of *Ilus*, or *Cronus*, were called *Eloim* (L), which is as much as to ſay *Cronii*, for ſo were they named who were under *Cronus*. But *Cronus*, having a ſon called *Sadid* (M), diſpatched him with his own ſword,

(I) It is urged as an objection to the veracity of this fragment, that *Byblus* is here ſaid to be the firſt city in *Phœnicia*, after mention has been made of *Tyre* in the fifth generation (33); but no more can be made of what is ſaid there, than that it was a place inhabited, perhaps, by people living in tents, or ſcattered huts: for building with ſun-dried bricks was not found out till three generations after. Beſides, if it had been called a city, the expreſſion would have admitted of an explanation by *prolepſis*. *Byblus* ſeems to have been the imperial ſeat of *Cronus*; as it was of *Mizraim* for ſome time, according to the biſhop (34).

(K) Dr. *Cumberland* obſerves, that this is the firſt navigation we have any account of in hiſtory after the flood (35); and perhaps this is the firſt temple founded alſo; for before they uſed itinerant temples carried about on carts (36). Mount *Caſſius* lay on the coaſt forty miles from *Peluſium* in *Egypt* eaſtward, in the road to *Paleſtine* (37).

(L) *Eloim* is אלהים the plural of אלה *Eloah*, and ſignifies the *gods*, as they are called juſt after. The biſhop renders the word in this place *Ilus's men*, or *thoſe that were for* Cronus (38); in which ſenſe it may be underſtood, conſidering the perſons who aſſumed it were the auxiliaries of *Il*, and took their name from him on that account.

(M) *Shadid* in *Arabic* ſignifies a *ſtrong man*, and ſeems to be of kin to *Shaddai*.

(33) *See before*, p. 184. (31) *Cumberl. orig. gent. antiquiſſ. p.* 174. (35) *Ibid. p.* 368. (36) *See before*, p. 186, 187, (H). (37) *Vid. itiner. Antonini.* (38) *Cumberl. Sanchon. p.* 31.

having a ſuſpicion of him, and deprived his ſon of life with his own hand. So alſo he cut off the head of his own daughter, ſo that all the gods were amazed at the mind of *Cronus*.

In proceſs of time, *Uranus*, being in flight, or baniſhment, ſends his virgin daughter *Aſtarte*, with two other of her ſiſters, *Rhea* and *Dione*, to cut off *Cronus* by deceit, whom *Cronus* taking, made thoſe ſiſters his wives. *Uranus*, underſtanding this, ſent *Eimarmene* and *Hora* [*Fate* and *Beauty*] with other auxiliaries, to war againſt him: but *Cronus*, having gained the affections of theſe alſo, kept them with him. Moreover, the god *Uranus* deviſed *Bætylia*, contriving ſtones that moved, as having life (N).

Cronus begat on *Aſtarte* ſeven daughters, called *Titanides*, or *Artemides*; and he begat on *Rhea* ſeven ſons, the youngeſt of which, as ſoon as he was born, was conſecrated a god (O). Alſo by *Dione* he had daughters, and by *Aſtarte* two ſons, *Pothos* and *Eros* [*Deſire* and *Love*.]

Dagon,

(N) *Bochart* conceives that by the tranſpoſition of a letter, by the tranſcriber of *Sanchoniatho* writing אוכיבם נפשיבם for שפיבם, *anointed ſtones* have been transformed into *animated ſtones*. *Jacob* ſeems to have ſet the example of anointing ſtones, when he poured oil upon the top of the pillar which had been his pillow, calling the place *Beth-el* (39). The *Jews* ſay the *Phœnicians* worſhipped that pillar of *Jacob*, withal conſecrating and anointing ſtones in imitation of it, which they called *Bætylia*, and *Bætili*, in memory of the ſtone erected at *Beth-el*. *Heſychius* ſays, the ſtone was ſo called which *Rea* gave *Saturn* to devour inſtead of *Jupiter*. *Priſcian* ſays, the ſame ſtone is called *Abadir*, or *Abaddir*, and that it is the *Bætylus* of the god *Abaddir*. But that name, taken for the ſtone, ſeems to be corrupted from the *Phœnician* אבן ריר *Aban dir*, ſignifying a ſpherical ſtone, which was the figure of the *bætylus*. *Damaſcius*, a ſuperſtitious heathen writer in *Juſtinian*'s time, ſays, he ſaw ſeveral of theſe *bætylia*, or *bætyli*, of which many wonders were reported, in mount *Libanus*, near *Heliopolis* of *Syria* (40): nay, and pretends he ſaw one of theſe ſtones moved in the air (41), and deſcribes it to be round, about a ſpan in diameter, and whitiſh, tho' it often appeared of different colours (42); which ſhews there was a popular notion in thoſe days of the *bætylia* being moving ſtones. They were generally conſecrated to ſome god or other, as *Saturn*, *Jupiter*, the *Sun*, &c (43).

(O) Dr. *Cumberland* ſuppoſes this ſon of *Rhea* was *Muth*, becauſe afterwards mention is

(39) *Geneſ.* xxviii. 18, 19. *and* xxxi. 13. (40) *Apud Photium bibl. p.* 1047. (41) *Vid. Photium ibid. p.* 1062. (42) *Ibid. p.* 1063. (43) *Idem ibid. Vid. etiam Bochart. Chanaan, l.* ij. *c.* 2.

made

DAGON, after he had found out bread-corn and the plough, was called *Zeus Arotrius*.

To *Sydyc*, or the juſt, one of the *Titanides* bore *Aſclepius* (P). *Cronus* had alſo in *Peræa* (Q) three ſons: 1. *Cro-*

made of a conſecrated ſon of *Rhea* called *Muth*; but the laſt ſeems to be a different ſon from him ſpoken of in this place; for *Muth* was not conſecrated till his death, the other as ſoon as he was born.

(P) He was ſurnamed *Eſmunus* from שמיני *Shemini*, which ſignifies the eighth. His mother was one of the daughters of *Cronus*. This is hard to believe, yet it is not impoſſible, that *Sydyc*, in his latter time, dwelling in *Canaan*, might, to ſecure his quiet life (for we read of no warlike action of *Shem*), marry a daughter of *Ham*'s, and by her have this ſon *Aſclepius*; whom alone of all the ſons of *Sydyc*, *Sanchoniatho*, chiefly regarding his own country, hath taken notice of, probably becauſe he only might have ſettled in *Phœnicia*, among the iſſue of *Ham* (44): and that he did ſettle among them, appears from *Apuleius*'s ſaying that *Apollo* (whom *Sanchoniatho* makes *Cronus*'s ſon) gave to *Æſculapius*, as he calls him, the herb *ſolanum* (45), or nightſhade, called from his *Phœnician* name, *Aſtir Eſmuni* in *Punic* (46). *Aſclepius* is alſo called *Memphites* by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and paſſed for a god in *Egypt* (47). And *Pauſanias* (48) mentions a temple to *Æſculapius*, *Apollo*, and *Hygeia*, *Egyptians*. This is the eldeſt account the biſhop meets with of skill in phyſic or medicines (49).

(Q) *Peræa* being the *Greek* name of the country of *Baſhan*, beyond *Jordan*, the biſhop ſuppoſes theſe three ſons of *Cronus* to have been born at *Aſhteroth Carnaim* (50), a noted city thereof, from the relation already mentioned, which that place hath to *Cronus*. The names of theſe ſons are well known to belong to heathen deities by antient writers; but it does not appear from ſuch writers, that they were the ſons of *Cronus*; only *Eupolemus* ſays ſomething to the purpoſe in the fragment above-mentioned; though neither *Moſes*, nor *Eupolemus*, who writes the *Babylonian* traditions about them, do uſe or own the names given them by the *Canaanites*: and indeed the ſame man was deified in one place, who was not honoured ſo in another; and often the ſame perſon was worſhipped in ſeveral places under ſeveral names (51).

(44) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 200. (45) *Apuleius de virtutib. herbar.* (46) *In auctuar. ad Dioſcorid.* (47) *Clem. Alex. ſtromat. lib.* i. (48) *In Corinthiac.* (49) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 201. (50) *Geneſ.* xiv. 5. (51) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 335.

*nus*, of the same name with his father. 2. *Zeus Belus*. 3. *Apollo* (R).

CONTEMPORARY with these were *Pontus* and *Typhon*, and *Nereus* the father of *Pontus* (S). From *Pontus* came *Sidon*, who, by the exceeding sweetness of her voice, or singing, found out first the hymns of odes or praises; and *Posidon* [or *Neptune*]. But to *Demaroon* was born *Melicarthus*, who is also called *Hercules* (T).

THEN

(R) The first of these sons, *Cronus* the second, the bishop conjectures to be *Mizraim*, from a passage of *Nonnus*, where *Apis*, the living image of *Osiris*, whom he supposes also to be *Mizraim*, is said to be likewise called *Cronus*, *Belus*, *Hammon*, and *Zeus*, all acknowleged to have been names belonging to *Ham* his father, and therefore he must be the second in them all (52). By *Belus*, the bishop supposes *Cush*, the son of *Ham*, to be intended by our author (53); and that the third, whom he calls *Apollo*, was the *Phut* of *Moses*, known among the *Greeks* sometimes by the name of *Pythius*, which in radical letters agrees with *Phut*; and sometimes by that of *Apollo Carneus*, which he takes to signify the elder *Apollo*, the son of *Cronus*, from קרן *Keren*; from which root also his town was called *Carnaim* (54), or, as it is elsewhere (55) written, *Carnion* (56).

(S) Bishop *Cumberland* has made another alteration here in *Sanchoniatho*'s successions, placing *Nereus* and his descendants, whose line is uncertain, in the line of *Uranus*, and supposes *Nereus* to be *Japhet*: 1. Because, being contemporary with *Ham* and his issue, and having found *Shem* under the name of *Sydyc*, it remains, that he takes *Japhet* and his issue to be here pointed at (57). 2. Because every one knows *Nereus*, *Pontus*, and *Posidon* or *Neptune*, relate to the sea, its isles and shores, which in Scripture fall to *Japhet*'s share (58). 3. Because this author never mentions *Japhet* and his line, if it be not here (59); and it would be strange, if an historian, writing of that age wherein mankind was repaired, should omit him who peopled a third part of the world (60). 4. Because though *Nereus* and his issue are not said to be descended from *Uranus* or *Noah*, yet we know by Scripture, that they must come from him; and there is no other line known, in which they might come from *Noah*, but *Japhet*'s. 5. Because *Sanchoniatho*, being a *Canaanite*, has taken no care to clear other pedigrees, but only that of *Ham* and *Cain* (61).

(T) This is the old *Phœnician Melcartus* or *Hercules* (62), whose temple at *Gadira* or

(52) *Ibid. p.* 336. (53) *Ibid. p.* 337. (54) *Gen.* xiv. 5. (55) *Macc.* xii. 21. (56) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 116, 337. (57) *Ibid. p.* 257. (58) *Ibid. p.* 259. (59) *Ibid. p.* 257. (60) *Ibid. p.* 258. (61) *Ibid. p.* 259. (62) *Ibid. p.* 265.

*Gades*

THEN again *Uranus* makes war againſt *Pontus*, and being ſeparated from him, joins with *Demaroon*. *Demaroon* invades *Pontus*, but *Pontus* puts him to flight, and *Demaroon* vows a ſacrifice for his eſcape.

But, in the thirty-ſecond year of his power and reign, *Ilus*, who is *Cronus*, having laid an ambuſcade for his father *Uranus* in a certain midland place, and having gotten him into his hands, cuts off his privities (U) near fountains and rivers. There *Uranus* was conſecrated, and his ſpirit or breath was ſeparated, and the blood of his ſecrets dropped into the fountains and waters of the rivers; and the place is ſhewed unto this day.

THEN our hiſtorian, after ſome things interpoſed, goes on, ſaying, But *Aſtarte* called the greateſt, and *Demaroon* ſurnamed *Zeus*, and *Adodus* the king of the gods, reigned over the country by *Cronus*'s conſent or authority (W): and *Aſtarte*

*Gades* had no images in it, and continued to the time of *Silius Italicus* (63). *Bochart* ſuppoſes this way of worſhip, practiſed in this temple, was taken from the *Jews*; not conſidering that *Hercules Phœnicius* was long before the *Jewiſh* law, and that the patriarchal religion uſed no images (64).

(U) It may be preſumed, that this circumſtance gave occaſion to that notion of ſome, already mentioned (65), that *Ham* caſtrated *Noah*.

(W) It is conceived that *Adodus* or *Adod*, which ſignifies among the *Aſſyrians*, *the one*, by way of eminence (66), was a title belonging either to *Cuſh* the ſon of *Ham*, or to *Nimrod*, who, as his kingdom extended even to *Aſſria*, might well have many ſubordinate kings under him, who are called gods, as *Cronus*'s confederate princes were called *Eloim*. Agreeably hereto, we find that *Hadad* was antiently a kingly name in *Edom* (67) and *Syria* (68), ſometimes written *Hadar* (69). *Adar* or *Adir* is *the magnificent*, or *mighty potentate*, and therefore may alſo be a title. *Adodus* reigning over many gods or kings, can only be underſtood of the large dominion allowed him by *Ham* (70); and we may ſee what ſort of gods they were, when the king of them ſeems to have been but a delegate of *Cronus*, and could not reign without his conſent.

This *Adodus* may poſſibly be the *Adad Joſephus* mentions, whom, together with *Azael*, the *Syrians* worſhipped as gods, boaſting much of their anti-

(63) *Sil. Ital. lib.* iii. (64) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 265. (65) *See before, p.* 272. (66) *Macrob. Saturnal. lib.* i. *cap.* 31. *Bochart. Chanaan, lib.* ii. *cap.* 8. (67) *Geneſ.* xxxvi. 35. 1 *Chron.* i. 46. (68) 2 *Sam.* viii. 5. *Vid. etiam Nicol. Damaſcen. apud. Joſeph. antiq. lib.* vii. *cap.* 5. (69) *Geneſ.* xxxvi. 39. 1 *Chron.* xviii. 5, 7. *See alſo Cumberl. orig. gent. antiquiſſ. p.* 171. (70) *Ibid. p.* 173, 236, 256.

quity;

*Aſtarte* put on her head, as the mark of her ſovereignty, a bull's head. But, travelling about the world, ſhe found a ſtar falling from the air or ſky, which ſhe taking up, conſecrated it in the holy iſland *Tyre*. And the *Phœnicians* ſay, that *Aſtarte* is ſhe, who is among the *Greeks* called *Aphrodite* [or *Venus*].

CRONUS alſo, going about the world, gave to his own daughter *Athena* the kingdom of *Attica*: but when there was a plague and mortality, *Cronus* made his only ſon a whole burnt-offering to his father *Uranus* [c]. This fact our author relates more particularly in another place, ſaying, that it was eſtabliſhed as a cuſtom among the antients, that, in all extraordinary calamities of the public, the rulers of a city or nation ſhould give up their moſt favourite child to be ſlain, as an expiation to appeaſe the avenging dæmons; and the victims in theſe caſes were butchered with much myſterious ceremony. *Cronus*, therefore, called by the *Phœnicians Iſrael*, who reigned there, and was after his death conſecrated into the planet *Cronus* [or *Saturn*], having an only ſon by a certain nymph of the country named *Anobret*, and whom therefore he called *Jeud*, which in the *Phœnician* tongue, at this day, ſignifies *only-begotten*, and the country being involved in a dangerous war, he adorned this only ſon with royal attire, and ſacrificed him on an altar which he had prepared for that purpoſe [d] (X). *Cronus* was alſo circumciſed in his privities,

[c] SANCHONIATHO apud EUSEB. de præp. ev. lib. i. cap. 10. p. 36, &c. [d] Idem, apud eundem, l. i. c. 10. p. 40. & l. iv. c. 16. p. 156.

quity; whereas that author obſerves, they were no other than *Hadad* and *Hazael*, kings of *Syria* (71), who reigned at *Damaſcus* in the time of *Joram* king of *Iſrael* (72); the firſt of whom had thirty-two kings ſerving under him in his army (73), from whence he might have acquired the title of king of the gods, kings antiently having been called gods.

(X) This is thought by ſome men of learning not to be a true account of any ſacrifice really performed, but only a miſrepreſentation of *Abraham*'s intended ſacrifice of his ſon *Iſaac*, with ſome additions and miſtakes, which the heathen writers frequently made in all their relations (74). The reaſons alleged for this opinion are; 1. *Cronus* ſacrificed his

(71) 2 *Kings* viii. 7, &c. (72) *Joſeph. antiq. lib.* ix. *cap.* 4. (73) 1 *Kings* xx. 1, 24. (74) *Vid. Bochart Canaan, l.* ii. *c.* 2. *Shuckford's connect. vol.* II. *p.* 30, &c. *and Dodwell's diſc. in Sanchon. p.* 49.

only

vities, and forced his auxiliaries to do the ſame. And not long after he conſecrated, after his death, another ſon, which

only ſon; ſo was *Abraham* reported to have done. 2. That ſon was called *Jeoud*; and יחיד *Yehid*, or *only* ſon, is the epithet given to *Iſaac* by *Moſes* (75). 3. The mother of this only ſon is the ſame with *Sarah*; *Anobret*, or הן עברת *Ann-oberet* ſignifying *conceiving by grace*, as *Sarah* did. 4. *Cronus* and his followers were circumciſed; ſo were *Abraham* and his houſhold. 5. *Cronus* was called *Iſrael*, which name the *Canaanites* gave to *Abraham*, from the nation of which he was the father.

To theſe reaſons it is anſwered: 1. That the ſacrificers in *Moſes* and *Sanchoniatho* are two different perſons; *Cronus* being plainly *Ham*, and here called *Iſrael* by a miſtake of tranſcribers, who took *Il*, the ſurname of *Cronus*, to be an abbreviation for *Iſrael* (76, as the letters אל frequently are. 2. The occaſion of the offerings, and of the circumciſions of *Cronus* and *Abraham*, were alſo different; *Cronus* ſacrificed his ſon to remove a war and plague on the country, according to a ſettled cuſtom; and circumciſed himſelf for the ſame purpoſe, to appeaſe an angry deity: but what *Abraham* did was by a ſpecial command from God, as an inſtance of his faith and obedience. 3. The perſons to be ſacrificed were different: *Cronus*'s ſon was his only ſon by *Anobret*, a *Canaanitiſh* concubine; but *Abraham*'s ſon was the only child of his wife *Sarah*, who was of *Chaldea*: and the name of *Anobret*, even according to the above-mentioned derivation, rather ſignifies *a paſſing fair one*. 4. The deities to whom the two ſacrifices were offered, were not the ſame; *Abraham* certainly offered to none but the true God, *Cronus* to his father, and the avenging dæmons (77).

*Bochart* (78), beſides this notion, that *Cronus* (whom he elſewhere makes to be *Noah*) was *Abraham*, imagines alſo, that the *Canaanites*, miſunderſtanding that paſſage of *Moſes*, where *Abraham* is called *a great prince*, or, as the *Hebrew* is נשיא אלהים *a prince of God*, made a deity of him, dedicating the ſeventh day of the week, and ſacrificing their children to him; which is a mere fancy, and without the leaſt ground. A late writer (79) has endeavoured to prove *Cronus*, at leaſt the ſecond of that name (which laſt he ſuppoſes to be the perſon that ſacrificed his only ſon, though *Sanchoniatho* expreſly ſays it was the ſon of *Uranus*), was not more antient than *Abraham*, from the order of *Sanchoniatho*'s genealogies, placing *Elium*'s birth in the

(75) *Geneſ.* xxii. 2. (76) *Vid. Grot. de veritat. rel. Chriſt. l.* i. §. 16. *not.* 50. (77) *Vid. Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 134, *&c.* (78) *Ubi ſup.* (79) *Shuckford ubi ſup.*

time

which he had by *Rhea*, called *Muth*; ſo the *Phœnicians* call *death*, or *Pluto*.

AFTER theſe things *Cronus* gives the city *Byblus* to the gooddeſs *Baaltis*, which is *Dione*; and *Berytus* he gave to *Poſidon*, and to the *Cabiri*, and to husbandmen, and to fiſhermen, who conſecrated the remains (Y) of *Pontus* in or unto *Berytus*.

BUT, before theſe things, the god *Taautus*, having formerly imitated or repreſented *Uranus*, made images of the countenances of the gods *Cronus* and *Dagon*, and formed the ſacred characters of the other elements. He contrived alſo for *Cronus* the enſign of his royal power, four eyes, partly before, and partly behind, two of them winking as in ſleep; and upon his ſhoulders four wings, two as flying, and two as let down to reſt. The emblem was, *That* Cronus, *when he ſlept, yet was watching*; *and waking yet ſlept*: and ſo for his wings, *That even reſting he flew about, and flying yet reſted.* But the other gods had two wings each of them on their ſhoulders, to intimate that they flew about with, or under *Cronus*. He alſo had two wings on his head, one for the moſt governing part of the mind, one for the ſenſe.

BUT *Cronus*, coming into the ſouth country, gave all *Egypt* to the god *Taautus*, that it ſhould be his kingdom. Theſe things, ſaith he, the *Cabiri*, the ſeven ſons of *Sydyc*, and their eighth brother *Aſclepius*, firſt of all ſet down in memoirs, as the god *Taautus* commanded them.

ALL theſe things the ſon of *Thabion*, who was the firſt hierophant [or director of ſacred rites] that ever was among the *Phœnicians*, allegorized; and, mixing the facts with phyſical and mundane phænomena, he delivered them down to thoſe that celebrated *orgia*, and to thoſe prophets who preſided over the myſteries, who always contrived to improve their fables, and ſo delivered them down to their ſucceſſors, and to thoſe that were afterwards intro-

time of the *Dioſcuri*, who were a generation younger than *Miſor* or *Miſraim*; but even in this caſe the elder *Cronus* could not be later than *Reu*, who was four generations older than *Abraham*, and therefore much earlier than that patriarch.

(Y) This is ſuppoſed to be the oldeſt conſecration of relics to be met with in hiſtory (80).

(80) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 262.

duced

duced among them: one of whom was *Iſiris* (Z), the inventor of three letters, the brother of *Chna*, the firſt *Phœnician*; as he was afterwards called [e].

THUS we have preſented the reader with the ſmall remains which are left of the *Phœnician* antiquities, collected by *Sanchoniatho*; wherein a free and open confeſſion is made of the beginning of idolatry, and their gods ingenuouſly acknowleged to have been once mortal men; a thing the *Greeks* were aſhamed to do, and therefore turned all the ſtories of the gods into allegories and phyſical diſcourſes [f]. A late learned prelate (A), who has endeavoured to explain this fragment, and reconcile it with

*Bp.* Cumberland's *amendments of* Sanchoniatho *conſidered.*

[e] Idem apud eund. p. 40, 41.

[f] STILLINGFLEET origin. ſacræ, book i. chap. 2. §. 7.

(Z) *Iſiris* being here called the brother of *Chna* or *Canaan*, the biſhop concludes him to be *Miſor* or *Mizraim*, the father of *Thoth* (81). He obſerves alſo, that *Hellanicus*, an author older than *Herodotus*, often heard the *Egyptian* prieſts pronounce the name *Oſiris*, *Hyſiris* (82; and ſays, that *Sanchoniatho* repreſented *Iſiris* or *Mizraim*, and *Thoth*, as *Phœnicians*, to do honour to his country. And the reaſon why our author calls the ſame perſon in this place *Iſiris*, whom he before called *Miſor*, was becauſe in the preceding part of the work he wrote his name as he found it, thinking he ought not to recede from the records; and here he wrote it as it was ſpoken in his time, thinking he ought to comply with cuſtom (83). To the objection, that *Iſiris* cannot well be *Mizraim*, becauſe it is not likely that he ſhould make the doctrines of religion allegorical, and his ſon *Thoth* ſet them down in a different hiſtorical manner; it is anſwered, *Thoth* might cauſe the *Cabiri* to write this hiſtorical account or explanation before he went to reign in *Egypt*, for a help to his memory, or to ſhew the *Egyptians* the *Phœnician* form of worſhip was elder than their fabulous repreſentations; and that this was not to aboliſh, but to explain, the religion eſtabliſhed by his father. Laſtly, all that allegorical ſcene of *Egyptian* ſolemnities delivered by *Plutarch* cannot be ſo old as *Mizraim*'s eſtabliſhment, ſiuce much of it relates to his death, and is owned by *Plutarch* (84) to have been added by *Iſis* (85).

(A) Biſhop *Cumberland*, whoſe notes on this author we have hitherto given, intermixing very little of our own, having reſerved our obſervations for this place.

(81) *Cumberl. on Sancohn. p.* 94. 99, *&c.* (82) *Vid. Plutarch. de Iſide & Oſiride, p.* 364. (83) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 101, 102. (84) *Ubi ſupra.* (85) *Cumberl. on Sanchon. p.* 103, *&c.*

Scripture,

Scripture, has for that purpoſe made ſeveral corrections and alterations therein; ſuppoſing that the records from which *Sanchoniatho* extracted his hiſtory, were corrupted in thoſe inſtances by the *Cabiri*, the firſt writers of them, who in particular ſuppreſſed all mention of the deluge for the reaſons already given (B). The principal corruptions which the biſhop obſerves, and would amend, are; 1. That *Sanchoniatho*, and thoſe he tranſcribes, have removed ſeveral perſons out of the line of *Uranus*, and placed them under that of *Cain*, in order to do honour to it: particularly *Miſor* and *Sydic*, who are placed in the eleventh generation, as ſons of *Amynus* and *Magus*, the biſhop takes to be *Mizraim* and *Shem*, both of the line of *Uranus*; and he accordingly places *Sydyc* in the ſame generation with *Cronus*, ſuppoſed to be *Ham*, and *Miſor* a generation lower, as the ſon of *Cronus*. 2. That they have introduced *Nereus* and his iſſue, as belonging neither to the line of *Noah*, nor to that of *Cain*, and as contemporaries with *Cronus*'s children: but the biſhop finding *Nereus* to anſwer the deſcription of *Japhet* better than any of the ſons of *Uranus* mentioned by *Sanchoniatho*, he raiſes him two or three generations higher, and makes him the ſon of *Uranus*; in which two alterations this author's ſcheme principally conſiſts. But, however plauſible his hypotheſis may be, on a nearer examination it ſeems liable to ſeveral objections.

For, as to the reaſon given for the *Cabiri*'s making theſe diſlocations, *viz.* to do honour to the line of *Cain*, it may be aſked, why they, who were of *Uranus*'s line (for they could be deſcended from nobody elſe, ſuppoſing him to be *Noah*), ſhould deſire to do honour to that of another, by renouncing their anceſtors? why in doing this did they ſeparate *Miſor* from his father, and deny *Cronus* the honour which they did his ſon? or rather were they afraid

(B) But, after all, it ſeems not neceſſary to ſuppoſe the *Cabiri* purpoſely omitted to mention the flood, in order to ſuppreſs the memory of that judgment on the idolatrous race of *Cain*; becauſe they might have retorted the reproach on their adverſaries, and pretended their religion to have been that falſe one for which the world was puniſhed: and this might have been the eaſier, conſidering the tradition concerning that religion muſt have been much more uncertain than that of the deluge, to which a conſiderable part of mankind, then living, was able to bear teſtimony. It is far more probable, that the writers of thoſe records were intirely ignorant of the deluge; and conſequently that they are not genuine, or of that antiquity which is pretended.

*Cronus* would disgrace the line of *Cain*, and would not have it thought *Misor* and *Thoth* were descended from him, whom yet they acknowleged to be the founder of the *Phœnician* and *Egyptian* nations? how happened it when they separated *Nereus*, or *Japhet*, from *Cronus*, that they did not make him the same honourable amends as they did his brother *Sydyc* (C), but drop him by the way two or three generations lower? was he a reprobate not fit to keep company even with *Cronus?* To be serious, it is not to be imagined, that *Thoth*, who directed the *Cabiri* to write those records [g], could think it a greater honour to be descended from a person in another line, who makes no figure in the history, than from *Cronus*, so renowned in the antient world: nor could he, as the case stood, have any prospect of concealing his true pedigree, if he were so minded, or the *Cabiri* be supposed to have so little regard to themselves, or their father *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, and in all probability still living, as to place themselves in the hateful line of *Cain*. The dislocation of *Misor* is opposed by a circumstance, which seems to require, that he should belong to the generation where he is placed in the history; for it being said, that *Cronus*, when he came to man's age, used the counsel of *Hermes*, or *Thoth*, who was his secretary, seems to imply, that *Thoth* was a man of more years, and greater experience, than *Cronus* himself, and consequently could not be his grandson. It is also unlikely, that *Sydyc*, if he were *Shem*, should marry a daughter of *Cronus*, or *Ham*; which the bishop supposes he did, to secure his quiet in *Canaan*, upon the presumption, that *Shem* was *Melchizedek* [h]: which notion we have already shewn to be groundless [i], and shall consider farther hereafter.

Nor can we approve of another supposition of the bishop's, *viz.* that *Isiris* is the same with *Misor*, because said to be the brother of *Chna* or *Canaan*; for they are certainly designed to be two persons, differing as well in

[g] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 104. [h] Ibid. p. 200. [i] See before, p. 296, 305, (E).

(C) The first writers of these memoirs seem to have nothing more in view, by the particulars relating to *Sydyc* and *Nereus*, and their descendants, than to account for the original of the *Cabiri*, and of navigation, and to do honour to *Berythis*, a *Phœnician* city, by making it the prime seat of their religion and trade.

age

age as other circumstances. *Thoth* was king of *Egypt* when the *Cabiri* wrote these records at his command; which shews that his father *Misor*, whom the bishop supposes to have been *Menes*, the first king of *Egypt*, who reigned but sixty-two years, was dead; as the bishop himself confesses [k]: the son of *Thabion*, who turned the history into allegory, and mixed it with physical matters, came after the *Cabiri*, and delivered it in the new form he had given it to those who presided over the sacred mysteries, from whom it passed to their successors, and to those that were afterwards introduced among them, of whom *Isiris* was one. So that *Isiris* seems not only to have been some generations later than the *Cabiri* and *Thoth*, who reigned but sixty-two years; but also to have been no more than one of the *Phœnician* priests, and not a king of *Egypt*. Nor is this in the least repugnant to the Scripture account; it being very probable, that the nation properly called *Canaanites*, or *Phœnicians*, did not take their name immediately from *Canaan* the son of *Ham*, but from some later descendant of his, of the same name, since we do not find the *Canaanites* among his children or descendants, in the place set apart for giving an account of them [l]; nor do we hear of them, or the *Perizzites*, another branch descended from *Canaan*, before *Abraham*'s arrival in the *Land of Promise* [m].

MANY more objections arise against the bishop's scheme; but we think it enough to have considered the fundamentals of it, leaving the reader to make his farther remarks, from the hints we have given. Upon the whole, we think the history of *Sanchoniatho* will in no wise admit of the corrections the bishop has made; it may be confuted by Scripture, but it can never be reconciled with it; the plan is quite different from that of *Moses*, and seems to be grounded upon a very different tradition relating to the first ages; if it be not rather an history framed long after the facts spoken of, happened, by mixing fable, or invention, with some vulgar notions and glimmerings of antient transactions, which still remained in the life of the author, or editor, when the genuine and more perfect tradition of things had been lost.

BUT, before we close this section, we must not omit mentioning a word concerning the chronology of this history of *Sanchoniatho*, in which the bishop seems to vary

[k] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 95. [l] Genes. x. 15.
[m] Genes. xii. 6. and xiii. 7.

from

from himſelf. In one place he ſays, it is bounded within the three firſt centuries after the flood, as ending with the beginning of *Thoth*'s reign in *Egypt* [n]: in another, that it ends within four or five hundred years after that event [o]. But the repugnancy is more obvious with regard to *Cronus*, or *Ham*. The biſhop allows in ſeveral places, and thinks it but reaſonable, that *Ham*, and the other children of *Noah*, ſhould live to near about the ſame age, though he thinks, *Ham* did not live altogether ſo long as *Shem* [p]. He ſays, it appears plain enough from *Sanchoniatho*, as, in fact, it does, that *Cronus*, or *Ham*, out-lived his father *Uranus*, or *Noah* [q]: and as *Noah*'s death is determined in Scripture, to have happened three hundred and fifty years after the flood, he concludes, the life of *Ham* muſt be above four hundred and fifty years [r]. And elſewhere, from the circumſtance of *Chedorlaomer*'s invaſion of *Canaan* [s], concluding *Ham* to be then dead, he fixes his death in the fifth year before *Abraham*'s entrance into *Canaan*, A. M. 2078; that is, in the year of the flood 422 [t]. Notwithſtanding all which, in another place, ſpeaking of the age of *Ham*, he ſuppoſes him and his deſcendants to have ſhortened their days by debauchery, and that he only lived about three hundred years after the flood; and this, ſays the biſhop, may well be granted, becauſe his father lived fifty years longer, as it is certain, his brother *Shem* out-lived him two hundred years [u]. Such contradictions and miſtakes may the greateſt men run into, when they have ſet their minds on an hypotheſis; notwithſtanding which, to do this learned writer juſtice, he has, in his remarks on our author, given great light into the hiſtory of thoſe antient times, and made many valuable obſervations.

## SECT. IV.

### *Of the removal of mankind from about mount* Ararat *to the plain of* Shinaar, *and of the building of* Babel.

AS there fall two or three very remarkable events within this period, namely, the building of *Babel* by the

Year of the flood, 352.

[n] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 95. [o] Ibid. p. 119. Year before Chriſt 1996.
[p] Ibid. p. 103, 119, 120, 123. [q] Ibid. p. 119. [r] Ibid. p. 104. [s] Geneſ. xiv. [t] Cumberl. on Sanchon. p. 123. [u] Idem, orig. gent. antiquiſſ. p. 172.

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poſterity of *Noah*, the confuſion of languages, and the diſperſion of mankind; it is incumbent upon us to give the reader ſome account of thoſe important facts, the effects of which are felt to this day, and were doubtleſs of great benefit to mankind.

*The firſt migration of the ſons of* Noah *to* Shinaar.

AFTER the death of *Noah*, his ſons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, thought fit to remove with their families from the plains near *Ararat*, where we ſuppoſe they till then continued, and, *travelling from the eaſt, found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there* [w]. The wording of this paſſage has occaſioned ſome doubt, whether by *Ararat* could be meant *Armenia*, ſince then their journeying would have been from the north-weſt. Wherefore others, inſtead of *from the eaſt*, render it *eaſtward*. But there is no need to ſtrain the text to explain a geographical difficulty. *Moſes* ſpoke according to the beſt of his knowlege, or perhaps, with reference to the wilderneſs where he wrote; from which *Shinaar* lying eaſtward, he might judge *Ararat* lay eaſtward too, as lying farther off: or the difficulty may be eaſily ſolved, by ſuppoſing with *Kircher* [x] and others, that, as mankind multiplied, they ſpread themſelves in the country ſouth-eaſtward of *Ararat*, and made ſmall removes between the time of their deſcending from *Ararat*, and their coming to the place from whence they are mentioned to have moved towards *Shinaar*, which might have lain weſtward of that place. But, after all, the miſtake ſeems to lie on the ſide of the critics, and not of *Moſes*; for even the mountain which at preſent paſſes with us for *Ararat*, lies above two degrees more eaſt than the city of *Shinaar*, or *Senjar*, from whence the plain in all probability took the name: and if the ſons of *Noah* entered *Shinaar* on the north ſide, they muſt of neceſſity have *journeyed from the eaſt*, or, which is the ſame thing, have travelled weſtward, in order to arrive there; though at the ſame time they muſt have travelled ſouthward too, for *Ararat* lies about north-eaſt by north of *Senjar*; but all the geographers (*De Liſle* excepted) having drawn that mountain a good way out of its place, to the weſtward, the commentators and hiſtorians, who relied upon them, have been embaraſſed to reconcile the words of Scripture with what they took for certain fact; *viz.* that *Ararat* lay to the weſtward, and not at all to the eaſtward of *Senjar*.

[w] Geneſ. xi. 2.

[x] Turris Babel, p. 12.

IT is hard to determine what were the limits of the land of *Shinaar* (D) in the early times. We are informed from Scripture, that the city and tower of *Babel* were built in a plain within that province [y], and that *Nebuchadnezzar* carried the veſſels of the temple into the land of *Shinaar*, into the houſe of his GOD [z], which in all probability was the temple of *Belus* in *Babylon*. Beſides *Babel*, there are three other cities mentioned in Scripture to have been ſituate in *Shinaar*, viz. *Erec*, *Accad*, and *Calneh* [a]; but as all the four ſeem to have ſtood at no great diſtance from each other [b], we cannot thence judge of the extent of the country. Thus far in general may be preſumed, that it took in more to the north of *Babel* than to the ſouth, and that it lay for the moſt part, though not intirely, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*; for *Babylon*, if it was the ſame with *Babel*, ſtood on the eaſt ſide of *Euphrates* (E), which paſſed along the weſt ſide of it, before *Nebuchadnezzar* built the new city on this ſide that river, which thenceforth ran through the middle of the whole.

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*The extent and ſituation of the land of* Shinaar.

WE meet with footſteps of the name of *Shinaar* in thoſe parts, both in antient and modern authors: *Sennaar* of *Babylon* is mentioned by *Heſtiæus* the *Mileſian* [c], and the

[y] Geneſ. xi. 2, &c. x. 10. [z] Dan. i. 2. [a] Geneſ. x. 10. [b] See before, p. 279, 280, (P). [c] Apud JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 5. & EUSEB. de pr. ev. l. ix. c. 15.

(D) The name in *Hebrew* is שנער *Shinaar*, or *Sennaar*; in *Arabic*, *Senjar*. *Bochart* ſays, it is derived from נער *naar*, which ſignifies to ſcatter or diſſipate (86): and if ſo, it could not have been impoſed by the *Noachidæ*, on the plain where they firſt fixed, as *Joſephus* affirms (87), without ſuppoſing them to have foreſeen the diſperſion; to which that etymology, if it be right, plainly alludes.

(E) Among other circumſtances it may be obſerved, that the modern travellers repreſent the *Euphrates* a mile and a half broad in thoſe parts; whereas *Strabo* ſays, the breadth of the branch of that river which paſſed through *Babylon*, was but a furlong (88), or the eighth part of a mile; though the bridge, according to *Diodorus* (89), was five furlongs in length, if he does not miſtake: but, ſuppoſing the river as broad as the bridge was long, it will be but little more than one third of the preſent breadth of the *Euphrates*; which yet lower down, at *Hella*, becomes more narrow.

(86) *Phaleg. lib.* i. *cap.* 5. (87) *Antiq. lib.* i. *cap.* 4. (88) *Lib.* xvi. (89) *Lib.* ii.

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city of *Singara* in *Meſopotamia* by ſeveral [d]. Some ſpeak of a territory of that name in the ſame quarters [e]; *Ptolemy* places both the city and mountain of *Singara* there [f]: all which ſeem to be the ſame city, mountain (F), and territory, which ſtill bear the name of *Senjar* in the eaſt [g]. The part of *Meſopotamia* choſen out by the aſtronomers in the time of the *kalifa al Mamun*, for meaſuring the content of a degree of a great circle, was the deſert of *Senjar* [h]; which the nature of the experiment ſhews to have been large, as well as a level country: and this we take to have been at leaſt a part of the antient plain of *Shinaar*.

THE city of *Senjar* ſtands, or ſtood, in the northern borders (as we conjecture) of its territory, in the deſert, at the foot of a certain mountain (perhaps that of the ſame name) twenty-one miles from *Balad*, and twenty-ſeven from *Muſol*, which two laſt are ſituate on the *Tigris*, twenty-one miles aſunder [i]. It is ſaid to lie to the ſouthward of *Niſibin*, almoſt three ſtages weſt of the *Tigris* [k], or more particularly of *Muſol* [l]; ſo that *Ptolemy* is in the wrong, to place *Singara* on that river. As for the difference between the words *Shinaar* and *Singar*, it is very ſmall, conſidering, in the *Hebrew*, the ſame character ſtands for the *Ain* and the *Ghain* (G). We find *Sengar* called

[d] PLINIUS, hiſt. nat. AMMIAN. MARCELLINUS. EUTROPIUS. ATHANASIUS, in epiſt. ad ſolitar. vit. agent. [e] SEXT. RUFUS, POMP. LÆTUS. [f] Tab. 4. Aſiæ. [g] Geogr. Nub. p. 201. THEVENOT's voyages, part ii. c. 10. [h] Vid. GOL. not. ad Alfragan. p. 72. [i] Geogr. Nub. p. 201. [k] GOLIUS ubi ſupra. [l] HYDE de relig. vet. Perſ. p. 64.

(F) *Haitho*, the *Armenian*, writes, that in *Meſopotamia* there are two mountains of great length, abounding with fruit-trees, the more eaſterly of which is called *Sinjar*, the other *Leſſon* (90): probably the deſert or plain of *Sinjar* lay between theſe two ridges of hills. We cannot conceive upon what ground *Heidegger* charges *Haitho* with a miſtake, as if he made *Sinjar* a mountain of *Chaldæa* (91): on the contrary, that author ſeems to have miſtaken *Haitho*, and placed what he found in the chapter concerning *Meſopotamia*, as belonging to the foregoing chapter, which treats of *Chaldæa*.

(G) Thus עמרה may be written either *Gomorrah*, or *Amorrah*: עצה, either *Gazah*, or *Azzah*, as we find it in the margin of our bibles (92).

(90) *Haitho de Tartaris, cap.* 12. *apud Grinæum, nov. orb. p.* 373.
(91) *Heidegg. hiſt. pat. tom.* i. *p.* 419. (92) *Geneſ.* x. 19.

also by another name, *viz.* *Al Samara* [m], which seems to be the contraction of *Sarra-man-rai*, a city on the east of the *Tigris*, three stages above *Baghdad*, and, for a time, the seat of the *khalifa* [n]. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

*The building of* Babel *begun.*

The sons of *Noah*, upon their arrival in this plain, began to think of building a city and tower. The learned are divided in their opinions about the sense of the passage, which gives an account of this enterprize: *And they said, Go to, let us build us a city and tower, whose top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, lest we be scattered abroad upon the face of the whole earth* [n]. Many imagine, that the motive which induced them to undertake this building, was their apprehension of a second deluge; and therefore they resolved to raise a structure of sufficient height to fly to, in case of danger [o]. Others think there is no room for this suggestion, for in that case, they would rather have built it on an eminence, than a plain; and the Scripture expresly assigns the reason of their setting about it, *viz.* to *make them a name*, or leave a memorial of themselves, *lest they should be scattered*, or, as it is otherwise rendered (perhaps to serve the purpose) *before they should be scattered abroad* [p]; which implies, they knew they should be dispersed before they began to build, being warned by GOD, according to some, to separate themselves into colonies [q]. But a third sort, to whom the text appears altogether unintelligible, as it now stands in the several translations, will have it, that the word שם *shem* should not be rendered *name*, but *sign*; and so the passage will run, *Let us make us a sign, lest we be scattered*; that is, as *Perizonius* explains it, the tower was to serve them as a beacon, or mark, by the sight of which, or of a signal made from the top of it, they might avoid straying in the open plains with their flocks (the first men being shepherds), and be brought back to the city, which they had built for a place of abode, being unwilling to disperse themselves [r].

*Their design frustrated.*

BUT whatever the motives of the chiefs were, which seem to be dubiously expressed in the text, the effect of

[m] ABU'LFARAG. hist. dyn. p. 18. [n] Vid. GOL. ubi supra, p. 130. Geogr. Nub. p. 203. [n] Gen. xi. 4. [o] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. i. cap. 5. EUTYCH. annal. p. 50. BASNAGE, antiq. Judiaques, tom. ii. cap. 2. §. 27. p. 419. [p] Vid. the vulgat. translat. [q] USHER's annals in English, ad ann. mundi 1757. [r] Vid. PERIZON. origin. Babylon. cap. 11. p. 193.

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their conſultation was, that they ſet on foot the building of the city and tower of *Babel*. But this enterprize being diſpleaſing in the eyes of GOD, as tending to fruſtrate or delay the execution of his deſign, which was, that mankind ſhould not always continue together in one place, he obliged them to give over their project, before they had finiſhed it (H), by confounding their language, ſo that one could not underſtand what another ſaid; from whence the city took the name of *Babel* [s], which ſignifies *confuſion*: whereupon the diſperſion and planting of nations enſued.

*The time of this enterprize.*

THIS great event happened juſt before the birth of *Peleg*, in the year of the flood one hundred and one, according to the *Hebrew* calculation; in the year four hundred and one, according to the *Samaritan*; and, according to the *Septuagint*, in five hundred and thirty-one; when the work, according to ſome, had been carried on twenty-two years [t]; and, according to others, forty [u].

*Whether ſinful.*

MANY, conſidering the confuſion of tongues, and the diſperſion of mankind thereupon, as a divine judgment, have deemed the building of *Babel* an evil attempt (I); and, being concerned for the honour of *Shem* and his race, will not allow them to have been preſent at it, ſuppoſing that undertaking to be ſet on foot wholly by the unbelieving part of mankind [w], in which ſenſe they underſtand the words *the children of men* [x]. On the contrary, others will

[s] Gen. xi. 7, 8, 9. [t] TORNIELLUS, SALIANUS, PERERIUS, &c. [u] SYNCEL. chronogr. p. 80. EUTYCHIUS annal. p. 53. [w] MORIN. exercit. de ling. cap. 8. p. 47. SCOTANUS hiſt. ſacr. p. 48, &c. MARSHAM chron. canon. ſecul. 17. p. 478. VON DER HART ephemer. philol. diſc. iii. USSER. chronol. ſacra, part i. cap. 5. p. 26. GURTLER. hiſt. univerſal. cap. 9. p. 93. BOCHART. phaleg, lib. i. cap. 10. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. xvii. cap. 5. [x] Geneſ. xi. 5.

(H) Some pretend that the tower was thrown down by tempeſtuous winds on the builders heads; and that the city of *Babylon* was built out of the ruins. (93).

(I) A learned divine of our nation, being of this opinion, ſuppoſes that this tower (whoſe pyramidal form, he ſays, reſembles fire, or the conic ſhape of its flame) was a monument erected to the honour of the ſun, as the moſt probable cauſe of drying up the flood (94). But of this there is not the leaſt footſtep in Scripture.

(93) *Abyden. apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l.* ix. c. 14. & *Sibylla, apud Joſeph. antiq. l.* i. (94) *Tenniſon of idolatry.*



have

have it, that not only *Shem*, but *Noah* and *Abraham*, assisted in the raising of that structure [y]; while some say, *Nimrod*, who is generally looked on as the chief promoter of that work [z], retired into *Assyria*, because he would not give his assent to it [a]. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

THAT the building of *Babel* was a thing indifferent in itself, and no way sinful, seems evident from the silence of Scripture, which does not condemn that attempt as bold or presumptuous, or intimate any revelation of a previous command to the contrary, which only could make it criminal. And that the family of *Shem* were concerned in the work as well as the rest, appears from their sharing in the punishment, if it be a punishment, that is, the confusion of tongues; though this is denied by several [b]: for the languages of *Elam* or *Persia*, and of *Assyria*, and *Mesopotamia*, were different, as were also those even of the descendants of *Eber*, the *Arabs* and *Jews*, whatever others [c] may pretend; and if speaking the *Hebrew* language be a proof, then the *Canaanites* were not concerned in the building of *Babel*, any more than *Eber* and his descendants; for their language was the same with the *Hebrew*.

BUT this supposed absence of the *Shemites*, as also another common opinion, that several nations were planted before the dispersion, are overthrown by the authority of Scripture, which strongly intimates, that all mankind then in being, without exception, were assembled in the plain of *Shinaar* (H); and it is probable, that, after the

[y] ABEN EZRA apud R. Gedal. in Shalsh. Hakkab. p. 7, b. [z] JOSEPH. antiq. lib. i. cap. 5. VON DER HART, ubi supra. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, lib. xvii. cap. 4. CONSTANT. MANASS. annal. p. 14. [a] See before, p. 279. [b] BUXTORF. in dissertat. philologico-theolog. p. 70. CHRYSOSTOM. homil. 30. in Genes. FULLER miscell. sacr. lib. iv. cap. 4. SCOTANUS, bibl. ætat. sec. p. 91. HEIDEGGER hist. patriarch. tom. i. exercit. 16. §. 16. STEPH. MORIN. ubi sup. p. 44, & 68. [c] EPIPHAN. apud GLYCAM, annal. p. 3. CONSTANT. MANASS. annal. p. 14.

(H) There is not a fact in all the *Mosaical* history, which seems to be more firmly established than this. As soon as *Moses* hath brought the three sons of *Noah* out of the ark, he takes care to inform us, that *of them was the* WHOLE EARTH *over-*

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the building of *Babel*, *Shem* and his deſcendants choſe, or *overſpread* (93). And after giving us the names of their deſcendants, at the time of their diſperſion, he ſubjoins, *And by theſe were the nations divided in the earth, after the flood* (94). Then proceeding to give an account of that memorable tranſaction, he tell us, That *the whole earth was of one language, and of one ſpeech* (95). That as *they*, namely, the whole earth, *journeyed from the* Eaſt, THEY *found a plain in the land of* Shinaar, *and dwelt there; and they ſaid, let us make brick, and build a city and a tower; and the* LORD *came down to ſee the city and the tower which the children of men builded, and ſaid, Behold, the people is one, and they have all one language* (96). Theſe ſeem to be convertible terms, and import, that as all mankind, collected there in one body, had but one language, ſo all thoſe who had but one language, were aſſembled in one body; which argument is the more cogent, becauſe it is allowed on all hands, that there was but one language in the world, at the time of the building of *Babel*, which city was ſo called, *becauſe the* LORD *did there confound the language of all the earth, and from thence did ſcatter them abroad upon the face of all the earth* (97).

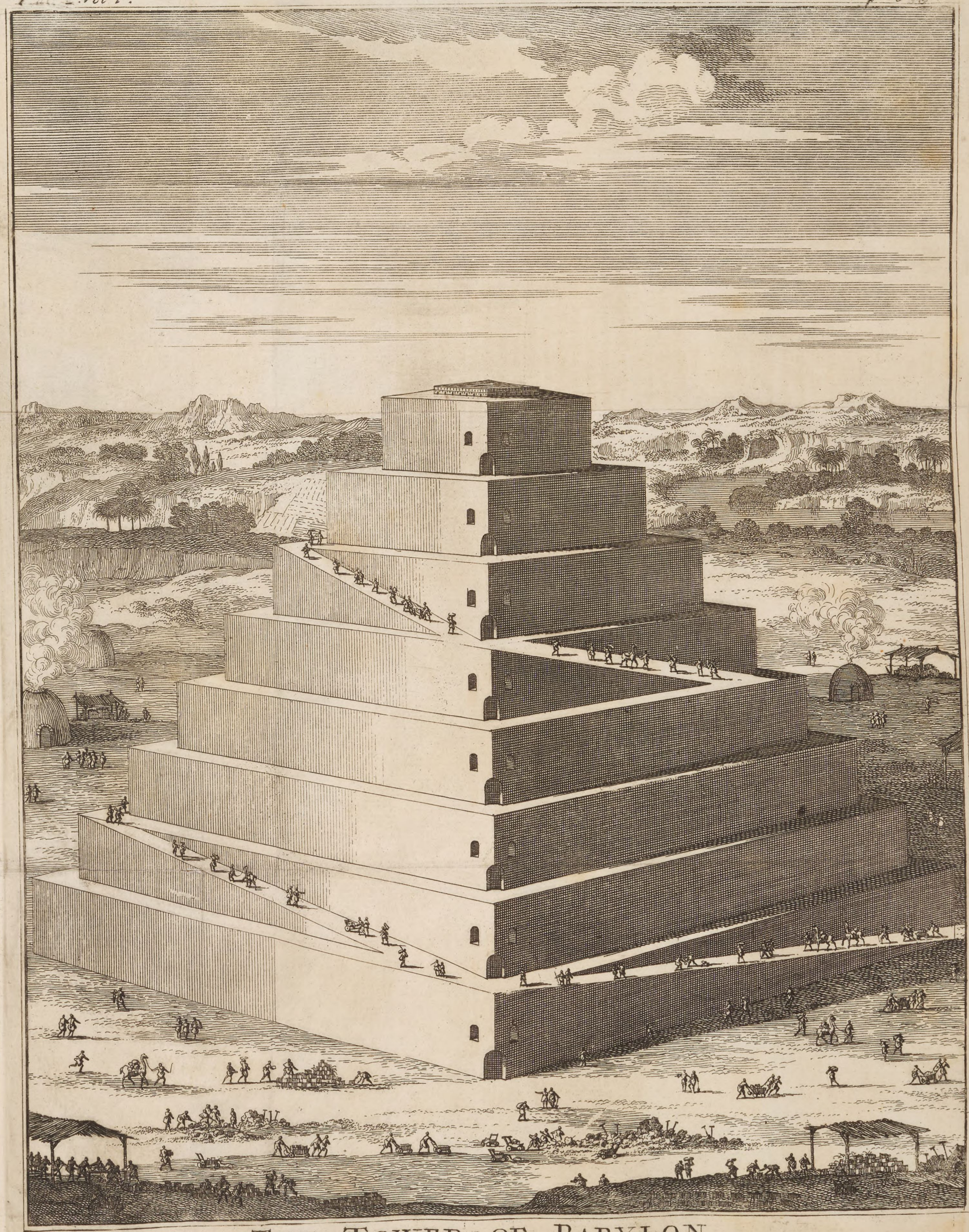
From the beginning to the end of this narration, the connection is ſo well preſerved between the antecedent and the relative, that there is no room to ſuppoſe, that any leſs than all mankind were gathered together in the plain of *Shinaar*, and aſſiſted in the building of *Babel*; and *Moſes* ſeems to have made thoſe unuſual repetitions, to inculcate the certainty of that fact, and take away all ground for ſuppoſing any branch of *Noah*'s poſterity were in any other part of the earth at that time. Wherefore the arguments uſed by ſome, that the phraſe *all the earth*, is often taken in a reſtrained and improper ſenſe elſewhere in Scripture, to ſignify only a part of the earth (98), and ſometimes no more than the *Land of Promiſe* (99); as alſo, that the expreſſion *the children of men* confines the builders to the unbelieving part of mankind only, becauſe that phraſe is alſo uſed in ſuch a ſenſe, in other places of Scripture (1), are of no force here; the ſenſe of the whole (by which that of a part is always to be governed) being directly againſt ſuch a meaning, and this laſt expreſſion being evidently uſed only to vary the diction: beſides, thoſe who urge this laſt argument, do not ſeem to conſider, that, before the diſperſion, infidelity could not well have crept in amongſt mankind; who, it is but reaſonable to conclude, while they kept together, were united in one faith as well as government.

(93) *Geneſ.* ix. 19. (94) *Ibid.* x. 32. (95) *Ibid.* xi. 1. (96) *Ib. ver.* 2, 3, 4, 5, 6. (97) *Ibid. ver.* 8, 9. (98) *Jerem.* li. 7, 49. *Dan.* ii. 39. (99) *Judg.* vi. 37. 1 *Sam.* xvii. 46. *Iſai.* x. 14. (1) 1 *Sam.* xxvi. 19. 2 *Sam.* vii. 14. *Pſal.* xii. 1.

accepted

(2) *Phaleg. l.* i. *c.* 11. (3) *Lib.* ii. *p.* 100. (4) *Inter geogr. vet. Græc. ed. Hudſoni, vol.* ii. (5) *Vid. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p.* 124, 125. *Geogr. Nubienſ. p.* 199. (6) *D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Hit, Ambar, & Cadeſſia.*

meh



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accepted of, the adjacent country for their ſettlement. So that, the moſt we can allow, with *Buxtorf*[e] and others, is, that they diſſuaded the reſt from that enterprize.

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THE reader muſt needs have a curioſity to ſee ſome account of a city and tower which employed all the men in the world, for ſo many years, in building them. The Scripture informs us, that they had made uſe of burnt bricks inſtead of ſtone, and ſlime inſtead of morter[f]. According to an eaſtern tradition, they were three years employed in making and burning thoſe bricks; each of which was thirteen cubits long, ten broad, and five thick[g]. The ſlime with which theſe bricks were cemented, was a pitchy ſubſtance, or bitumen[h], brought from a city, in the neighbourhood of *Babylon*, called *Is*[i], or *Hit* (I). The oriental

*A deſcription of* Babel.

[e] Diſſertat. philologico-theol. p. 70. [f] Gen. xi. 3. [g] EBN AMID, p. 14. EUTYCH. annal. p. 53. [h] JOSEPHUS antiq. l. i. c. 4. [i] HERODOTUS Clio, p. 32.

(I) It is much no modern author that we know of, excepting *Bochart* (2) out of the many who have occaſionally or profeſſedly ſpoken of *Babylon*, have taken notice of this nice circumſtance in *Herodotus*. That prince of hiſtorians obſerves, that, by the city *Is*, eight days journey from *Babylon*, there runs a ſmall river of the ſame name, into *Euphrates*, whoſe waters carry along with them many lumps of bitumen; which are conveyed thence to the walls of *Babylon*. *Diodorus* ſays, the quantity of bitumen in thoſe parts is ſo great, that it ſuffices the inhabitants not only for their buildings, but for fewel, being dried and burnt like wood (3). *Hit* is called *Æliopolis*, by *Iſidore* of *Charax* (4), who mentions the ſprings of bitumen near it, and places it on the *Euphrates*, about two hundred and fifteen miles weſt of *Seleucia*, on the *Tigris*; which agrees better with *Herodotus* than the account of modern authors, who place *Hit* thirty-one paraſangs, or about one hundred twenty-eight miles weſt of *Baghdad* (ſuppoſed to ſtand near, if not in the place of *Seleucia*), and twenty one paraſangs weſt of *Ambar*, once a famous city on the *Euphrates* (5), not far north from *Felujiah*; and eight to the north of *Kadeſia*, a town no leſs remarkable for the battle wherein the *Arabs* gained the victory which decided the fate of *Perſia* (6).

Theſe ſprings of bitumen are called *Oyun Hit*, the *fountains of* Hit, and are much celebrated by the *Arabs* and *Perſians*; the latter call it *Cheſh-*

(2) *Phaleg. l.* i. *c.* 11. (3) *Lib.* ii. *p.* 100. (4) *Inter geogr. vet. Græc. ed. Hudſoni, vol.* ii. 124, 125. *Geogr. Nubienſ. p.* 199. (5) *Vid. Golii not. ad Alfragan. p. Ambar, & Cadeſſia.* (6) *D'Herbelot bibl. orient. art. Hit,*

meh

Year of oriental authors say, that the city built by the sons of *Noah* flood 352.

Bef. Chr. 1996. *meh kir*, the *fountain of pitch*. This liquid bitumen they call *nafta*; and the *Turks*, to distinguish it from pitch, give it the name of *hara sakiz*, or *black mastich*. A *Persian* geographer says, that *nafta* issues out of the springs of the earth as ambergrise issues out of those of the sea (7). All the modern travellers, except *Rauwolf*, who went to *Persia* and the *Indies* by the way of the *Euphrates*, before the discovery of the *Cape of Good Hope*, mention this fountain of liquid bitumen as a strange thing. Some of them take notice of the river (8) mentioned by *Herodotus*; and assure us, that the people of the country have a tradition, that, when the tower of *Babel* was building, they brought the bitumen from hence (9); which is confirmed by the *Arab* and *Persian* historians (10).

*Hit*, *Heit* (11), *Eit* (12), *Ait* (13), or *Idt* (14), as it is variously written by travellers, is a great *Turkish* town (15), situate upon the right or west side of the *Euphrates* (16); and has a castle; to the south-west of which (17), and three miles from the town, in a valley, are many springs of this black substance (18); each of which makes a noise like a smith's forge, incessantly puffing and blowing out the matter so loud, that it may be heard a mile off: wherefore the *Moors* [*Arabs*] call it *Bab al jehennam*; that is, *hell-gate* (19). It swallows up all heavy things; and many camels from time to time fall into the pits, and are irrecoverably lost (20). It issues from a certain lake, sending forth a filthy smoke, and continually boiling over with the pitch; which spreads itself over a great field, that is always full of it. It is free for every one to take: they use it to caulk or pitch their boats, laying it on two or three inches thick; which keeps out the water (21): with it also they pitch their houses, made of palm-tree-branches. If it was not that the inundations of the *Euphrates* carry away the pitch, which covers all the sands from the place where it rises to the river, there would have been mountains of it long since (22). The very ground and stones thereabouts afford bitumen; and the fields abundance of saltpetre (23).

(7) *Apud eundem ibid. art. Hit.* (8) *Eldred. See Hackluit's collection of voyages, vol.* i. (9) *Vid. le voyage de Perse, en l'an* 1598, & 1599. *par un gentilhomme de la suitte du Seigneur Sherley, à la p.* 110. *des relations veritables & curieuses.* (10) *Vid. D'Herbelot ubi sup.* (11) *Newberry.* (12) *Balbi viaggio dell' Indie Orientali, c.* 4. *Vid. eundem apud de Brie India Orientalis, vol.* vii. (13) *Cartwright & Fitch.* (14) *Rauwolf.* (15) *Idem in his travels, part* ii. *c.* 6. *p.* 163. (16) *Eldred, Balbi, &c. ubi sup.* (17) *Newberry's travels. See Purchas's pilg. vol.* ii. *p.* 1412. (18) *Eldred ubi supra.* (19) *Cartwright's, or the preacher's travels, p.* 105. *Eldred ubi sup. Fitch's travels. See Purchas ubi sup. p.* 1730. (20) *Eldred & Newberry ubi sup.* (21) *Fitch & Balbi ubi sup.* (22) *Balbi ibid.* (23) *Voyage de Perse, ubi supra.*

was

was three hundred and thirteen fathoms in length, and one hundred and fifty-one in breadth; that the walls of it were five thouſand five hundred and thirty-three fathoms high, and thirty-three broad; and the tower ten thouſand fathom, or twelve miles high [k]; which dimenſions bear no manner of proportion to each other. Even *Jerom* affirms, from the teſtimony of eye-witneſſes, who examined the remains of the tower carefully, that it was four miles high [l]; but *Ado* raiſes the height to no leſs than five thouſand miles [m]: but theſe are ſhameful extravagancies. The only account we can depend upon, as to the dimenſions of this tower, ſuppoſing it to be the ſame tower with that which ſtood in the midſt of the temple of *Belus*, afterwards built round it by *Nebuchadnezzar*, muſt be taken from profane authors. *Herodotus* tells us, it was a furlong in length, and as much in breadth [n] (K); and *Strabo* determines the height to have been a furlong [o]; that is, the eighth part of a mile, or ſix hundred and ſixty feet; which is itſelf prodigious; for thereby it appears to have exceeded the greateſt of the *Egyptian* pyramids in height, one hundred ſeventy-nine feet; though it fell ſhort of it at the baſis by thirty-three [p]. It conſiſted of eight ſquare towers, one above another, gradually decreaſing in breadth; which, with the winding of the ſtairs from the top to the bottom on the outſide, gave it the reſemblance of a pyramid, as *Strabo*

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[k] Ebn Amid & Eutych. ubi ſupra. [l] Hieron. lib. v. comment. in Eſaiam. [m] In Chronica. [n] Lib. i. p. 33. [o] Lib. xvi. p. 1073. [p] See Greave's deſcr. of the pyramids, p. 68, 69.

(K) The words of *Herodotus* are; Ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τῷ ἱρῷ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται, σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος, καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις ὀκτὼ πύργων. *In the midſt of the temple a ſolid tower is built, of a furlong in length, and as much in breadth; and upon this tower another tower is erected, and another again upon that; and ſo on, to the number of eight towers.* It is true, the word μῆκος, which we here tranſlate *length*, may alſo ſignify *height*; but ſome authors having thence ſuppoſed, as the conſtruction ſeems to require, that the firſt tower was a furlong high, and concluding the other ſeven to be of equal height, have made the whole a mile high; to avoid which extravagant conſequence, it ſeems more reaſonable to underſtand *Herodotus* as we have rendered the paſſage; unleſs the furlong be taken for the height of all the eight towers.

calls

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calls it [q]. This antique form, joined to the extraordinary height of the ſtructure, eaſily induces us to believe it to be the ſame tower mentioned by *Moſes*; *Nebuchadnezzar* finiſhing the deſign which the ſons of *Noah* were obliged, by the confuſion of tongues, to leave unexecuted.

WHAT this moſt wonderful city was in its flouriſhing ſtate, and the ſeveral changes of fortune which befel it, till at length it was totally deſtroyed, the reader will find remarked in the courſe of this hiſtory. In the mean time, we would willingly gratify his curioſity with ſome account of the ruins of this celebrated antiquity, which are ſo defaced, that the people of the country are not certain of their ſituation; and this has occaſioned travellers to differ concerning it. Moſt of them, led by a tradition of the inhabitants, have judged a place about eight or nine miles to the weſt, or north-weſt, of *Baghdad*, to be the tower of *Babel* (L). *Rauwolf* ſuppoſes he found the ruins of *Babylon*

[q] Lib. xvi.

(L) The name of this monument is variouſly written by travellers, *Carcuſtate Nemeru* (24), *Karkuf* (25), *Agarcuf* (26): all who mention it call it the tower of *Nimrod*; and we are told, that the common people of the country believe it to be ſuch (27); and that it is at preſent called *the remains of the tower of* Babel (28). It is ſituate, according to ſome, ſeven or eight miles from *Baghdad* (29); according to others, nine miles (30) towards the weſt-north-weſt (31): it is conſpicuous at a vaſt diſtance (32), ſtanding by itſelf in a wide plain, between the *Euphrates* and *Tigris*, with nothing great or high about it; which is the reaſon, that, contrary to what is generally obſerved in other objects, it appears greater at a diſtance than when one draws near it (33). It is fallen to ruin on all ſides, and hath thereby made, as it were, a little ſhapeleſs mountain (34), which it reſembles more than a tower (35), only it is rather ſquare than round (36).

It is built of ſun-burnt bricks, each a foot ſquare, and ſix inches thick (37); ſome

(24) *Balbi viaggio della Ind. Orient. c.* 5. *p.* 22. (25) *Teixeira viage de la India haſta Italia, p.* 130. (26) *Tavernier voyage de Perſe, l.* ii. *c.* 7. (27) *Idem ibid. The preacher's travels, p.* 99, 100. (26) *Tavernier voyage de Perſe, l.* ii. *c.* 7. (27) *Idem ibid. The preacher's travels, p.* 99, 100. (28) *Ibid.* (29) *Cæſar Frederic. See Hackluit, vol.* ii. *p.* 25, & 269. *Fitch's travels. See Purchas's pilgrims, vol.* ii. *p.* 1730. *Balbi ubi ſup. c.* vii. *p.* 26. (30) *Teixeira ubi ſup. La Boullaye le Gouze voyage, c.* 52. *p.* 312. (31) *La Boullaye le Gouze ibid.* (32) *Tavernier ubi ſup.* (33) *Balbi ubi ſupra.* (34) *Fitch & Balbi ubi ſupra.* (35) *La Boullaye ubi ſup. p.* 314. (36) *Tavern. ubi ſup.* (37) *La Boullaye ubi ſup.*

ſay

ſay, three quarters of a yard long, and a quarter thick (38); others, but ten inches ſquare, and three thick (39). Authors differ as to the manner in which theſe bricks are ranged, and the materials made uſe of for ſetting and binding them together. They obſerve, firſt, that there is laid a bed, conſiſting of canes or reeds, bruiſed to pieces, mixed with wheat-ſtraw, and ſpread an inch and half thick (40); ſome call them mats made of canes and palm-tree-leaves (41); others ſay only ſtraw, the thickneſs of three inches (42), which appear as yellow and freſh as if they were but newly laid (43), and are ſtill very durable (44). Upon this bed lie ſeven ranges of bricks; then another bed of reeds, and ſix rows of bricks; then a third bed, with five rows of bricks, decreaſing in that manner till you come to the top (45). Some ſay the ranges of bricks are interchangeably ſix and ſeven upon a bed (46); and others place a bed berwixt every courſe of bricks (47); but that is probably a miſtake: though between each courſe of bricks there is laid a little ſtraw (48); or rather, they are ſet in bituminous morter (49), conſiſting of pitch and earth, for which an inch may be allowed; which is at preſent the faſhion of building at *Baghdad*, there being not far off a great lake of pitch (50); probably that of *Hit*, before-mentioned. There are fifty of theſe ranges of ſeven and ſix bricks; inſomuch that the whole height may amount to one hundred and thirty-eight feet (51). Others ſay it is reduced to one hundred and eight, or one hundred and twenty feet (52). This heap is in compaſs a quarter of a mile (53), or, at moſt, three hundred paces (54); not a mile, as one writes; the rain having waſhed it away on all ſides. It has no entrance (56), being a ſolid maſs, only at the foot of it one ſees a *maghara*, or lion's cave; and towards the middle there is an opening, which paſſes quite through the building, about a foot and an half ſquare, beſides a great window towards the top; into which our author threw a grapple, in order to aſcend it; but the bricks giving way, had like to have killed him with their fall (57).

Travellers diſagree in their ſentiments of this tower: one ſays, it has been ſo well deſcribed by *Moſes*, that the ſight of the remains and ruins would make one admire the veracity with which the writings of that great prophet are penned (58); but another declares, that, according to *Moſes*'s deſcription, there is no likelihood, that this ſhould be the tower of *Babel*; and therefore, rejecting the

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(38) *Cæſar Frederic, & Eldred, apud Hackluit ubi ſup. Cartwright ubi ſup.* (39) *Tavernier ubi ſup.* (40) *Idem ibid.* (41) *Cartwright.* (42) *La Boullaye ubi ſup.* (43) *Idem ibid.* (44) *Balbi ubi ſupra.* (45) *Tavernier ubi ſupra.* (46) *Boullaye ubi ſup.* (47) *Cartwright ubi ſup.* (48) *Tavernier ubi ſup.* (49) *Cartwright ubi ſup.* (50) *Boullaye ubi ſup.* (51) *Idem ibid.* (52) *Tavernier ubi ſup.* (53) *Cartwright ubi ſup.* (54) *Boullaye & Tavernier ubi ſup.* (55) *Balbi ubi ſup.* (56) *Fitch ubi ſup.* (57) *Boullaye ubi ſup.* (58) *Idem ibid.*

vulgar

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*Ion* upon the *Euphrates*, near *Felujia* (M), about thirty-six miles to the south-west of *Baghdad*. And *Della Valle* was

vulgar opinion of the country, he looks upon that of the *Arabs* to be more probable, who say it was built by one of their princes, for a beacon, to assemble his subjects in time of war (59): and this seems to be the truth of the matter.

(M) *Rauwolf*, a *German* physician, who, in the year 1574, passed down the *Euphrates*, in his way to *Baghdad*, being come to a village, by him called *Elugo*, and by others, more properly, *Felugia*, which was the landing-place for that city, writes thus: "The village of *Elugo* is situated where formerly *Babylon* stood; but, at present, there is not an house to be seen for the shelter of passengers. The country is so dry and barren, that it cannot be tilled; and so bare, that I should have doubted very much, whether this potent city (which once was the most stately and famous in the world, seated in the pleasant and fruitful country of *Shinaar*) did stand there, if I had not known it by its situation, and several delicate antiquities, which still are standing in great desolation; first, by the old bridge over *Euphrates*, whereof there are some pieces and arches still remaining, a little above where I landed, built of brick, and of wonderful firmness. It is admirable also how they could build a bridge here, where the river is so deep, and at least half a league broad; yet, in all the way from *Bir* [near *Aleppo*], where the river is much narrower, we saw no bridge. Near the bridge are heaps of *Babylonish* pitch, to pay vessels withal; and just before the village is the hill whereon the castle did stand, in a plain; whereon may still be seen some remains of the fortification; which is quite demolished and uninhabited. Not far off, behind it, stood the tower of *Babel*, still to be seen, half a league in diameter; but so intirely ruined, so low, and so full of venomous beasts, that have made holes through it, that one dare not approach within half a mile of it, except in two months of the year, when those animals do not stir out (60).

"In the way to *Baghdad*, the road at first was very rough, and full of large and stately buildings, arches, and turrets, standing in the sand; whereof many were decayed, and lay in ruins; others pretty intire, very strong, and adorned with artificial work, well deserving a more exact inspection. The steeple of *Daniel* is intire, built of black stone, and still inhabited. It hath some resemblance, for height and building, to that of the *Holy-cross* church, or *St. Maurice*

(59) *Tavernier ubi sup.* (60) *See his travels, part* ii. *c.* 7. *p.* 164.

"in

was directed, by another tradition, to look for it about two days journey lower (N), near an antient city, called *Hella*, Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

" in *Augsbourg*: from it may " be viewed all the ruins of the " old *Babylonian* tower, the " caſtle-hill, together with the " ſtately buildings, and the " whole ſituation of the old " town, very exactly. We " reſted, after twelve hours " march, near two aſcents, one " behind the other, extending " themſelves, like two paral- " lel walls, with openings in " ſome places, which I take " to have been the gates of the " old town (61); and the ra- " ther, becauſe I ſaw in ſome " places, under the ſand, where- " with the two aſcents were " almoſt covered, the old wall " plainly appear."—Our author ſaw ſeveral other antiquities afterwards; but night coming on, in which he groped his way to *Baghdad*, he loſt them (62); and, in all probability, among the reſt, the tower of *Nimrod*, deſcribed in the preceding note, which lies in this road. A late author has given ſome account of theſe ruins, but is much out as to the ſituation of them; as he generally is in his geography (63).

(N) *Della Valle*, who was at *Baghdad* in the year 1616, was above five days travelling between that city and the ruins of *Babel*, which he went to ſee, taking the way, by the river-ſide, through *Ruſwania*, a village, in *Thevenot*'s time, the landing-place for *Baghdad* (64), inſtead of *Felugia*, which is not far off; though, in his return, taking the ſhort cut through the plain, he arrived at *Baghdad* in two days; from which city this ruin lies ſouth-weſtward, or more to the ſouth. "In " the middle of a vaſt and le- " vel plain," ſays that excellent traveller, " about a quarter of " a league from *Euphrates*, " which, in that place, runs " weſtward, appears a heap of " ruined buildings, like a huge " mountain, the materials of " which are ſo confounded to- " gether, that one knows not " what to make of it. Its " figure is ſquare, and riſes in " form of a tower or pyramid, " with four fronts, which an- " ſwer to the four quarters of the " compaſs; but it ſeems longer " from north to ſouth than " from eaſt to weſt; and is, as " far as I could judge by my " pacing it, a large quarter of " a league. Its ſituation and " form correſpond with that " pyramid which *Strabo* calls " the tower of *Belus*; and is, " in all likelihood, the tower of " *Nimrod* in *Babylon*, or *Babel*, " as that place is ſtill called. In " that author's time, it had " nothing remaining of the " ſtairs, and other ornaments " mentioned by *Herodotus*, the " greateſt part of it having " been ruined by *Xerxes*; and " *Alexander*, who deſigned to " have it reſtored it to its for-

(61) *Ibid. p.* 166. (62) *Ibid. p.* 167. (63) *Mac Gregory, in his ſepulchres of the antients, p.* 48. (64) *See Thevenot's travels, part* 2. *book* 1. *c.* 9. *p.* 40.

" mer

Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996. *Hella*, ſituate upon the ſame river. Here alſo muſt be placed

" mer luſtre, was prevented by
" death. There appear no
" marks of ruins, without the
" compaſs of that huge maſs,
" to convince one ſo great a
" city as *Babylon* had ever
" ſtood there; all one diſco-
" vers within fifty or ſixty
" paces of it, being only the
" remains here-and-there of
" ſome foundations of build-
" ings; and the country round
" about it ſo flat and level,
" that one can hardly believe
" it ſhould be choſen for the
" ſituation of ſo great and no-
" ble a city as *Babylon*, or that
" there were ever any remark-
" able buildings on it: but, for
" my part, I am aſtoniſhed there
" appears ſo much as there
" does, conſidering it is at leaſt
" four thouſand years ſince that
" city was built; and that
" *Diodorus Siculus* tells us, it
" was reduced almoſt to no-
" thing in his time. The
" height of this mountain of
" ruins is not in every part
" equal, but exceeds the higheſt
" palace in *Naples*; it is a miſ-
" ſhapen maſs, wherein there
" is no appearance of regula-
" rity; in ſome places it riſes
" in points, is craggy and in-
" acceſſible; in others, it is
" ſmoother, and is of eaſier
" aſcent; there are alſo tracks
" of torrents from the top to
" the bottom, cauſed by the
" rains, and both withinſide,
" and upon it, one ſees parts,
" ſome higher and ſome lower.
" It is not be diſcovered whe-
" ther ever there were any ſteps
" to aſcend it, or any doors to
" enter into it; whence one
" may eaſily judge, that the
" ſtairs ran winding about on
" the outſide; and that, being
" the leſs ſolid parts, they were
" ſooneſt demoliſhed; ſo that
" not the leaſt ſign of any ap-
" pears at preſent.

" Withinſide one finds ſome
" grottos, but ſo ruined, that
" one can make nothing of
" them: and it is a doubt, with
" regard to ſome of them,
" whether they were built at
" the ſame time with that
" work, or made ſince by the
" peaſants for ſhelter; which
" laſt ſeems to be the moſt like-
" ly. The Mohammedans be-
" lieve, that theſe caverns were
" pointed by GOD, as places
" of puniſhment to *Harut* and
" *Marut*, two angels, who,
" they ſuppoſe, were ſent from
" heaven to judge the crimes
" of men, but did not execute
" their commiſſions as they
" ought. It is evident, from
" theſe ruins, that the tower
" of *Nimrod* was built with
" great and thick bricks, as I
" carefully obſerved, cauſing
" holes to be dug in ſeveral
" places for the purpoſe; but
" they do not appear to have
" been burnt, but dried in the
" ſun, which is extreme hot in
" thoſe parts. In laying theſe
" bricks neither lime nor ſand
" was employed, but only
" earth tempered and petri-
" fied; and in thoſe parts
" which made the floors, there
" had been mingled with that
" earth, which ſerved inſtead
" of lime, bruiſed reeds, or
" hard

placed the ruins described by a late traveller (N) into these parts. We have inserted in the notes abstracts of the several

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" hard straw, such as large " mats are made of, to strengthen the work. Afterwards, " one perceives, at certain distances in divers places, especially where the strongest " buttresses were to be, several " other bricks of the same size, " but more solid, and burnt in " a kiln, and set in good lime, " or bitumen; nevertheless, " the greater number consists " of those which are only dried " in the sun. I make no " doubt but this ruin was the " antient *Babel*, and the tower of *Nimrod*; for, besides " the evidence of its situation, " it is acknowleged to be such " by the people of the country; being vulgarly called " *Babil* by the *Arabs* (65)."

This is the account of that curious traveller; whose painter, by his directions, had drawn the plan, and several prospects of the ruins; which we do not find were ever published in any edition of his works: but *Kircher*, in his *Turris Babel*, has given two of them. However, after all, this seems to be only such another modern structure, built by the *Arabs*, for a watch-tower, as that already described.

(N) This gentleman (66) hath, by his penetration, made something of this rude mass, and discovered a great resemblance between it and the tower of *Belus*, as described by *Herodotus*, though it does not answer in dimensions. He distinguishes between the first original design, upon which it was antiently begun, and the second different design, upon which it was continued; it being built partly after one design, and partly after another. The original design our author describes to be a high tower, exactly square, in form of a pyramid; the length of one of whose sides, at the base, being two hundred and forty-three *Babylonish* feet, each of which is equal to a *London* foot and two inches, it must be in compass two hundred and twenty-six geometrical paces and four feet, or a little more than the fifth part of an *English* mile. The perpendicular height was intended to be likewise two hundred and forty-three feet, equal to the root of the square; and the oblique height, two hundred seventy-one feet and an half; the whole being a mass or heap of brick and bitumen work, inclosing a solid hill and rock. The execution of this first design (so far as it was executed) is in this manner: it is divided into nine parts, which are, as it were, so many square towers, in form of parallelepipeds, or flat cubes, one raised above another pyramidically; each twenty seven feet in height, but gradually diminishing in breadth as many feet, so

(65) *Vid. viaggi di Pietro della Valle, part* ii. *lett.* 17. (66) *Mac. Gregory in his Sepulchres of the antients, p.* 35, *&c.*

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veral accounts; but must acquaint the reader, that they do not any of them seem to us to be the remains of the original

as to make a gallery, or walk, quite round on the top of the tower below, and by the sides of the other above, thirteen feet and an half broad. The last and highest tower was to have been an exact cube, twenty-seven feet square, and as many high.

This structure is built with bricks of earth, hardened with fire, each nine *Babylonish* inches square, and three thick, laid in bitumen, mixed with straw, or reeds, to the thickness sometimes of three quarters of an inch, and sometimes of three inches, in the following order: first, there is a bed of bitumen mixed with reeds, three inches thick; then a row of so many bricks as make up the square, likewise three inches thick: next is another bed of bitumen mixed with straw, three quarters of an inch thick; then a row of bricks as before; and so alternately, a bed of bitumen and straw, and a range of bricks seven times more; so as to make up, in all, from the base, the height of three feet: then a new bed of bitumen mixed with reeds, three inches thick, being laid, the whole is repeated in the same order eight times more, so as to complete twenty-seven feet, which is the height of the first tower. The next five towers are raised in the same manner. The structure so far, being one hundred and sixty-two feet high, or two thirds of the whole, was built by *Nimrod*; but it was afterwards continued by *Ninus Belus*, upon a second and different design; which was, that of a tower, exactly round, in form of a cone, or round pyramid, of the same dimensions with the former, divided likewise into nine towers, gradually diminishing in the above-mentioned proportions; of which, the last and highest would be a cylinder, or round tower, twenty-seven feet in diameter, and as many in height. In pursuance of this second design, two round towers were built on the fixth square tower; the second of which round towers (the diameter of whose base is fifty-four feet), or eighth of the whole, has a temple practised, or contrived in its solidity, along with the execution; which temple is likewise round twenty-seven feet diameter, and the same in height; with an entry, or door, made in the [west] side towards *Babylon*, nine feet square, and thirteen and half long, and a round opening, or, as it were, a window in the top, nine feet diameter; the floor, both of the temple and entry, being plain, the sides perpendicular, and the roof arched; the arching being contrived in the uppermost third part of the height. This was built by *Ninus Belus*, who died before it was finished, when the structure was raised to the height of two hundred and sixteen feet, or just eight ninth parts of the whole: and though it wanted only one ninth part, which was the last and smallest

of

ginal tower; but rather, ſome later ſtructures of the *Arabs*.



of all, the completing of it was never afterwards thought on more by any of his ſucceſſors: ſo that it ended with a round flat, of fifty-four feet diameter, with the aforeſaid window of the temple in the middle, and ſtill continues ſo. And this tower, as well as the temple, has ſerved as a model, ever ſince, for all nations to imitate; eſpecially the temple, which has conſtantly been followed by thoſe of all religions, who have always built their temples round, with an overture at the top, except the *Goths*, who introduced the figure of *Noah*'s ark in their churches: though, as to the overture or window, it is a difficult queſtion among architects, whether it was deſigned, or happened by the tower being left unfiniſhed, and wanting the laſt ninth part; which, according to the original deſign, was to terminate it; and if ſo, would have ſtopped, or covered that overture. It is commonly ſaid to have been deſigned ſo: and *Moſes* ſeems to have been of that mind, when, giving an account of what followed upon the confuſion of *Babel*, he ſays, the further building of the city was given over; but is ſilent as to the tower; becauſe perhaps he reckoned it had been completed. Yet it is certain, from the knowlege of the deſign, that it never was completed, and that the overture happened by chance, as before obſerved: beſides, there are ſome temples of the ſame times to be ſeen in and about the ruins of *Babylon*; particularly that of *Ninus Aſſur*, done by his wife *Semiramis*, where there is no ſuch thing; which makes it more probable that it was not deſigned: though the greateſt part of the *Babylonian* temples of thoſe times, we ſee, have it; which renders the matter again ſomething doubtful.

Before *Ninus Belus* began the before-mentioned temple, he made a ſepulchre for his father *Nimrod* at the bottom of the tower, cut out of the rock, at the bottom of the little hill which is incloſed by the tower. This burying-place is a double grot, conſiſting of two antegrots, one within another, and ſix ſepulchres, or ſmall grots, in each, two on each inner ſide (67); the ſepulchres being eight feet long, ſix feet broad, and as many high; and their doors, or entries, cut upon the ſame level, four feet long, three broad, and three feet high. Within the ſepulchres, on the right-hand, is a levee, or ſeat, the whole length of the ſepulchre, three feet broad, and one and an half high, left uncut of the rock, for laying the dead body on (68). This ſepulchre was made by hollowing a paſſage into the tower after it was built; as appears by the face of

(67) *Ibid. p.* 18. (68) *Ibid. p.* 14, 15.

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## SECT. V.

### *Of the confuſion of tongues.*

*Of the original of ſpeech.*

BEING in this ſection to give ſome account of the confuſion of tongues, it may be expected we ſhould firſt ſay ſomething about the origin of ſpeech, one of the moſt diſtinguiſhing differences between us and the animal creation, the great bond which holds ſociety together, and the common conduit whereby the improvements of knowlege are conveyed from one man, and one generation, to another.

the opening, which is irregular, and the bricks and earth broken. This overture was made through the brick-work and earth of the one, to ſerve as an avenue, or paſſage, leading to the entry of the other, made through the rock on the ſame ſide, towards *Babylon* (69).

This antiquity is defaced ſomewhat on all the four ſides, eſpecially on the north and weſt; where the corners and edges of the parts are much decayed, and the body of the bricks worn away into a chanel, or hollow, between the beds of bitumen; which, with the reeds and ſtraw incorporated with them, continue firm and intire; neither time, weather, or any other accident, being able to make an impreſſion on them. The people of the country have dug caves in it to retire to; and thoſe who conduct paſſengers from *Baghdad* to ſee it, break off pieces in one place to add to another, in order to make ſteps and hand-grips, to render the going up and down it ſafe: ſo that the face of antiquity is now very much changed from what it was; the lowermoſt ninth part [or tower] being intirely hid under-ground by the earth and ruins: in ſhort, it is ſo diſfigured, that one muſt be at a great deal of pains to find out the architecture of it; and travellers, for want of being properly qualified, not knowing what to make of it, have given imperfect and confuſed accounts of it (70). As to the ſituation of this ruin, which ſeems to be the ſame with that already deſcribed by *Della Valle*, whom he mentions (71), he is very much out in it; ſince he places it twenty-ſeven miles to the ſouth-weſt of *Baghdad*, and but twenty-nine to the north-weſt from the caſtle of *Corna*, at the confluence of the *Euphrates* and the *Tigris* (72); whereas *Corna* is, at leaſt, one hundred and eighty miles diſtant from that city.

(69) *Ibid. p.* 28. (70) *Ibid. p.* 42, 43, 44. (71) *Ibid. p.* 35. (72) *Ibid. p.* 28.

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IF the authority of *Moſes* be concluſive, it ſeems not to be denied but that ſpeech was the immediate gift of GOD to the firſt man: not that we ſuppoſe GOD really inſpired him with any diſtinct or primitive language, but that he made him ſenſible of the power with which he was indued, of forming articulate ſounds (O), and the uſe he might make of them as ſigns of his ideas, and then left the arbitrary impoſition of them to *Adam* himſelf (P); as is intimated by GOD's bringing the beaſts and birds to him, *to ſee what he would call them*; *and whatever* Adam *called every living creature, that was the name thereof* [r]. So that, excepting the firſt impulſe of the Almighty, informing *Adam* of his natural power, we are inclined to think, that

[r] Geneſ. ii. 19.

(O) We cannot conceive, that inarticulate ſounds were ever made uſe of by any nation, to communicate their thoughts; nor that there are any inſtances thereof to be found, notwithſtanding what ſome travellers have related concerning ſeveral remote people. We are told, the *Samoyedes*, inhabiting the coaſts of *Siberia*, and the icy ſea, have nothing human about them, except their outward form; and that the uncertain ſound they utter, has no more the reſemblance of ſpeech, than the chattering of apes (73): that the natives of *Greenland* uſe a ſound like beaſts, ſo uncouth, that no *Dane* or *Dutchman* could ever yet imitate it (74): and, that the ſpeech of the *Hottentots* comes nearer the gobbling of turkies than an human voice; though, perhaps, it may be intelligible among themſelves (75). But it may be queſtioned, whether theſe authors were proper judges in the caſe, as not being acquainted with the languages of thoſe nations: and the rather, becauſe, upon inquiry, we are credibly informed, that the language of theſe laſt, though commonly thought to be the moſt inarticulate of all others, is not a deſpicable one; and that thoſe of the *Dutch* ſettlement at the *Cape* of *Good Hope* underſtand and ſpeak it tolerably well.

(P) *Mohammed*, in his Koran, ſuppoſes *Adam* came by the names of things no otherwiſe than by revelation. That book pretends, that the angels, at the creation of man, expreſſing ſome contempt of him, GOD taught *Adam* the names of things, and then demanded of the angels, how thoſe things were called; which they confeſſing to be above their knowlege, GOD ordered *Adam* to name them to them; which he did; and the angels afterwards, at GOD's command, paid their homage to *Adam* as their ſuperior (76).

(73) *Ides*, *p.* 94. (74) *Ten Rhyne*, *p.* 844. (75) *Nieuhoff*, *p.* 188.
(76) *Al Koran*, *c.* ii. *v.* 30, &c.

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ſpeech was attained by gradual invention of arbitrary ſounds, to denote, firſt, the moſt obvious things, and after, the leſs obvious, as they came to be taken notice of. That it is poſſible *Adam* might attain the uſe of ſpeech by this method, we preſume none will deny; and, if it be poſſible, we are ſure it muſt be the moſt reaſonable and probable to all but thoſe who are for multiplying of miracles needleſly.

WE cannot therefore approve of the opinion of thoſe, who imagine that GOD himſelf formed the body of a language, and then infuſed it into *Adam* (Q). Beſides, the much greater part of the primitive tongue, whatever that was, and the names of many things and operations, muſt have been impoſed ſeveral ages after *Adam*'s creation; as mankind became acquainted with them, and arts and conveniencies of life were invented. The birds and beaſts indeed, it is natural to ſuppoſe, *Adam* might immediately name, the kinds not being many; but we do not think he went ſo far as to name every ſpecies of them, much leſs all the reptiles, trees, or plants; though ſome of the moſt familiar to him no doubt he did. The fiſh, we preſume, nobody will imagine were brought to him to be named; and if they had, by miracle, appeared before *Adam*, no doubt *Moſes* would have mentioned it; the fiſh of the ſea

(Q) The words, which are generally tranſlated, *man became a living ſoul* (77), the *Chaldee* paraphraſts render *it*; viz. *the breath breathed into him by* GOD, *became in man a ſpeaking ſoul.* Moſt of the *Jews* ſuppoſe the firſt tongue (which they all imagine was their own) was formed and created by GOD himſelf, and ſo communicated to *Adam* (78). Some of them think this was done by generally acquainting him with the roots and fundamental parts of the tongue only (79); others, in a more ſpecial and particular manner, by revealing to him the whole extent and propriety of the language, even the letters, points, and accents (80).

This notion, which ſome Chriſtians embraced, and particularly *Eunomius*, who, becauſe GOD is introduced by *Moſes* as ſpeaking before the creation, held, that there was in words a certain eternal and immutable nature, was ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by *Gregory* of *Nyſſa*, who declared it a ſilly, ridiculous, and blaſphemous opinion, to imagine the great GOD would condeſcend to turn grammarian, and ſet himſelf down ſubtilly to invent names for things (81).

(77) *Geneſ.* ii. 7. (78) *Sepher Cozri.* (79) *R. Iſ. Abrawanel.* (80) *R. Juda Hallevi. Muſcat. Ephodeus, &c.* (81) *Greg. Nyſſen. contra Eunom. l.* xxi.

being

being the first part of the creation, the dominion of which was given by GOD to man[s].

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IT has however been thought by great numbers, that the first language was of divine formation; and of this sentiment *Plato* himself seems to have been; who supposed, that the names of things, originally, had some natural connection, or congruity, with the things themselves; and that the first names must have been justly imposed, because they were imposed by the gods[t] (R). And partly from this notion, in all probability, arose those superstitious pretences of the holiness of one tongue above the rest, as being formed by GOD.

AS we cannot see any necessity for supposing the inspiration of a language, so neither can we imagine, that *Adam* could attain the use of speech so soon as is represented to us by *Moses*, without divine assistance. We might suppose indeed, that mankind might of themselves, by degrees, form a perfect language; for when men wanted signs to express their ideas, and convey them to the understanding of others, they could find none more fit for that purpose, or which required less difficulty to invent, or labour to form, than articulate sounds: but to frame a number of them, sufficient even for the few occasions of the first men, must necessarily have taken up a considerable time; for which reason, those who were unacquainted with the *Mosaical* writings, have imagined, that men were at first no better than mute animals, till at length convenience taught them the use of speech (S). Several of the antients

[s] Genes. i. 26, 28. [t] PLATO in Cratylo. Vid. eund. in Protagora.

(R) The words of this philosopher are; Ὀνόματος ὀρθότητα εἶναι ἑκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων φύσει πεφυκυῖαν (82). And after; ὅτι τὰ πρῶτα ὀνόματα οἱ θεοὶ ἔθεσαν, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ὀρθῶς ἔχει (83).

(S) This notion *Horace* has expressed in the following lines:

*Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,*
*Mutum ac turpe pecus——*
*Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,*
*Nominaque invenere* (84).

When animals crawl'd forth
from parent earth,
A vile dumb herd they were—
Till words were found to utter what they thought,
And names were set on things.——

(82) *In Cratyl. p.* 383, *ed. Serrani.* (83) *Ibid. p.* 425. (84) *Horat. Serm. l.* i. *sat.* 3. *v.* 99, *&c.*

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antients were of opinion, that men, in the beginning of the world, expreſſed their thoughts by dumb ſigns, or geſticulation only, or elſe, by confuſed ſounds, of no ſignification; and afterwards endeavoured at a language, by impoſing diſtinct names on things; which was not brought to any tolerable perfection, but by a long courſe of time [u].

*The firſt language conſiſted of few words.*

IF we conſider the primitive ſtate of *Adam*, and the few things he had occaſion to name, it cannot be conceived, that his language at firſt was very extenſive; for were we to expunge out of our lexicons all words introduced by the gradual invention of arts, to ſerve the convenience of life, by accurate diſtinctions of the ſeveral ſpecies of creatures, and metaphyſical conceptions about the operations of the mind, we ſhould find the remainder contained in a very ſmall compaſs; ſo that it muſt neceſſarily be ſeveral ages before a language could be completed to any degree, in compariſon to our modern tongues. *Scaliger*, agreeably to this notion, divides ſpeech into three ſorts or degrees, as formed either for neceſſity, uſe, or delight: the firſt is, that imperfect ſpeech, or rather, eſſay towards ſpeech, above-mentioned, ſerving as the means of neceſſary intercourſe between man and man. The ſecond was ſomewhat more refined and poliſhed, by being adapted and made fit for uſe and convenience, and by applying certain dimenſions, bounds, and lineaments, to the firſt rude ſketch; whence aroſe a certain rule of ſpeaking. The third ſort was yet more polite, there being added to the former the ornament of elegance as its dreſs [w].

*Whether more tongues than one before the flood.*

WHETHER there was more than one language before the flood, is a thing about which we are perfectly in the dark; though it is more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that there

[u] DIODOR. SIC. l. i. p. 8. Vid. LACTANT. de vero cultu, l. x.
[w] SCALIGER, in poetic. l. i. c. 1.

And *Lucretius* to the ſame purpoſe:

*At varios linguæ ſonitus natura ſubegit*
*Mittere, & utilitas expreſſit nomina rerum* (85).

Kind nature pow'r of framing ſounds affords
To man; and then convenience taught us words.
*Creech.*

The latter alſo ridicules thoſe who ſuppoſe ſpeech the invention of one man (86).

(85) *Lucret. de rerum nat. l.* v. *ver.* 1027, *&c.* (86) *Ibid. v.* 1040, *&c.*

was

was but one, in which it is poſſible there might be ſome Year of difference in dialect, but none conſiderable: for the few ages between the creation and the flood, and the long lives of the antediluvians, would effectually prevent any great alteration. However that be, it is probable only one language, and that the primitive, was preſerved by *Noah*, or, at leaſt, was ſpoken by his deſcendants, till the confuſion of tongues at *Babel* (T). 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

*Inquiry concerning the primitive tongue.*

IT may be expected, that we ſhould here enter into a formal inquiry concerning the primitive tongue, and endeavour to determine what particular language it was that the firſt progenitors of mankind ſpoke. But as this is an inquiry rather of curioſity than uſe, and we cannot be certain whether that language, whatever it was, be now in being [x]; the moſt we can do will be to ſhew the vanity of the pretenſions of thoſe languages which have laid claim to this honour, as a great number have done, each nation being fond of it, as an undeniable evidence of their own antiquity (U): though they generally argue in a circle, and urge their antiquity as a proof of the former.

BESIDES

[x] Vid. GROT. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & CLUVER. Germ. antiq. l. i. c. 8. p. 59, 60.

(T) Suppoſing there were more tongues than one before the flood, and that *Noah* and his three ſons could ſpeak them all, it is moſt reaſonable to believe, that they taught but one common tongue to their children, who propagated the ſame among their deſcendants: ſo that the reſt expiring with thoſe firſt patriarchs, there remained but one language amongſt mankind at the building of *Babel*.

(U) *Pſammetichus*, a king of *Egypt*, appears to have been of this opinion: for, wanting to know who were the moſt antient people in the world, after ſeveral fruitleſs experiments, he at laſt hit on the following expedient: he took two infants newly born, and gave them to a ſhepherd to be brought up, commanding him not to ſuffer any perſon to ſpeak a word in their hearing, but to nurſe them in a ſolitary cottage, by bringing them goats to ſuck, till they could take other food. *Pſammetichus*'s intention herein was, to find out what word the children would firſt utter, when they began to articulate; imagining, as others have ſince done, that they would naturally ſpeak the primitive language, if not taught otherwiſe. At two years end, as the ſhepherd, one day, entered the cottage, he had no ſooner opened the door, than the children ran to him, and, holding out their hands, cried *beccós*. Of this the ſhepherd at firſt took no notice; but afterwards obſerving they frequently repeated this word

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*Several languages claim this honour.*

BESIDES thoſe kindred languages we commonly call the oriental tongues, the *Armenian*, the *Celtic*, the *Coptic*, the *Greek*, the *Teutonic*, and the *Chineſe*, have aſpired to the preference, in this reſpect. The *Armenian*, *Celtic*, and *Coptic*, have little evidence to produce, beſides the antiquity of their nations; though the former inſiſt, that as the ark reſted in their country, and *Noah* and his children muſt have continued there for ſome time, before the lower and marſhy country of *Chaldea* could be fit to receive them, it is therefore reaſonable to ſuppoſe, they left their language there. The *Greek* ſome writers have fanſied to be the moſt antient, becauſe of its great extent and copiouſneſs [y]. The *Teutonic*, or that dialect of it which is ſpoken in *Lower Germany* and *Brabant*, has found a ſtrenuous patron [z], who has endeavoured to derive even the *Hebrew* itſelf from that tongue. And the pretenſions of the *Chineſe* have been ſupported [a], not only from the great antiquity of that nation, their early acquaintance with arts and ſciences, and their having preſerved themſelves, ſo many ages, from any conſiderable mixture or intercourſe with other nations; but alſo from the nature and ſingularity of the tongue itſelf, which conſiſts of few words, all monoſyllables; is moſt ſimple in its conſtruction, having no variety of declenſions, conjugations, or grammatical rules; and ſo modeſt, that, it is ſaid, they have no character to expreſs thoſe parts which we induſtriouſly conceal [b]: all which are conceived to be ſtrong marks of its being the firſt language

[y] EUTYCH. annal. p. 50. [z] GOROPIUS BECANUS, in origin. Antverp. [a] Vid. WEBB's eſſay towards the primitive language. [b] SEMEDO rel. de la Cina, part. i. c. 11.

at his coming in, he acquainted the king with it, and, by his order, brought the children into his preſence. *Pſammetichus*, having himſelf heard them pronounce the ſame word, inquired whether any nation made uſe of it; and finding the *Phrygians* called *bread* by that name, he and his ſubjects allowed this to be a proof, that the *Phrygians* were the more antient people. *Herodotus* remarks, that the *Greeks*, among other ridiculous things, reported, that theſe children were brought up by women whoſe tongues had been cut out by the king's order for that purpoſe (87). The *ſcholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes* (88) tells the ſame ſtory of another king of *Egypt*, named *Seſonchoſis*.

(87) *Herodot. Euterp. in initio. Vid. Suidam in voce* Βεικεσέλην.
(88) *In nubes, p.* 149, 150.

of

of mankind; beſides the preſumption, formerly mentioned, of *Noah*'s being the founder of the *Chineſe* nation [c]. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

As to the oriental languages, though they have each of them their partiſans, yet the generality of eaſtern authors allow the preference to the *Syriac*, or that dialect of it which was ſpoken in *Meſopotamia*, *Chaldea*, and *Aſſyria*; in which countries mankind made their firſt ſettlements after the flood, and where, it is preſumed, the language of *Noah*, and his ſons, remained. For which reaſon, the more judicious *Arab* writers acknowlege *Yarab*, the ſon of *Kahtan* (or *Jerah*, the ſon of *Joktan*), to be the firſt whoſe ſpeech deviated from the *Syriac* to the *Arabic*; and little regard the pretences of ſome of their countrymen, that their language was ſpoken by *Adam* before the fall, and then changed into the *Syriac*, but reſtored again, upon his repentance: that, notwithſtanding, in time, it degenerated again into the ſame language; and would have been utterly loſt, had it not been preſerved by the elder *Jorham*, who eſcaped, with *Noah*, in the ark, and propagated it among his poſterity [d].

THE patrons of the *Syriac* tongue have, as another evidence of its right to the precedency, endeavoured to derive the names of perſons and places, mentioned by *Moſes*, from that language [e]; and, generally, with better ſucceſs than ſome writers will allow (X): but this argument,

[c] See before, p. 261, &c. [d] Vid. POCOCK. orat. præf. in carmen Tograi, & ſpecim. hiſt. Arab. p. 38, 40. [e] Vid. THEODORET. quæſt. 51. in Geneſ.

(X) It is ſaid, in particular, that the *paranomaſia* in this paſſage, *ſhe ſhall be called woman* [אישׁה *iſhſhah*] *becauſe ſhe was taken* [מאישׁ *me-iſh*] *out of man* (89), is not preſerved in the *Chaldee* and *Syriac* tranſlations; which, inſtead of *iſh* and *iſhſhah*, uſe the words בעל *baal* and אתתא *itta*; or *gabro* and *atto:* whence ſome have concluded, that the tranſlators were not able to expreſs the alluſion in the *Syriac* tongue (90). But this is a miſtake; for the *Syrians*, from the maſculine *gabro*, regularly form the feminine *gharto*; which word is to be found in their lexicons and grammars, though it be antiquated, and therefore not made uſe of by the tranſlators. It is likewiſe objected (91), with as little foundation, that *Adam* does not ſignify *man*, nor *Cain poſſeſſion*, in that tongue. We may obſerve, hereafter, that ſome names in *Moſes* are more happily derived from the *Syriac* than the *Hebrew*.

(89) *Geneſ.* ii. 23. (90) *Vid. Heideg. hiſt. patr. tom.* i. *exercit.* 16. §. 13. *Nicholſon. diſſert. philologic. de univ. totius orbis lingnis, p.* 4. (91) *Heideg. ubi ſupra.*

though

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though commonly looked upon as concluſive, yet proves nothing of itſelf, as will be hereafter obſerved. However, thus much we muſt, in juſtice, acknowlege, that if any of theſe tongues, in particular, may claim to be the original, or mother of the reſt, it ſeems to be the *Syriac*, which was, probably, ſpoken by all the patriarchs, from *Noah* to *Abraham*; that being, after the confuſion, the tongue of the country where they were born and lived: though, it muſt be confeſſed, it will not thence follow, that it was in uſe there, before the confuſion.

*The pretenſions of the* Hebrew *tongue conſidered.*

BUT the *Jews* are they who aſſert the antiquity of their tongue with the greateſt warmth. They pretend that it was immediately framed by GOD; that he ſpake it himſelf; for which reaſon it is called, *the holy tongue*: that it is the only language underſtood by the angels, and wherein we can pray, and be heard, with effect[f]. And ſeveral Chriſtian writers[g], abating theſe ſuperſtitious fancies of the *Jews*, have acknowleged and maintained, that the *Hebrew* tongue is the moſt antient in the world; the very ſame which was ſpoken by *Adam* and *Noah*, and preſerved in the family of *Eber*, who were not concerned in the building of *Babel*, nor, conſequently, ſhared in the puniſhment inflicted on thoſe that were. But as we have already ſhewn this to be a groundleſs imagination, we ſhall proceed to conſider their principal argument, and, indeed, the only one which deſerves any conſideration, drawn from the etymologies of the names in *Moſes*; ſome of which that inſpired writer himſelf derives from the *Hebrew*, and the reſt are generally ſuppoſed to have been taken thence, likewiſe.

AND here it cannot be denied, that ſeveral proper names of perſons and places, before the confuſion of tongues, may be very regularly derived from the *Hebrew*; and that there are ſome very pertinent reaſons given, and alluſions made, by the ſacred hiſtorian, to evince their propriety, and the relation they have to the perſon or place deſigned by them: and this is the moſt that can be allowed. For though all the names in general, mentioned by *Moſes* before the diviſion, may, poſſibly, be formed from ſome *Hebrew* root or other; yet much the greater part of them

[f] Vid. BUXTORF. de ling. Hebr. orig. [g] CHRYSOST. homil. xxx. in Geneſ. xi. AUGUST. de civit. Dei, l. xvii. c. 11. ORIGEN. in Numer. hom. xi. HIERON. comment. in Sophon. Vid. etiam SELDEN. de ſynedriis vet. Hebræor. l. ii. c. 9. BOCHART. phaleg, l. i. c. 15. HEIDEG. hiſt. patriarch. tom. i. exerc. 16. & alios pæne innumeros.

ſeem

ſeem to be inſignificant, at leaſt to have no congruity with the ſubject: nor can it be expected they ſhould, unleſs we either imagine all ſuch names, as ſeem to relate to a future part of a perſon's life, were given by the ſpirit of prophecy; or elſe allow them to be impoſed after the events, which occaſioned them, happened; and ſo to be rather ſurnames, than proper names; a conceſſion which manifeſtly weakens the argument drawn from them.

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THUS much being premiſed, it will be eaſy to ſhew, that this demonſtrative argument, as it is called [l], will not bear examination. For, 1. It is not certain, that the names uſed by *Moſes* were the very original names themſelves, and not tranſlated, by him, from the primitive tongue into *Hebrew*, or, at leaſt, ſomewhat altered, to accommodate what he wrote to the underſtandings of the *Jews*. And, how inconſiſtent ſoever ſome may think this method with hiſtorical veracity, it has been frequently practiſed by profane, as well as ſacred hiſtorians; as has been undeniably proved [m]: and *Moſes* himſelf has given a plain inſtance of his approbation of ſuch changes, in altering his own name, which was of *Egyptian* original, to adapt it to a *Hebrew* etymology (H). 2. Suppoſing the names given by *Moſes* were the true original ones, it would not be ſtrange at all, if ſome of them might, by accident, aptly admit of a *Hebrew* derivation; ſuch caſual conformities ſometimes happening in words which are certainly known to be of different origins. 3. Several of thoſe names are more pertinently derived from ſome other of the oriental tongues, than from the *Hebrew* (I): and not a few of the etymologies

[l] ABRAVANEL. [m] Vid. PLATON. in Critia. GROT. in Geneſ. xi. 1. & de veritate rel. Chriſt. lib. i. HUET. in demonſt. evang. prop. iv. c. 13. §. 4. CLERIC. diſſert. de lingua Heb.

(H) The original name is *Moüſe*, or (as it is in the *Coptic* verſion) *Moüſes*, with the *Greek* termination; and compoſed of two *Coptic*, or old *Egyptian* words, *moü*, *water*; and *ſe*, *to preſerve*. But *Moſes*, finding the *Hebrew* verb משה *maſha*, *to draw out*, bore ſome reſemblance, in ſound, to his name, and, in ſignification, to the occaſion of it, writes it משה *moſheh*; and introduces *Pharaoh*'s daughter giving this reaſon for her impoſing it, becauſe משיתיהו *maſhitihu*, *I drew him* out of the waters (1).

(I) Thus *abel*, or *hebel*, which, in *Hebrew*, ſignifies *vanity*, or *a vapour*, ſeems a name

(1) *Exod.* ii. 10.

not

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logies which *Moſes* himſelf gives us, are deduced without any regard, at leaſt, to the preſent rules of analogy (K). 4. A few lucky *paronomaſiæ*, or alluſions, are no proof, in this caſe; becauſe they may happen by accident: and, in fact, ſome of thoſe mentioned by *Moſes* may be expreſſed in other tongues, as well as the *Hebrew* (L).

THIS

not very appoſite to *Adam*'s ſecond ſon; and therefore *Moſes* has given no reaſon for its impoſition. But if it be derived from the *Syriac* יהב איל *Yhab îl*, which anſwers to the *Latin* name *Deus dedit*, it is very proper; and, accordingly, in the margin of a manuſcript copy of *Abu'lfaragius*, we find the name of *Abel* interpreted in *Arabic* by that of *hebat allah*, *the gift of* GOD.

The name of *Babel* itſelf, which the *Hebrew* text tells us was ſo called becauſe GOD did there בלל *balal*, i. e. *confound* the language of all the earth (2), may, likewiſe, more naturally be derived from the *Syriac*, in which tongue *balbel* is *to confound*; and *boblo*, or *bobel*, *confuſion*.

(K) We ſhall inſtance in the names of *Noah* and *Abraham*. The former was ſo called, becauſe, ſaid his father, ינחמנו *yenahamenu*, *he ſhall comfort us*, &c. (3). But if his name were derived from the root נחם *niham*, *to comfort*, it ſhould have been *Nohem*, or *Menahem*, not *Noah*, which can regularly come from no other verb than נוח *nuah*, *to reſt*: and the *Septuagint* have, therefore, inſtead of *he ſhall comfort us*, rendered it διαναπαύσει, *he ſhall cauſe to reſt*, &c. which has induced ſome learned men (4) to think the antient and true reading was יניחנו *yaniheru*. And *Philo Judæus* and St. *Jerom* tranſlate the name *Noah*, *reſt*.

The name of *Abraham* was changed from *Abram*, which ſignifies *high father*, by inſerting only the letter *h*, becauſe he was to be made אב המון *ab hamon*, *the father of a multitude* of nations (5); according to which etymon, he ſhould rather have been called *Abhamon*, or *Abham* (though we know ſome fanſy the letter ר was inſerted from the word רב *rab*, *many*). But the names of theſe two perſons, eſpecially the latter, being too famous, and well known, in the eaſt, to admit any conſiderable change, *Moſes* was therefore obliged to retain them, and give the beſt etymology he could from the *Hebrew* tongue. We might offer a more plauſible one of the name *Abraham*, from the *Arabic*, wherein *abu rohâm* ſignifies *the father of a multitude*, did we not conſider, that it is one of thoſe caſual reſemblances we have already mentioned, and moſt certainly falſe.

(L) As *Adam*, which name is an appellative common to all the ſpecies, was ſo called from

(2) *Geneſ.* xi. 9. (3) *Geneſ.* v. 29. (4) *Grotius ad loc. & Lud. Capel. critic. ſacr. l.* iv. *c.* 8. (5) *Geneſ.* xvii. 5.



*adamah*,

THIS argument has been farther enforced, from the significancy of the names of several animals in the *Hebrew* tongue, which are thought to have been imposed by *Adam*, because of some peculiar qualities in the animal to which they were given, correspondent to their respective roots[n]: but since the same may be as justly asserted of most other languages, as the *Hebrew*, it will conclude nothing. Besides, we are much deceived, if we imagine (as has been yet generally supposed), that the verbs were really the original roots of the *Hebrew* tongue: on the contrary, the greatest part of them, at least, were themselves, at first, derived from nouns, though they be now, for grammatical convenience, considered as the roots (M). On the whole, it must be acknowleged, that no conclusive argument, for the antiquity of any language, can be drawn from etymologies, which ought, on all occasions, to be urged with great caution; being, for the most part, uncertain and precarious.

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SOME learned men, however, have endeavoured to derive all languages in general from the *Hebrew*, which they imagine to be the parent of all others[o]. That they should succeed very well in finding a great conformity between that and the other oriental tongues, is no wonder, since they are manifestly sprung from one common original; though it be difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish the mother from the daughters. That they have also given tolerable satisfaction in deducing, from the same tongue, several words, not only in the *Greek* and *Latin*, but in some other *European* languages, is not matter of much surprize, considering the great intercourse several nations of our continent had with the *Phœnicians*, whose mother tongue was the *Hebrew*: but when these writers venture out of

*Whether all other tongues may be derived from the* Hebrew.

[n] Vid. BOCHART. hierozoic. & HEIDEG. hist. patr. tom. i. exerc. 16. sect. 16. [o] Vid. HEIDEG. ibid. sect. 18.

*adamah*, *the earth*; so the *Latins* called man *homo*; which the best etymologists derive from *humus*, *the ground* (6). Yet we cannot think any body ever dreamed, from hence, that the *Latin* was the primitive tongue.

(M) Many examples might be given of the verb's being manifestly derived from, and posterior to, the noun, in all the oriental tongues: so, in *English*, *dog*, *duck*, &c. were certainly first imposed as names, and afterwards used as verbs, to express actions proper to those creatures.

(6) *Vid. Vossii etymol. ling. Lat.*

their

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their depth, and pretend to deduce the more remote languages from the ſame fountain, they only ſhew their ignorance, and make themſelves ridiculous to all who have but a moderate ſkill in thoſe tongues: for a proof of which, we could produce a multitude of examples from a celebrated and laborious work of that kind [p]. As to the peculiar excellencies found in the *Hebrew* tongue, by ſome of its patrons, and which they imagine to be an additional proof of the juſtneſs of its pretenſions, we may ſay ſomething hereafter, when we come to give an account of this language.

IF the *Hebrew* tongue, therefore, cannot make good its claim, we may, without taking the pains to refute what has been ſaid in favour of the other pretenders, conclude, that the primitive language was intirely loſt at *Babel*; at leaſt, that no one can now tell where it was preſerved, which is much the ſame thing.

*The confuſion of tongues.*

THE ſpeaking one common language (though it might be of advantage to mankind in other reſpects, yet) being the great obſtacle to that diviſion of them into diſtinct nations, which GOD had, for moſt wiſe purpoſes, reſolved on [q], he thought fit to break this bond which held them ſo ſtrictly together, and confound their language, that they ſhould not underſtand one another's ſpeech; the natural conſequence of which was, that they were ſcattered abroad upon the face of all the earth [r]. This event is mentioned by profane hiſtorians, who write, that mankind uſed one and the ſame language till the overthrow of the tower of *Babylon*; at which time, a multiplicity of tongues was introduced by the gods: whereupon wars enſued, and thoſe whoſe ſpeech happened to be intelligible to each other, joined company, and ſeized ſuch countries as they chanced to light upon [s].

*How effected.*

As to the degree of this *Babyloniſh* confuſion, and the manner wherein it was effected, there is great diverſity of ſentiments. Several learned men, prepoſſeſſed with an opinion, that all the different idioms, now in the world, did at firſt ariſe from one original language, to which they may be reduced [t]; and that the variety which we find among them is no more than muſt naturally have happened in ſo long a courſe of time, ſuppoſing a bare ſeparation of the

[p] THOMASINI gloſſar. univerſal. Hebr. [q] Geneſ. xi. 6.
[r] Ibid. ver. 7, 8. [s] ABYDENUS apud Euſeb. de præp. ev. l. ix. c. 14. SIBYLLA & HESTIÆUS, apud eund. ib. c. 15. & apud Joſeph. ant. l. i. c. 4. [t] STIERNHIELMIUS præfat. in evang. Ulfilæ, p. 4.

builders

builders of *Babel* [t], have been induced to believe, that there were no new languages formed at the confuſion, but that the moſt that was done, was only to ſet thoſe builders at variance, by creating a miſunderſtanding among them (N). This ſome think to have been effected without any immediate influence on their language [u], which ſeems contrary to the words and obvious intent of the ſacred hiſtorian: others have imagined it brought about by a temporary confuſion of their ſpeech, or, rather, of their apprehenſions, cauſing them, while they continued together, though they ſpake the ſame language, yet to underſtand the words differently [w]. A third opinion is, that a variety of inflexions was introduced, and, perhaps, ſome new words, which diſturbed and perverted the former manner of expreſſion: and this might occaſion different dialects, yet could not create new languages [x]. But none of theſe explications ſeem fully to anſwer the apparent deſign of *Moſes*, which was, not only to inform us how mankind were at firſt diſperſed, and broken into ſo many different nations; but to account for the diverſity of their languages; a thing very difficult, if not impoſſible, to do, without having recourſe to ſome extraordinary interpoſition of the divine power.

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[t] Vid. HEIDEG. ubi ſup. exerc. 21. ſect. 21. [u] CLERIC. comment. in loc. Vid. pere SIMON, hiſt. crit. du vieux teſt. l. i. c. 14. [w] Judæi apud J. C. SCALIGER. exercit. in Cardan. 259. ſect. 1. [x] Is. CASAUB. diatribe de ling. Heb. Vid. M. CASAUB. de quatuor ling. p. 17, & ſub initio.

(N) To ſupport this opinion, it is ſaid, that the *Hebrew* word שפה *ſhaphah*, *lip*, which we render *language*, and *ſpeech* (7), rather ſignifies *agreement*, or *unanimity*; and is equivalent to פה אחד *phe ehhad*, i. e. *one mouth* (8), which is juſtly tranſlated, *with one accord*. But this latter is an adverbial expreſſion, which the other is not: nor does it follow, that *one lip* muſt import the ſame thing as *one mouth*; the only paſſage that has been produced as an inſtance of its being uſed in that ſenſe (9), being far from proving any ſuch thing (10). Another text has been alleged, which ſeems to favour this interpretation much more: it is where *David*, praying againſt his enemies, begs of GOD to *divide their tongues* (11), that is, *to ſet them at variance*. But this cannot be *Moſes*'s meaning here; becauſe he immediately explains what he means by *one lip*, by adding, *and of one ſpeech*, or, more literally, *of the ſame words* (12).

(7) *Geneſ.* xi. 1, 6, 7. (8) *Joſh.* ix. 2. 1 *Kings* xxii. 13. (9) *Iſa.* xix. 18. (10) *See Dr. Wotton's diſc. on the confuſion of languages, p.* 9. (11) *Pſal.* lv. 10. (12) *Geneſ.* xi. 1.

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For though time, intercourſe with foreign nations, commerce, the invention and improvement of arts and ſciences, and the difference of climates (O), cauſe very conſiderable alterations in languages; yet the utmoſt effect we can imagine them to have, will not come up to the queſtion y. We cannot conceive a language can thereby be ſo much disfigured, that all the general marks and characteriſtics ſhould diſappear. It is not eaſy to apprehend how all the words of a language ſhould be intirely changed for others; nor is there any one inſtance to be given of any ſuch total change: but it is next to impoſſible to conceive, that ſo great a diverſity, as we find in the frame and conſtitution of languages, wherein the grand and eſſential differences between them conſiſt, rather than in the words which compoſe them (as may be obſerved in the accounts

y See Dr. Wotton's diſc. concerning the conf. of languages, p. 57. Dr. BRETT's eſſay on the conf. of lang. p. 62, &c.

(O) It has been thought, by ſeveral, that the air or climate of ſome countries diſpoſes the inhabitants to a peculiar pronunciation, and renders them unapt for the uttering certain ſounds, or letters: whence, as they imagine, it comes to paſs, that ſome languages are ſo full of gutturals, or of conſonants; while others have ſcarce any of the former, and comparatively few of the latter: that the *Ephraimites* could not pronounce the letter *Shin* (13); and that the *Chineſe* find ſo much difficulty in the letter *r*, and the *Arabs* in *p*, &c. But we are far from being ſatisfied, that this difference is cauſed by any quality of the climate: on the contrary, it is much more reaſonable to believe, that ſuch varieties, in tongues and dialects, are perfectly caſual, no one language comprehending all the ſeveral ſounds, ſome making greater uſe of one ſound, and ſome of another: and that a man, accuſtomed from his infancy, for that reaſon, and no other, to a peculiar pronunciation, muſt needs find it hard to imitate even the eaſieſt, and ſeemingly moſt natural ſound, that is not agreeable thereto. Thus the *Hurons* in *America*, who have no labials at all in their language, and therefore, when they ſpeak, have no occaſion ever to ſhut their lips (14), would not ſoon be brought to pronounce any one letter of that organ. Yet experience ſhews us, how readily and perfectly a child, whoſe organs are free, and not ſtiffened by long habitude to a peculiar utterance, learns to form ſtrange ſounds, which a grown perſon is not, perhaps, able to do, with the utmoſt pains and application.

(13) *Judges* xii. 6. (14) *Reland. diſſert. de ling. Americanis, p.* 219.

we

we ſhall hereafter give of the ſeveral languages of which we have any knowlege), could ever have been occaſioned by the cauſes aſſigned above. The preſent diverſity of tongues in the world is prodigious[z]; and, conſidering the time that has elapſed ſince the building of *Babel*, and the alterations made in ſome known languages, in the courſe of one, two, and three thouſand years (which alterations we conſtantly find greater or leſs, in proportion to the intercourſe the nation has had with foreigners), and conſidering that there are many tongues, which, when compared with others, have not the leaſt affinity; ſo that a man muſt be the greateſt viſionary in the world, to imagine them the offspring of the ſame parent; it ſeems to us, that the variety of idioms, now ſpoken, can be no way poſſibly accounted for, without either approving the preadamite ſyſtem, or allowing a formation of new languages at *Babel*[a]. A very learned man, who warmly eſpouſes the notion of deducing all languages from one, is yet ſo ſenſible, that exceptions muſt be made, that he himſelf excludes the languages of *America*, and of the *Indian* iſlands, out of the number; adding, that ſome have thence raſhly imagined, that the men who ſpeak thoſe tongues are of a diſtinct ſpecies, and not the deſcendants of *Adam*[b]: which conceſſion is enough to overthrow the hypotheſis he would maintain. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

ANOTHER argument againſt the formation of new languages at *Babel*, which has been thought to be of ſome weight, is, that if ſuch a diviſion of tongues be underſtood, no good reaſon can be given why thoſe colonies which ſpoke languages that were near akin, were not removed to the greateſt diſtances; and thoſe whoſe languages were intirely different, placed next one another[c]. To this it may eaſily be anſwered, that there is no neceſſity of ſuppoſing every family had a diſtinct language, or that the ſeveral dialects of the mother-tongues were formed at the confuſion. The diſperſion might at firſt be effected without ſuch an abſolute ſeparation of families derived from the ſame ſtock: mankind was not then ſo numerous, but that it would be ſufficient to cut off the communication between the three great branches and their prime families, by the introduction of new tongues, which, alone, we contend, was the work of GOD; for dialects, we allow, might, and neceſſarily would, be formed by time.

[z] Vid. CALVIN. in Geneſ. xi. 1, 2. [a] Vid. Dr. WOTTON, ubi ſup. p. 36. Dr. BRETT, ubi ſup. & DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 8. [b] STIERNHIELM. ubi ſup. [c] RELAND. apud Wotton, ubi ſup. p. 61. See alſo STILLING. orig. ſacr. l. iii. c. 5. ſect. 3.

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UPON the whole, we think we may reasonably conclude, with a very learned person, whose sentiments, on this head, we intirely approve, that, upon the confusion of *Babel*, there were new languages framed; which languages have been the roots and originals from which the several dialects that are, or have been, or will be spoken, as long as this earth shall last (P), have arisen, and to which they may, with ease, be reduced [d].

IN what manner these new languages were formed, is a question hard to be determined. It seems by the *Mosaical* account, which is so solemn, and represents GOD as coming down in person to view the work of these builders [e], that it was the immediate act of GOD; and some have thence concluded, that he effected it by inducing an oblivion of their former tongue, and instantaneously infusing others into their minds, according to their several nations [f]. The *Jews* imagine this was done by the ministry of angels, seventy of whom descended with GOD, and were each of them set over a nation, to which they taught a peculiar language; but *Israel* fell to the lot of his own inheritance, *the* LORD's *portion being his people* [g]: and therefore, they say, they retained the primitive tongue [h]. Others have supposed, that GOD did no more than cause them to forget their first language, leaving them to form new ones as they could [i]: but this must have taken up some time, and could not answer the immediate occasions of mankind. As it would be to little purpose to inquire so curiously into this matter, as some have done [k], the best we can do is to conclude, that it was effected instantly, in a way and manner of which we can give no account [l].

*The number of languages formed at Babel, and the consequence of the confusion.*

IT would be of as little use to collect the several opinions, in relation to the number of languages formed at *Babel*: we may as well allow the number of seventy, just mentioned, as any other. We only know from *Moses*, that the *Canaanitish* or *Hebrew*, the *Syriac*, and *Egyptian* lan-

[d] WOTTON, ubi sup. p. 29. [e] Genes. xi. 5, &c. [f] PERERIUS in Genes. lib. xvi. disp. 9. [g] Deut. xxxii. 9. [h] ELIEZER PIRKE, c. 24. SHALSHEL. HAKKAB. p. 93, &c. [i] Vid. HEIDEG. hist. patr. tom. i. exerc. 21. sect. 19. [k] Vid. BUXTORF. dissert. de ling. Hebr. confusione, & plurium ling. origine. [l] MERCER. in loc.

(P) Perhaps we should except those languages, which, it is said, have been invented and made by mutual agreement; such as the *Chinese*, and that of the *yncas* of *Peru*; of which more in a proper place.

guages

guages were formed ſo ſoon as the time of *Jacob* [m]. It is moſt probable, that the languages of the chief families were fundamentally different from each other; and that the ſub-languages, or dialects, within each branch, for the ſake of immediate intercourſe, had a mutual affinity, ſome more, ſome leſs, according as they ſettled near or farther from each other. And this was ſufficient to bring about the deſigns of GOD to divide mankind into diſtinct ſocieties, kingdoms, and commonwealths; and thereby to occaſion the making of wholſome laws, the keeping of ſtrict diſcipline, the encouragement of labour and induſtry, of liberal arts, and all ſocial virtues, and the ſuppreſſion of ſuch vices as weaken government, and introduce a corruption of morals: all which opened a new ſcene of providence, with a ſurpriſing variety of wiſdom, in the government of the world [n].

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## SECT. VI.

### *Of the diſperſion of mankind, and the planting of nations in the two firſt general migrations.*

COming now to ſpeak of the diſperſion of mankind, which was the conſequence of that confuſion of tongues we conſidered in the laſt ſection; we beg leave to premiſe ſomething, as to the time, order, and other circumſtances of that event.

*Of the diſperſion.*

THE primitive fathers diſtinguiſh between the diviſion of the earth, and the diſperſion of mankind, and make them two different tranſactions. They ſuppoſe that *Noah*, to whom the earth was well known before the flood, as proprietor of the whole world, divided it among his three ſons (A), before any of their poſterity removed to *Shinaar*;

*Not different from the diviſion in the days of* Peleg.

[m] Vid. Geneſ. xxxi. 47. xlii. 23.

[n] See STACKHOUSE's body of divinity, p. 332.

(A) The opinion of *Epiphanius* (1), on this occaſion, is very ſingular. He maintained, that they caſt lots for their ſhares in the city of *Rhinocorura*, or *Rhinocolura*, in the confines of *Egypt* and *Paleſtine*. He ſeems to have been led into this notion by the *Septuagint* tranſlation, where the words נהל מצרים *nahalmizraim* (2), which ſignify *the torrent of* E-

(1) *In ancorat. c.* 114. *hæreſ.* 66. §. 83. *Syncell. p.* 45, *b.* (2) *Iſa.* xxvii. 12.

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*naar* (B); from whence they were afterwards dispersed, to take possession of their respective shares [a]. This *Noachical* division, as groundless as it is, was so firmly believed, that one author condemns the contrary opinion as heretical [b]. *Salianus* [c], according to this distinction of the fathers, makes the dispersion happen about the middle of *Peleg*'s life, though he places the division in his first year.

OTHER writers have supposed a double dispersion, one at the birth of *Peleg*, and the other of the builders of *Babel* [d]; and an historian, of some antiquity, seems to have imagined, that mankind increased so very fast, that they had peopled several countries and islands, and built several towns, before they laid the foundation of *Babel*; absurdly bringing them together again at that place, on purpose to be dispersed a second time, according to the *Noachical* partition [e]. But the more received opinion [f], and the most agreeable to Scripture, is, that the division of the earth, in the days of *Peleg*, and the dispersion of mankind at *Babel*, were one and the same transaction.

*The time of the dispersion fixed.*

THERE is a great disagreement among authors, in settling the precise time of this event. Some, in order to reconcile the sacred history with the profane, or led by some fancies of their own, hold a dispersion or plantation of coun-

[a] Vid. HEIDEG. hist. patr. tom. i. exerc. 22. sect. 9. [b] PHILASTRIUS Brixiens. hæres. xi. 8. [c] Annal. eccles. [d] SPANHEIM. hist. eccles. col. 291, 292. [e] SULPIC. SEVER. hist. eccles. l. i. Vid. HORNIUM in eundem. COCCEIUM, NATAL. ALEX, &c. [f] Vid. USSER. PETAV.

gypt, are rendered *Rhinocolura*, expressing (as *Jerom* observes) *not so much the words of Scripture, as the sense of the words*. Whence he concluded *Rhinocolura* was, in *Hebrew*, called *Nahal*, which he interprets *a lot*; as if that city had taken its name from *Noah*'s dividing the earth by lot among his sons at that place. But he is mistaken in the signification of that word, as a learned man has shewn (3).

(B) What gave occasion, chiefly, to this notion, was also a wrong understanding of the *Hebrew* text (4), which the *Septuagint*, instead of *lest we be dispersed*, have rendered *before we be dispersed*: from whence the fathers imagined, that *Noah* not only gave orders to the families, sprung from him, to separate; but actually gave to each of them a certain portion of the earth; and that, before they obeyed his commands, they undertook to build the tower of *Babel*, as a monument of their having once dwelt together.

(3) *Heideg. hist. patr. tom. i. exerc. 22. §. 10.* (4) *Genes.* xi. 4.

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tries even before the birth of *Peleg*. Sir *John Marſham* is of this number: he, to reconcile the *Hebrew* and *Egyptian* chronologies, will have *Menes* to have been the ſame with *Ham*, who, in the earlieſt times after the deluge, travelled, as he ſuppoſes, into *Egypt*, ſettled there with his children, and was the firſt king of that country [g]. Others place the diſperſion of *Babel* towards the end of *Peleg*'s life. The *Jews* place it in his laſt year [h]; wherein they are followed by St. *Jerom*, and ſeveral of the Chriſtian chronologers. Others fix it at various periods towards the middle of his age [i]: *Petau*, about his 52d year; *Cumberland*, about his 79th year [k]; *Salianus* and *Kircher* [l] in the year of the flood 275: but the learned *Uſher*, whom we chuſe to follow, refers it to the time of *Peleg*'s birth; that is, to the year of the flood 101, according to the *Hebrew* account [m]. For if by *the days of Peleg* are to be underſtood the whole life of the man, or the middle, or the latter end of it, then *Peleg* will have nothing peculiar to deſerve the name; becauſe, in that ſenſe, the diviſion happened *in the days of* all his progenitors, and even of *Noah* himſelf: therefore it muſt have been peculiar to *Peleg* alone, of all the family of *Eber* or *Shem*, to be born juſt at the very time of the diviſion or diſperſion of *Babel*; from whence, with very good reaſon, he had that name given him by his father [n].

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ON the other hand, we ſhall find, without abandoning the *Hebrew* chronology, a ſufficient number of people at the birth of *Peleg* for the planting of nations. For neither does the Scripture ſuppoſe, as *Perizonius* well obſerves, multitudes in being at that time; nor did the nature of the tranſaction require it; the firſt plantations being made with only a few, and thoſe ſmall families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of *Shinaar* [o].

HAVING ſettled the time of the diſperſion at *Babel*, let us next inquire into the number of mankind then in the world. Some authors, imagining that a greater part of the earth was planted in this firſt diſperſion, than we are obliged, either by Scripture or reaſon, to believe, have endeavoured to ſwell their calculations as much as ever they can; and ſeveral, as if the whole earth was to be peopled at once; whilſt

*Of the number of mankind at the diſperſion.*

[g] MARSH. canon. chron. ſecul. 1. p. 23. [h] R. DAVID GANZ. ad ann. 1996. SEDER OLAM RABBA in ipſo initio SHALSHEL. HAKKAB. p. 7. [i] CORNEL. A LAPIDE, TORNIELLUS, ABU'LFARAG. p. 11. [k] Orig. gent. ant. p. 150. [l] See his turris Babel, cap. 8. p. 20. [m] USH. chron. ſacr. p. i. cap. 5. [n] Vid. PERIZON. orig. Babylon. cap. 14. p. 314. [o] Vid. eund. ib. p. 309, 310.

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others would reduce the number of mankind to a ſmaller ſum than the occaſion ſeems to have required: but a medium is to be obſerved between theſe two extremes.

In this inquiry no computation can be made from the number of perſons mentioned in Scripture as concerned in this firſt diſperſion, which are but fifty-three, excluding *Noah* and his three ſons; and if we have recourſe to the number of generations, we ſhall meet with leſs ſatisfaction ſtill from that quarter, for they were but three at moſt; *Eber*, the father of *Peleg* (who could not be a leader in the diſperſion, becauſe it happened at his birth), being but the third from *Shem*: there are likewiſe only three generations mentioned in the line of *Ham*, and but two in that of *Japhet*: ſo that if we were to confine our calculation to that ſtandard, it would fall vaſtly ſhort. But as there were certainly many more generations procreated between the flood and the diſperſion, the time that intervened ought therefore to be conſidered, as well as the longevity of thoſe who lived in the firſt ages after the flood.

The chronologers (who have drawn this inquiry into their own province) have ſuited their calculations according to their different hypotheſes. Some, relying too much on the profane hiſtorians, have taken ſuch a method as might account for the early beginning of monarchies, and the great armies ſet on foot by *Cteſias* and his followers, in the time of *Ninus*, whom many take to be *Nimrod*, or at leaſt his ſon. *Uſher* is of opinion, that in the 102d year after the flood mankind might have increaſed to the number of 388,605 males, and as many females. Such an extraordinary increaſe he aſcribes to an extraordinary fecundity, owing to that repeated command or bleſſing, *Increaſe and multiply, and fill the earth*[r]. A much ſmaller number had been ſufficient; ſuch, perhaps, as the reader will find in ſome of the following tables, exhibiting the gradual increaſe of mankind after the flood, according to the calculations of three differ-

[r] Ush. chron. ſacr. p. i. c. 5. p. 27.

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ent authors (C). It is to be considered here, that each of

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(C) I. *The calculation of father* Petau (5).

| *Years of the flood.* | *Number of sons born.* |
|---|---|
| 8 - - - - - - - | 8 |
| 31 - - - - - - - | 64 |
| 54 - - - - - - - | 512 |
| 77 - - - - - - | 4,096 |
| 100 - - - - - - | 32,768 |
| 123 - - - - - - | 262,144 |
| 146 - - - - - | 2,097,152 |
| 169 - - - - - | 16,777,216 |
| 192 - - - - | 134,217,728 |
| 215 - - - - | 1,073,741,824 |
| 238 - - - - | 8,589,934,592 |
| 261 - - | 68,719,476,736 |
| 284 - - | 549,755,813,888 |
| Total | 628,292,358,728 |
| The double | 1,256,584,717,456 |

This table shews the number of the male descendants of one only of *Noah*'s sons, in so many years after the flood, and is formed on the supposition that they began to generate at the age of 17, and consequently between that and 24 might each have eight sons; so that the eight sons, which a son of *Noah* might have had by the eighth year of the flood, might, by the 24th year of the flood, have each 8 sons more. Thus adding continually 23 to the number of the years of the flood, and multiplying the next preceding number of sons by 8, you have the number of sons born in each interval. By this scheme one at least of the other two sons of *Noah* is to supply wives for the males. And because the parents were long lived, and saw many generations of their own offspring, whereby an exceeding great number of persons multiplied, and were found alive together out of one stock, therefore the whole may be allowed to be cast up into one sum; and if another son of *Noah* be taken in to propagate males, the third being reserved to furnish wives for both, we shall have double the number which was found by the first calculation. If we admit this supputation, we may easily account for the number of mankind in the times of *Ninus* and *Abraham*.

II. *Bishop* Cumberland's *calculation*.

| *Years after the flood.* | *Couples born in the 1st vicennium after the flood; and the couples which descended from them.* |
|---|---|
| 20 - - - - - - - | 30 |
| 60 - - - - - - - | 300 |
| 100 - - - - - - | 3,000 |
| 140 - - - - - - | 30,000 |
| 180 - - - - - - | 300,000 |
| 220 - - - - - | 3,000,000 |
| 260 - - - - - | 30,000,000 |
| 300 - - - - | 300,000,000 |
| 340 - - - - | 3,000,000,000 |
| The sum | 3,333,333,330 |

It must be observed, that this computation exhibits not quite

(5) *Doctrin. tempor. l.* ix *c.* 14.

a tenth

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Year of the colonies increaſed in proportion as they removed farther from the centre of their migration, before they arrived at a tenth part of the inhabitants which are ſuppoſed to have been in the world, in the 340th year of the flood, which is that of *Peleg*'s death, being only the iſſue of the three ſons of *Noah*, for the firſt of the 17 *vicennia*, or ſpaces of 20 years, into which that period of time is diviſible (7); and is grounded on the gradual ſhortening of mens lives recorded in Scripture, and a ſuppoſition, that the male iſſue of thoſe three brothers began to generate ſoon after they were 20 years old; the biſhop maintaining againſt *Voſſius*, that they were no longer in thoſe early ages before they came to puberty, than men now are (8).

This calculation, like the former, accounts for the founding of certain kingdoms, which, according to the *Hebrew* chronology, began very early after the flood.

III. *Mr.* Whiſton's *calculation* (9).

| *Number of mankind.* | *Years after the flood.* | *Years of doubling.* | *Series.* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 16 | 4 | 4 | (1) |
| 32 | 9 | 5 | (2) |
| 64 | 15 | 6 | (3) |
| 128 | 23 | 8 | (4) |
| 256 | 35 | 12 | (5) |
| 512 | 50 | 15 | (6) |
| 1,024 | 70 | 20 | (7) |
| 2,048 | 95 | 25 | (8) |
| 4,096 | 125 | 30 | (9) |
| 8,192 | 160 | 35 | (10) |
| 16,384 | 200 | 40 | (11) |
| 32,768 | 245 | 45 | (12) |
| 65,536 | 295 | 50 | (13) |
| 131,072 | 350 | 55 | (14) |
| 262,144 | 410 | 60 | (15) |
| 524,288 | 475 | 65 | (16) |
| 1,048,576 | 545 | 70 | (17) |
| 2,097,152 | 620 | 75 | (18) |
| 4,194,304 | 700 | 80 | (19) |
| 8,388,608 | 800 | 100 | (20) |
| 16,777,216 | 1,000 | 200 | (21) |
| 33,554,432 | 1,200 | 300 | (22) |
| 67,108,864 | 1,700 | 400 | (23) |
| 134,217,728 | 2,100 | 400 | (24) |
| 268,435,456 | 2,500 | 400 | (25) |
| 536,870,912 | 2,900 | 400 | (26) |
| 1,073,741,824 | 3,300 | 400 | (27) |
| 2,147,483,648 | 3,700 | 400 | (28) |
| 4,294,967,296 | 4,100 | 400 | (29) |

This calculation of Mr. *Whiſton*'s is leſs hypothetical than either of the former. It is now generally owned, that the number of ſouls upon the face of the whole earth, at preſent, does not exceed four thouſand millions, though our author imagines it may come nearer to that ſum than many ſuppoſe (10). It is alſo now generally owned, and this from good obſervations, that mankind do double themſelves, at the longeſt, in four hundred years (11); which, therefore, is to be ſuppoſed the proportion ever ſince the preſent period of human life was fixed in the days of *David*. Mr. *Whiſton* thinks it alſo evident, that fr m the deluge till the days of *David* the lives of men were fix, if not ſeven times

(7) *See his origin. gent. antiq. p.* 143, 154. (8) *Ibid. p.* 147. (9) *See his ſhort view of the chron. of the Old Teſt. p.* 65. (10) *See Dr. Nicholls's conference, p.* i. *p.* 75, 76. 11) *See before, p.* 231. *in note.*

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at the countries where they finally ſettled; for the earth was not planted at once, but by degrees. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

As to the order or method wherein theſe firſt plantations of the earth were made, ſome have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony ſettled where they did, by mere chance [y], every one ſeizing on ſuch countries as he caſually *Of the order of the firſt plantations.*

[y] Heideg. hiſt. patr. t. i. exerc. 22. §. 11.

as long as they have been ſince (though much more and leſs than that proportion at the earlieſt and lateſt times of that interval): whence he concludes, that the period of the doubling of mankind from the deluge till the days of *David*, in a mean, muſt have been, at the leaſt, ſix or ſeven times ſhorter than that which has ſince obtained, by reaſon of their antient longer lives in that proportion (tho' ſtill this period of doubling muſt have been much ſhorter and longer in the earlieſt and lateſt times of the ſaid interval). Upon theſe grounds he has compoſed the preceding table, taking a ſeries of numbers beginning at eight (for ſo many ſouls ſurvived the deluge), and doubling themſelves in ſixty years, at a mean, from the flood till *David*, *i. e.* for about 1300 years (according to the *Hebrew* account), and thenceforward to our own times in four hundred years, *i. e.* for about two thouſand ſeven hundred years (12.)

On this table Mr. *Whiſton* makes an obſervation. He ſays, "We thereby ſee, that the "number of years, according "to the *Hebrew* chronology, "will very naturally account "for the preſent number of "ſouls upon the face of the "earth, and afford as many in "every age preceding as any "authentic accounts of antient "times do require. But if, "inſtead of one thouſand three "hundred years, in the firſt in"terval, we take, with the "Septuagint, above one thou"ſand nine hundred, this addi"tion of above ſix hundred "years, at a time when man"kind, at a mean, doubled in "ſixty years, will produce a"bove a thouſand times as "many as this table, or the "earth, for certain, does con"tain at preſent. So that, if "that longer chronology were "allowed, the earth, in all "probability, muſt have had "many more inhabitants in "the days of *David*, than it "has in our days, contrary to "the certain obſervations of "the increaſe of mankind. "And the like is to be ſaid in "due proportion of the *Sama*"*ritan*, or any other chrono"logy, which lengthens the "ſpace ſince the deluge (13)."

To his calculation we ſhall annex his table of the ages of all the perſons which are mentioned in, or can be collected from Scripture, from the flood to the death of *David* (14).

(12) *Whiſton's chron. of the Old Teſt. p.* 65. (13) *Ibid. p.* 68.
(14) *Ibid. p.* 10, *and theory of the earth, p.* 274.

*Gen.*

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casually arrived at [z]. Yet if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction, by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confused dissipation: for, first, we are told, with regard to the sons of *Japhet*, the eldest branch of *Noah*'s posterity,

[z] Hestiæus Milesius apud Euseb. præp. evang. l. ix. c. 15.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Gen.* xi. 10, 11. | *Shem* | - - - - - | 600 |
| 12, 13. | *Arphaxad* | - - - - | 438 |
| 14, 15. | *Salah* | - - - - | 433 |
| 16, 17. | *Heber* | - - - - | 464 |
| 18, 19. | *Phaleg* | - - - - | 239 |
| 20, 21. | *Reu* | - - - - | 239 |
| 22, 23. | *Serug* | - - - - | 230 |
| 24, 25. | *Nahor* | - - - - | 148 |
| 32. | *Terah* | - - - - | 205 |
| *Chap.* xxv. 7. | *Abraham* | - - - - | 175 |
| xxiii. 1. | *Sarah* | - - - - | 127 |
| xxxv. 28. | *Isaac* | - - - - | 180 |
| xxv. 17. | *Ismael* | - - - - | 137 |
| xlvii. 28. | *Jacob* | - - - - | 147 |
| l. 26. | *Joseph* | - - - - | 110 |
| *Exod.* vi. 16. | *Levi* | - - - - | 137 |
| 18. | *Kohath* | - - - - | 133 |
| *Job* i. 1—4. | *Hesron* about | - - - | 133 |
| with xlii. 16. | *Job* about | - - - - | 180 |
| *Exod.* vi. 20. | *Amram* | - - - - | 137 |
| | *Segub* about | - - - - | 137 |
| | *Izhar* about | - - - - | 137 |
| | *Pallu* about | - - - - | 137 |
| | *Jochebed* about | - - - - | 137 |
| | *Miriam* about | - - - - | 130 |
| | *Aaron* | - - - - - | 123 |
| *Num.* xxxiii. 39. | *Moses* | - - - - - | 120 |
| *Deut.* xxxiv. 7. | *Korah* about | - - - - | 125 |
| | *Dathan* about | - - - - | 125 |
| | *Abiram* about | - - - - | 125 |
| *Josh.* xxiv. 29. | *Joshua* | - - - - - | 110 |
| | *Rahab* about | - - - - | 135 |
| | *Booz* about | - - - - | 125 |
| | *Obed* about | - - - - | 110 |
| 1 *Sam.* iv. 15. | *Eli* | - - - - - | 98 |
| | *Jesse* about | - - - - | 95 |
| 2 *Sam.* xix. 32. | *Barzillai* above | - - - | 80 |
| (16) *Chap.* v. 4. | *David* | - - - - - | 70 |

(16) *See Usser. chron. sacr. c. 8. and 12. and annal. a. m.* 2552.

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posterity, that *by these were the isles of the gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, in their nations* [a]; in like manner *Moses* concludes the account he gives us of the sons of *Ham*, the youngest branch of *Noah*'s posterity, with these words: *These are the sons of* Ham, *after their families, after their tongues, in their countries, in their nations* [b]; and that of the descendants of *Shem* ends thus: *These are the sons of* Shem *after their families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations* [c]. From which texts may well be inferred (as the learned *Mede* [d] has observed), that this great division of the earth we are speaking of was performed orderly, and was not a confused and irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he listed, and seated himself where he liked best [e].

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We see a twofold order in these first plantations. First they were ranged *according to their nations*, and then every nation was ranked *after their families*; so that every nation dwelt, and had their lot, by themselves; and in every nation the families also dwelt, and had their lots by themselves; for the true import of the before-cited texts seems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot, of each family did lie within the general lot of each nation.

[a] Genes. x. 5. [b] Ibid. ver. 20. [c] Ibid. ver. 31.
[d] See his works, b. i. disc. 49. & 50. [e] Wells's geog. of the Old Test. vol. i. p. 93.

Mr. *Whiston* observes from this table, that the gradual decrease of the length of mens lives did not stop, nor was the age of man reduced to the present standard of seventy or eighty years till the days of king *David*; and that the 90th psalm, where the lives of the *Israelites* seem to be stated, if it was composed by *Moses*, as the title informs us, had regard only to the shortening the lives of the murmurers in the wilderness (17), *by a divine judgment* (when all those were to perish in the space of forty years, who were grown men at the *exodus*), without any respect to the common period of human life at that time. *Barzillai*, in the days of *David*, is the first mentioned in Scripture who was reckoned so old, as not likely to live long at eighty years of age (18); and *David* himself is the first who is said to have died, and that *in a good old age, and full of days* (19), so soon as seventy years, which are the particular numbers mentioned in that psalm, and the standard of human life in all succeeding ages (20).

(17) *Numb.* xiv. 29, 35. (18) 2 *Sam.* xix. 35. (19) 1 *Chron.* xxix. 28. (20) *Whiston's chron. of the Old Test. p.* 9. *and* 11.

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*Of the first plantation of the earth.*

THOSE who have undertaken to give an account of these first settlements of the children of *Noah*, having founded their conjectures chiefly on the similitude of names, a guide too deceitful to be trusted so far as it has been by some, who, on emergencies, have ransacked the whole world for names of people, countries, rivers, mountains, and cities, which had but the least affinity with those of the planters they were at a loss to fix; others have therefore taken the precaution to lay down some rules[f] for the more sure proceeding in this inquiry, and which we may reduce to two; 1. To suffer ourselves to be directed chiefly by Scripture, not neglecting, however, the light which may be had from profane authors. 2. To seek for the original plantations within a reasonable compass of the earth, and in an orderly disposition; looking for the families where we find the nation, and for the nation where we find the families: and these rules, we think, may be admitted; but another, *viz.* that those nations whose families are named by *Moses*, are chiefly to be sought for in the neighbourhood of *Judæa*, we conceive liable to too many exceptions to deserve the name of a rule; for it was plainly the design of that historian to give us an account of the original of all nations in the world, as far as he had knowlege of them, and not only of such as had to deal with the *Jews*, or were their neighbours.

BUT, after all, this is one of those inquiries about which we ought not to be over-solicitous; for the originals of very few nations can be traced so high as the dispersion of *Babel*, much the greater part being subject to the utmost uncertainty. Since the first migrations of mankind, countries have often changed their names, and people their countries, without being observed by historians (*D*). We may form conjectures, and please ourselves with the plausibleness of our schemes; but who can be sure, that the principles on which they are built have any foundation? Most of the arguments in inquiries of this nature result from the identity or similitude of the names of people and countries; but, for aught we know, the nations we take to be very anti-

[f] See MEDE's works, and WELLS's geog. of the Old Test. ubi sup.

(D) *Quotidie aliquid in hoc magno orbe mutatur, nova urbium fundamenta jaciuntur, nova gentium nomina, extinctis nominibus prioribus, oriuntur* (21).

(21) *Senec. de consol. ad Albin.*

ent,

ent, are modern in reſpect of the times next after the flood; and the names we ſuppoſe to have been retained by cities from antiquity, are of late original as well as themſelves: perhaps alſo many of the names of people and countries mentioned in Scripture were peculiar to the *Jews*, ſince we find them no-where elſe. And it muſt be obſerved, that that nation, by having loſt the remembrance of the greateſt part of their antiquities, are become as bad guides in matters of this nature as the *Greeks*, who began too late to keep records, for us to expect any great aſſiſtance from them. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

We ſhall, from theſe conſiderations, be the ſhorter in our account of this matter, which we ſhall begin, as the migrations of the colonies did, from *Shinaar*; about which we find the branch of *Shem* placed, incloſed by that of *Japhet* on the north, and *Ham* on the ſouth. And it is obſervable, that, generally ſpeaking, the nations and families in each of theſe great diviſions took their ſtations according to ſeniority, the eldeſt remaining neareſt the centre, and the youngeſt removing outermoſt.

Shem may be ſuppoſed, for the few years he lived after the diſperſion of mankind, to have dwelt in *Shinaar*: his deſcendants ſeem to have ſettled from *Media* weſtward to the ſea-coaſt of *Aram*, or *Syria*. The number of chiefs of his line, concerned in the diſperſion, were ſeven. *Elam*, *Aſhur*, *Arphaxad*, *Lud*, and *Aram*, the ſons of *Shem*; *Salah*, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, and *Eber*, the ſon of *Salah*. *The countries planted by the deſcendants of* Shem.

1. Elam ſettled in the country of *Elam*, lying to the ſouth-eaſt of *Shinaar*; in the time of *Daniel Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtân*, ſeems to have been part of it [g], and before the captivity it does not appear, that the *Jews* called *Perſia* by any other name. *Elymæ* and *Elymaïs* are often mentioned by the antients: *Ptolemy*, though he makes *Elymaïs* a province of *Media*, yet he places the *Elymæi* (for which the maps corruptly read *Eldimæi*) in *Suſiana*, near the ſea-coaſt [h]. *Stephanus* [i] takes it to be a part of *Aſſyria*, but *Pliny* [k] and *Joſephus* [l], more properly, of *Perſia*, whoſe inhabitants, this latter tells us, ſprang from the *Elamites* [m]: and this ſeems to have been the moſt eaſterly bounds of the poſterity of *Shem*; for, adjoining on the eaſt was *Media*, ſuppoſed to be poſſeſſed by *Madai*, the third ſon of *Japhet*. Elam.

[g] Dan. viii. 2. [h] Vid. tab. 5. Aſiæ, & Bochart. phaleg, l. ii. c. 2. [i] De urb. voce Ἐλύμαι. [k] Nat. hiſt. l. vi. c. 25, &c. Vid. Strab. l. xvi. p. 512. [l] Antiq. l. xii, c. 13. [m] Ib. l. i. c. 7. See before, p. 275, 286.

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2. As *Aſhur* was the ſecond ſon of *Shem*, ſo we find this country, lying next to *Elam*'s on the weſt or north-weſt, called likewiſe after him *Aſhur*, and by the *Greeks Aſſyria*, at preſent *Curdeſtân*, or the country of the *Curds*. *Pezron* ſuppoſes he was driven out of *Shinaar* by *Nimrod*, *Ham*'s grandſon [m]; which, indeed, ſeems not improbable; though it may be objected, that, if he had not ſettled there originally, he would not have found room in that part, which muſt have been poſſeſſed by ſome other family. However that be, it was *Aſhur* [n], and not *Nimrod*, who went out of *Shinaar* into *Aſſyria*, and built *Nineveh*, and other cities, as *Perizonius* has clearly proved that the text ought to be underſtood, and circumſtances require [o].

Aſhur.

Arphaxad.

3. ARPHAXAD is placed by ſome in *Arrapachitis*, a province of *Aſſyria*, towards the north part of that country; but others ſettle him with his family in *Chaldea*, where indeed we find his deſcendants till the time of *Abraham*. And could it be proved, that the *Chaſdîm*, or *Chaldeans*, derive their name as well as deſcent from that patriarch, as *Joſephus* affirms [p], there would be no doubt of this laſt being the true opinion. Some, who make but one and the ſame perſon of *Arphaxad* or *Cainan*, who is inſerted between him and *Salah* in the *Septuagint* verſion, ſuppoſe him to be the founder of the monarchy of *China* [q].

Salah.

WHERE *Salah*, the ſon of *Arphaxad*, ſettled, is very uncertain; ſome ſuppoſe it to have been in *Suſiana*, or *Khuzeſtân* in *Perſia*, becauſe they find a town there formerly called *Sala*; but *Morocco*, *Spain*, *Phrygia*, *Armenia*, and *Hyrcania*, may claim this patriarch for their planter upon the ſame ground; having had each of them a town of the ſame name; and in *Colchis* we find a nation called *Salæ* [r], which ſeems to have the beſt pretenſions to him of all, ſince he ought to be conſidered rather as the founder of a nation, than of a town. But as affinity of names weighs very little with us, except backed by ſome other proof, we ſhall not remove him out of *Chaldea*, where we ſuppoſe room enough for all his deſcendants in the right line till *Abraham*; for which reaſon we ſettle *Eber* alſo in the ſame country.

Eber.

Lud.

4. WE can ſee no more reaſon than Sir *Walter Raleigh* [s], why *Lud*, *Shem*'s fourth ſon, ſhould ſtraggle ſo far from his

[m] Antiq. des tems retablie, p. 148. [n] Gen. x. 11. [o] Orig. Babylon. c. 4. [p] Antiq. lib. i. c. 7. See before, p. 288, (C). [q] Vid. BOLDUC. de eccleſ. ante leg. l. ii, c. 2. [r] Vid. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. vi. c. 4. [s] Book i. c. 8. §. 15.

friends

friends as *Lydia*, where *Joſephus* fixes him: beſides, there is a ſtrong objection againſt this opinion, the *Lydians* having been firſt called *Mæones*, as all the antients agree, and *Lydians* from *Lydus*, the ſon of *Atys* [t], except we ſuppoſe the *Greeks* were deceived, and that the name of *Mæones* ceaſing, they reſumed their old name of *Lydians*, which often has happened. But even in that caſe we ought, perhaps, to conſider *Lydia* as poſſeſſed by the *Ludîm*, or poſterity of *Lud*, on a ſecond or third remove, and to look for his firſt ſettlement nearer his brothers; but here the very ſimilitude of names, which are generally, upon theſe occaſions, ready at hand to help out at a dead lift, ſeem to fail us. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

5. MESOPOTAMIA and *Syria*, comprehending the countries weſtward of *Aſſyria* as far as the *Mediterranean Sea*, ſeem wholly (if we except *Phœnicia* and *Paleſtine*) to have fallen to the ſhare of *Aram*, *Shem*'s fifth and youngeſt ſon, whoſe name is given both to the whole and the ſeveral regions thereof in Scripture. Aram.

WITHIN, or bordering on this country of *Aram*, it is likely the four ſons of *Aram* ſettled. It is generally agreed, that *Uz* the eldeſt built *Damaſcus*, and gave name to the country about that city [u], which ſeems to be different from the land of *Uz*, where *Job* dwelt, lying towards *Edom*. Uz.

2. *Bochart* ſuppoſes *Hul* to have ſettled in *Cholobetene*, a part of the greater *Armenia*, where he finds ſeveral places whoſe names begin with *Chol*, or *Col* [w]. Hul.

3. *Gether*, according to *Joſephus*, was prince of the *Bactrians* [x], but *Bactria* lay out of *Shem*'s lot, as well as too far for the firſt plantation; and if we allow him a ſeat about the river *Centrites*, between *Armenia* and the *Carduchi*, it is not that we think there is the leaſt affinity in the two names to induce us to it, as *Bochart* does. Gether.

4. *Maſh*, or *Meſhech*, *Aram*'s fourth ſon, is ſuppoſed to fix in *Armenia*, about the mountain *Maſius*, the ſame with that commonly held to be *Ararat*, and called by the *Armenians Masîs*. The people who dwelt near this mountain are, by *Stephanus*, named *Maſieni*. *Bochart* [y] refutes the notion of *Joſephus* [z], who derives the *Meſanæans* near the mouth of the *Tigris* from them, not conſidering that they took their name from their ſituation between the rivers. However, the *Armenians* themſelves do not lay claim to any of *Shem*'s line as Maſh.

[t] HEROD. l. i. STRABO, l. xiii. PLIN. l. v. c. 29. [u] BOCHART. geog. ſacr. l. ii. c. 8. JOSEPH. l. i. c. 7. [w] Phaleg, l. ii. c. 9. [x] JOSEPH. ubi. ſup. [y] Ubi ſup. [z] Ubi ſup.

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their progenitor; but say they are descended from *Togarmah* of *Japhet*'s posterity, as will be seen by-and-by.

HAM probably removed from *Shinaar*. Supposing him to be the *Cronus* of *Sanchoniatho* [a], he reigned in *Phœnicia*. According to others, who make him to be the same with *Menes*, he must have settled in *Egypt* [b], which, indeed, in Scripture is often called the land of *Ham*; and some, from the similitude of *Ammon*, and other words of the like sound, would infer, that he, at least, dwelt there for some time; but nothing can be concluded from such weak evidence.

*The nations descended from* Ham.

Cush.

1. CUSH, his eldest son, according to *Josephus* and the antients, was the father of the *Ethiopians*, who, he says, were in his time called *Cushæans*, not only by themselves, but by all the inhabitants of *Asia* [c]. But it is not likely, that, if *Mizraim* and *Canaan* settled in the lands betwixt him and *Shinaar*, his son *Nimrod* would be found erecting a monarchy so early in that country. It is more probable, that he seated himself in the south-eastern part of *Babylonia*, and in the adjoining part of *Susiana*, still called *Khuzestân*, or the country of *Chuz*; from whence his posterity in the succeeding generations might have passed into other countries. That a part of *Arabia* near the *Red Sea* was named *Cush*, appears from Scripture. *Cushan* and *Midian* are joined together as the same or neighbouring people, dwelling in tents [d]; and, in another place [e], the *Arabs* are made to border on the *Cushites*, who therefore cannot be the *Ethiopians*; to which may be added other scriptural proofs [f]; in a word, by *Cush* in Scripture is always to be understood *Arabia*. As for those texts which are alleged, to prove that *Cush* is sometimes taken for *Ethiopia*, they may also be expounded of *Arabia* [g]. *Cush*, according to the *Arab* and *Persian* traditions, which name him *Cutha*, was king of the territory of *Babel*, and resided in *Erâk* [h], where there were two cities of his name [i]; whence Dr. *Hyde* is of opinion, that *Cush* reigned in *Babylonia*, and that his descendants removed into *Arabia* [k], though it is hard to fix the quarters of any of them; which has given occasion to those who suppose *Cush* to be *Ethiopia*, to spread

[a] CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 111. [b] MARSHAM chron. canon. p. 18, 23. [c] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [d] Habak. iii. 7. [e] 2 Chron. xxi. 16. [f] Exek. xxix. 10. 2 Kings xix. 9. 2 Chron. xiv. 9. [g] Isa. xviii. 1. Zeph. iii. 10. 2 Chron. xii. 3. Jerem. xiii. 23. [h] ALTABARI in cap. de morte Saræ, apud Hyde de relig. vet. Pers. p. 40. [i] HYDE, ib. p. 80, &c. [k] Idem ib. p. 39, 40.

them

them all along the coaſt of *Africa* to the end of *Mauritania* [l].

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THOSE who place them in *Arabia* are divided about their ſituations. To follow therefore the rules we have laid down, we will ſuppoſe, 1. That *Seba* ſeated himſelf ſomewhere in the ſouth of *Chaldea*, or the *Arabian Erâk*; becauſe, 2. His ſecond brother *Havilah*'s country lay thereabouts, watered by the *Piſon*, as we have formerly obſerved. 3. *Sabtah*'s ſeat, perhaps, lay more to the ſouth, where we find a city called *Saphtha* by *Ptolemy*, not far from the *Perſian* gulph, and another named *Sabatha*, lower down in *Arabia Felix*, which comes much nearer *Sabtah*. 4. *Raamah* or *Rhegma* may find a place more ſouthward ſtill, about a city called *Rhegama* by *Ptolemy*, on the ſame gulph. Some moderns mention a city not far from it called *Daden* [m], which Dr. *Wells* does not doubt was the reſidence of his ſon *Dedan* [n]. Though others will have *Raamah*, and both his ſons, *Sheba* as well as *Dedan*, to people the parts adjacent to the *Red Sea* [o]. They conclude *Dedan* to have been near *Edom*, becauſe *Ezekiel* joins them together [p]; as *Raamah* muſt have been near *Sheba*, being mentioned as joint-traders to *Tyre* in ſpices by the ſame prophet [q]; and elſewhere [r] *Sheba* and *Seba* are joined as neighbours, though diſtinguiſhed as different kingdoms: they ſeem to have poſſeſſed a larger part of *Arabia*; for *Pliny* obſerves, that the *Sabæan* nations inhabited from ſea to ſea, that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Perſian* gulph. A late writer ſuppoſes *Sheba* lived on the borders of the land of *Midian*, and gave name to the country whoſe queen in after-ages went to viſit *Solomon* [s]. But the *Arabs* ſay, the country of *Sheba* lies a great way more to the ſouth in *Yaman*, or, as we call it, *Arabia Felix*, near the *Indian* ſea; the chief city of which was formerly *Saba*, now called *Mareb* [t], and founded, according to their tradition, by a deſcendant of *Joktan* or *Kahtan*. And it muſt be confeſſed, this ſeems to be the country of *Sheba*, mentioned in Scripture; for the frankincenſe grows thereabouts. 5. *Sabtecha* has puzzled all the geographers to aſſign his quarters. *Bochart* [u], not finding a place in *Arabia* which bore any re-

Seba. Havilah. Sabtah. Raamah. Sheba and Dedan. Sabtecha.

[l] Vid. BOCHART phaleg, l. iv. c. 3. ODOARDUS BARBOZA, nella deſcrit. di Ormuz.
[m] ORTELIUS.
[n] Geog. of the Old Teſt. vol. i. p. 197.
[o] SHUCFORD's connect. of the ſacr. and prof. hiſt. vol. i. p. 173.
[p] Ezek. xxv. 13.
[q] Ib. xxvii. 22.
[r] Pſalm lxxii. 10.
[s] SHUCKFORD ubi ſup.
[t] Geog. Nub. p. 26. and 52. POCOCK. ſpecimen hiſt. Arab. p. 57. D'HERB. bibl. orient. art. Saba.
[u] Geog. ſacr. l. iv. c. 4.

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semblance to the name, passes over to *Carmania* in *Persia*, and settles him in the city of *Samydace*, observing that the *m* and *b* are often changed the one for the other by the *Arabs* and their neighbours. On the other hand, Dr. *Wells* [u] imagines, that the *Saracens* are the descendants of *Sabtecha*, which nation being stiled, at first, by the *Greeks* *Sabtaceni*, that name was afterwards softened into *Saraceni*; and the rather, he thinks, because, alluding to the *Arabic* verb *saraka*, to *steal*, it served for a nick-name. Though, indeed, the word *Saraceni* is no other than *Sharkîîn*, which in *Arabic* signifies *easterlings*; as the *African Arabs*, west of *Egypt*, are called *Mogrebîns*, or *westerlings*. As we are afraid to meddle in a point of so much uncertainty, we think it the safest way to pass this person by, and proceed,

Nimrod. 6. To his brother *Nimrod*, who, it is agreed, kept possession of *Shinaar*, and erected a kingdom there, making *Babel* the seat of his empire [w].

Mizraim. 2. MIZRAIM stands in the place of the second son of *Ham*; for there is a great dispute, whether this is the name of a single person, or of a people, as having a dual termination, though the verb in the text, where he is said to beget *Ludim*, is in the singular number, which favours the former opinion. However that be, it is plain, that the names of *Ludim*, and all the rest of his descendants, are plurals, by what we read of the *Caphtorim*, namely, that *they came forth out of Caphtor* [x]. Nor do we find any absurdity in that opinion, which supposes them branches of a large body of people denoted by the name *Mizraim*, who divided among them the country called after their name, by the *Hebrews* and other eastern people [y].

Ludim. As to the nations descended from *Mizraim*: 1. The *Ludim* are judged to be the people above *Egypt*, called by the *Greeks*, *Ethiopians*, and at present *Abyssins*. *Bochart* endeavours to prove it by no less than ten arguments [z]. We rarely find them called otherwise in Scripture than *Lud*, either from the name of their founder or their country. In one passage of Scripture, *Lud* are called *a mixt people* [a]; in others [b], they are said to be very *skilful in drawing the bow*, which the *Ethiopians* were famous for; and, in two of the above-mentioned passages [c], *Lud* is joined with *Cush* and *Phut*, as are the *Lubims* elsewhere

[u] Geog. of the Old Test. vol. i. p. 198.
[w] See p. 276.
[x] Deut. ii. 23. Jerem. xlvi. 9.
[y] JOSEPH. antiq. l. i. c. 7.
[z] Phaleg, l. iv. c. 26.
[a] Ezek. xxx. 5.
[b] Isaiah lxvi. 19. Jerem. xlvi. 9.
[c] Ezek. xxx. 5.

with

with the *Egyptians*[d]; from whence it may be inferred, they were all neighbouring people. 2. The *Anamim* are thought by *Bochart* to be the *Ammonians*, or inhabitants of that part of *Libya*, where ſtood the temple of *Jupiter Ammon*[e], deſcended, according to *Herodotus*, partly from the *Egyptians*, and partly from the *Ethiopians*. 3. The *Lehabim* are ſuppoſed to be the ſame with the *Lubim*, who with the *Sukkiims* and *Cuſhites* came out of *Mizraim* or *Egypt*, with *Shiſhak*, to invade *Judæa*[f]: theſe therefore may not improbably be judged to be the *Libyans* of *Cyrenaica*, or proper *Libya*, near *Egypt*. 4. The *Naphtuhim* are thought to have ſettled in *Marmarica*, adjoining to *Cyrenaica*[g]. It is obſerved, that the *Egyptians* called all the ſkirts of a country, and promontories waſhed by the ſea, *Nephthys*; and *Bochart* places the *Naphtuhim* rather on the coaſt of the *Mediterranean* than on that of the *Red Sea*, becauſe the *Troglodytes* and *Ichthyophagi*, who are the inhabitants of the latter, are in the Scripture called *Ziyim* and *Sukkiim*[h]. Some place the *Naphtuhim* about *Noph*, or *Memphis*, in *Egypt*[i]. 5. *Pathruſim* are evidently the inhabitants of *Pathros*, which ſome wrongly take for *Peluſium*; others, more juſtly, for *Thebais*, or the upper *Egypt*, which is diſtinguiſhed from the lower *Egypt*, in profane hiſtory as well as ſacred[k]. *Ezekiel*[l] mentions it by itſelf; and *Iſaiah*[m] diſtinguiſhes it from *Egypt*; but from *Jeremiah* the country of *Pathros* appears either to be a part of that kingdom, or adjoining to it, being mentioned with *Migdol*, *Tahpanhes*, and *Noph*[n], which are known to be cities or diſtricts of *Egypt*. 6. The *Caſluhim* are ſuppoſed to have ſettled ſomewhere towards the entrance of *Egypt*, about mount *Caſius*, in that part of the lower *Egypt* called *Caſiotis* by *Ptolemy* and others, which places it is thought retain ſome likeneſs of the name; but, without relying on that argument, they appear to have been planted near the *Caphtorim*, becauſe the *Philiſtim*, it ſeems, were deſcended from both theſe people[o], and conſequently in *Egypt*. *Bochart*, miſled by following the *Jewiſh* notion about *Caphtor*, fanſies them to be the inhabitants of *Colchis*[p], at preſent called *Mingrelia*. As

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Anamim. Lehabim.

Naphtuhim.

Pathruſim

Caſluhim.

Philiſtim.

[d] 2 Chron. xii. 3. [e] Phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 30. [f] 2 Chron. xii. 3. [g] Bochart phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 29. [h] Ibid. [i] Iſaiah xix. 13. [k] Vid. Bochart phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 37. [l] Chap. xxix. ver. 14. [m] Chap. xi. ver. 11. [n] Chap. xliv. ver. 1. [o] Compare Gen. x. 14. with Deut. ii. 23. Jerem. xlvii. 4. and Amos ix. 7. [p] Bochart. phaleg, lib. iv. cap. 31.

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for the *Philiſtim*, who, in the *Moſaic* account of the diſperſion, are derived from the *Caſluhim* [q], we ſhall conſider their original ſettlement in *Egypt*, before they removed into *Canaan*, when we come to their particular hiſtory.

Caphtorim.

7. *Caphtorim*, the laſt of the offspring of *Mizraim*, are, as *Bochart* [r] obſerves, by all the fathers, ſaid to be the *Cappadocians*; and *Caphtor*, *Cappadocia*; as the Septuagint have alſo rendered it [s]. In this, doubtleſs they follow the *Jews*, who explain thoſe names the ſame way, as do the three *Chaldee* paraphraſts. But by *Cappadocia*, in theſe writings, is not to be underſtood *Cappadocia* in *Aſia minor*, as *Bochart*, and perhaps the reſt, judged, but ſome place in *Egypt*, generally ſuppoſed by the rabbins to be *Demyat* [t] or *Damietta*, commonly confounded with *Peluſium*. One would be inclined to think the *Caphtorim* derived from *Coptus*, a noted city of the ſame country (which by many is ſuppoſed to have taken its name from thence), if it was not that *Caphtor* appears to have been an iſland [u], and more probably, ſituate either in the lake of *Tennis*, or *Tanis*, which extends from *Damietta* to *Tina*, the true *Peluſium*, or in the *Arabic* gulf, rather than *Crete*, as will be obſerved hereafter.

Phut.

3. AUTHORS are not agreed about the country, where *Phut*, the third ſon of *Ham*, planted himſelf. *Bochart* endeavours to prove, that *Mizraim* and he divided *Africa* between them [w]: what is moſt to the purpoſe is taken from St. *Jerom*, who affirms *Phut* to be *Libya*, and that in his time there was a river in *Mauritania*, with the adjacent region, named from him *Phut* [x]. But to this it may be objected, that *Ezekiel* [y] mentions *Phut* with *Cuſh* and *Perſia*, as auxiliaries to the northern enemies of the *Jews*, and in the army of *Gog*; and we find *Cuſh*, *Lud*, and *Phut*, among the nations, who, according to *Jeremiah*'s prophecy, were to over-run *Egypt* [z], as *Nebuchadnezzar* afterwards did; which looks as if *Phut*'s quarters lay ſomewhere between *Cuſh* and *Babylon*. However, in points ſo uncertain, we will not preſume to determine any thing.

Canaan.

4. WE are not ſo much to ſeek for the parts planted by *Canaan*, and his poſterity; viz. *Sidon*, *Heth*, the *Jebuſ-*

[q] Gen. x. 14. [r] Lib. iv. cap. 33. [s] Deut. ii. 23. [t] Rabbi SAADIAS, & MAIMONIDES apud Lightfoot. oper. tom. 2. p. 398. [u] Jerem. xlvii. 4. [w] Phaleg. l. iv. cap. 33. [x] HIERONYM. in tradit. Hebr. [y] Chap. xxxviii. 5. [z] Chap. xlvi. 9.

*ites*,

*ites*, *Amorites*, *Girgaſhites*, *Hivites*, *Arkites*, *Sinites*, *Ar-* Year of
*vadites*, *Zemarites*, and *Hamathites*; of whom we ſhall flood 352.
ſpeak more particularly when we come to treat of *Phœni-* Bef. Chr.
*cia*, and the land of *Canaan*, where they undoubtedly 1996.
ſettled.

THE Scripture leaves us as much in the dark, as to the *The coun-*
country where *Japhet* ſettled, as it does with regard to *tries plant-*
the particular reſidence of his brothers. All we can col- *ed by the*
lect upon this occaſion is, that he retired from *Shinaar* *deſcend-*
with his deſcendants, and ſettled among them to the north *ants of* Ja-
of the countries planted by the children of *Shem*. Some- phet.
imagine him, from the affinity of names, to be the *Iapetus* of the *Greeks* [a]; but there is no likelihood of his having ever been known to them, or that their traditions reach ſo high as this ſon of *Noah*, by many ages.

1. GOMER the eldeſt ſon of *Japhet*, according to Gomer.
*Joſephus*, was the father of the *Gomerites*, called by the *Greeks*, *Galatians* [b], who were the *Gauls* of *Aſia minor*, inhabiting part of *Phrygia*. Of this opinion is *Bochart* [c]; and, if it be right, thoſe who derive the *Cimmerians* or *Cimbri* from *Gomer*, have ſome grounds for it, the *Cimmerians* ſeeming to be the ſame people with the *Gauls*, or *Celts*, under a different name; and it is obſervable, that the *Welſh*, who are deſcended from the *Gauls*, ſtill call themſelves *Kumero* or *Cymro*, and *Cumeri*. Be that as it will, the *Chaldee* paraphraſts muſt be miſtaken in placing *Gomer* in *Africa*, ſince it is plain from *Ezekiel* [d], that his country lay northward of *Judea*; and that it lay alſo to the weſt or north-weſt of *Madai*, or *Media*, may be gathered from that prophet's making the houſe of *Togarmah* (one of *Gomer*'s ſons, and conſequently, according to our rules, ſettled in his father's lot or borders) trading to *Tyre* in *Syria*; which could not well be, had they been ſituated beyond *Media*, through which it is not likely they would have been ſuffered to paſs. We may therefore let *Gomer* reſt where the learned *Bochart* ſettles him, *viz.* in *Phrygia* [e], without ſtraining to make that word the *Greek* tranſlation of his name.

THE plantations of *Gomer*'s ſons may, not without Aſhkena
ſome ground, be preſumed to be thereabouts. 1. *Aſhkenaz*, as it ſeems, ſhould be ſeated near *Armenia* [f], in the eaſtern part of *Aſia minor*; for the Scripture, among the nations

[a] BOCHART phaleg, l. iii. c. 1. [b] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [c] Phaleg, l. iii. c. 10. [d] Chap. xlviii. 6. [e] In loco ſuperius citat. [f] Jeremiah li. 27.

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which were to be called by the *Medes* under *Cyrus* to destroy *Babylon*, mentions *Ararat*, *Minni*, and *Ashkenaz*: but if regard be had to the footsteps found of the name, the country which he planted, seems to have been in the north-west part of that continent; for in *Bithynia* there was the *Arcanian* lake, and a river called *Ascanius*, with a bay of the same name; and there was also, antiently, a city named *Ascania* in *lesser Phrygia*, or *Troas*, with isles on the coast, called the *Ascanian* islands: and it is observed, that, besides *Ascanius* the son of *Æneas*, *Homer* mentions a king of that name, who was at the siege of *Troy*. And to prove, that the *Ashkenaz*, mentioned by *Jeremiah*, were the people of these parts, it is shewn out of *Xenophon* [g], that *Hystaspes*, having conquered *Phrygia* that lies on the *Hellespont*, brought thence many of the horse, and other soldiers, which *Cyrus* carried with him to the siege of *Babylon*. In a word, the *Pontus Euxinus*, or *Axinus*, as it was first called by the *Greeks*, is supposed to be a corruption for *the sea of Ashkenaz* [h].

Riphath.

2. Because *Riphath* probably settled near his brother *Ashkenaz*, we may admit the testimony of *Josephus*, not always to be depended on, who says, the *Paphlagonians* were originally called *Riphathæans*, from *Riphath* [i]. *Bochart* finds the river *Rhebas*, *Rhebæus*, or *Rhebanus*, near *Paphlagonia* [j]; *Stephanus* mentions not only the river, but also a region of the same name, whose inhabitants were called *Rhebæi*, and *Pliny* places here a people called *Riphæi*, which comes nearer the name of *Riphath*.

Togarmah.

3. *Togarmah*, the last son of *Gomer*, was probably seated to the east of *Riphath*; some think to the north of *Armenia*, among the *Iberians*, others in *Cappadocia* and *Galatia*; which opinions are not improbable, since these countries lie contiguous to those of the rest of *Gomer*'s family, and are situate conformable [k] to that expression of the prophet, Gomer *and all his bands*, *the house of* Togarmah *of the north quarters*, *and all his bands* [l]: which seems to be spoken of their situation with respect to *Judea*. *Turcomannia*, where many have placed this colony, seems too remote, because they are said to have traded to the fairs of *Tyre* [m]; and what confirms their settling, they brought hither; *viz.* horses, horsemen, and mules, in or about *Cappadocia*; for that country produced excellent horses and mules, which last are supposed to have come first from thence; and was famous for good horsemen, as is at-

[g] Cyropæd. l. vii. [h] Bochart phaleg, l. iii. c. 9.
[i] Josephus antiq. l. i. c. 7. [j] Bochart ubi supr. c. 10.
[k] Idem, ibid. [l] Ezek. xxxviii. 6. [m] Ibid. xxvii. 14.

tested

teſted by ſeveral of the antient profane hiſtorians [n]. Beſides, Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.
in the borders of *Pontus* and *Cappadocia*, we find a people called *Trocmi* [o], *Trogmi*, or *Trocmeni*, as *Stephanus* calls them. In the council of *Chalcedon* they are called *Trocmades*, or *Trogmades*; which names have an affinity with *Togarmah*, or, as the *Greeks* uſually write it, *Thorgama*.

BUT, after all, the *Armenians* give themſelves out to be deſcended from *Togarmah* (whom they make the ſon of *Tiras*, the ſon of *Gomer*) by his ſon *Haikh*; from whom they and their country from all antiquity have borne the name of *Haikh*. They ſay alſo, that the name of *Armenia*, made uſe of by other nations, is derived from *Aram*, the ſeventh in deſcent from *Haikh*, who much inlarged the bounds of his kingdom on all ſides [p]: the *Armenians* had alſo numerous breeds of excellent horſes, which they paid to *Cyrus* inſtead of tribute [q]; and many horſes, as a learned author [r] aſſures us, from the teſtimony of credible natives, are ſtill bred there, for the uſe of the kings of *Perſia*, and for preſents to them from the governor. Upon theſe conſiderations we muſt leave *Armenia* to the deſcendants of *Togarmah*, or *Thûrgûmai*, as they call him.

2. WE come now to *Magog*, the ſecond ſon of *Japhet*; Magog.
with regard to whoſe ſettlement, the learned have many different and confuſed opinions: *Joſephus*, *Jerom*, and moſt of the fathers, held them to be the *Scythians* about mount *Caucaſus*, which name *Bochart* ſuppoſes was made by the *Greeks* out of *Gog haſan*, ſignifying *Gog*'s *fort* in *Chaldee*, of which he imagines the language of the *Colchi* and *Armenians* to have been a dialect [s]; but perhaps it is rather a wrong pronunciation of *Cuh Kaf*, which in *Perſian* ſignifies the *mountain of Kaf*, as the *Arabs* alſo call it: that his plantation adjoined upon thoſe of *Meſhech* and *Tubal*, appears from *Ezekiel*'s [s] making *Gog*, king of *Magog*, to reign over the other two. And it is thought we ſhould come nearer ſtill to a diſcovery of his quarters, if thoſe words, *the chief prince*, or (as it is in our marginal tranſlation) *the prince of the chief of* Meſhech *and* Tubal [t], be rendered according to the *Septuagint*, *the prince of* Roſh, Meſhech, *and* Tubal, becauſe in the *iſthmus* or neck of land between the *Euxine* and *Caſpian* ſeas there formerly dwelt two ſorts of people; the one called *Rhoſſi*,

[n] Vid. BOCHART ubi ſupr. CICERO de divinat. l. ii. &c.
[o] PTOL. STRAB. l. xii.
[p] MOSES CHORENENS. hiſt. Armen. l. i c. 4.
[q] XENOPH. Cyropæd. l. iii.
[r] SCHROEDER diſſertat. de ling. Armen. p. 30.
[s] BOCHART phaleg, l. iii. c. 13.
[s] Chap. xxxviii. 2.
[t] Ibid.

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on the river *Cyrus*, as *Joseph ben Gorion* has it, or rather on the *Ros*, *Ras*, or *Aras*, called by the *Greeks*, *Araxes*; the other called *Moschici*, inhabiting a long chain of mountains, stretching, according to *Ptolemy*, along the north-west part of *Armenia*, and separating it from *Colchis* and *Iberia*. From which two people, migrating or driven over *Caucasus*, it is supposed the *Russians* and *Muscovites* are descended.

BOCHART also thinks, the name of *Magog* is preserved in a country of these parts called *Gogarene* [u], according to *Strabo* and *Stephanus*; for *Gog* and *Magog* seem to be the same name, the *m* not being a radical letter. But we cannot strain the matter so far, as to suppose the name of *Georgia*, a well known country in this quarter, derived thence; much less, that the *Palus Mæotis*, and *Comagene* in *Syria*, take their names from *Magog* [w], through such a distorted course of changes, as to repeat would put one quite out of conceit with etymologies.

THE *Arabs*, who have borrowed the best part of their religion from the *Jews*, are acquainted with *Gog* and *Magog*, whom they call *Yajuj* and *Majuj*, and make them not inhabitants of the mountain of *Kaf*, or *Caucasus*, but remove them at a great distance, to the farther end of *Tartary*, towards the north, or north-east [x].

WE are inclined to think the parts above-mentioned, between the *Euxine* and *Caspian* seas, are most likely to be those in which *Magog* settled; however, we can by no means omit this occasion, of taking notice of an error which many of the modern writers have fallen into, who place *Magog* in *Syria*. *Bochart*'s great judgment would not suffer him wholly to come into it; however, he supposes *Magog* himself gave his name to a town there [y]. Dr. *Wells* more cautiously suggests, that the name was long after taken from the *Scythians*, when they made an excursion into *Syria*, and took the city, as *Bethsan* in *Judea* was also called after them *Scythopolis* [z]. But Mr. *Shuckford* fixes *Magog* himself there, with *Gomer*, *Tubal*, *Togarmah*, and *Meshech*, about him [a]. What gave rise to this opinion is a passage in *Pliny*, where he observes, that

[u] BOCHART ubi supra. [w] Geog. of the Old Testament, vol. i. p. 164. [x] See D'HERBELOT bibl. orient. art. Jagiouge & Magiouge, p. 470. & Geogr. Nubiens. p. 247, 267. [y] Phaleg, l. i. c. 2. & l. iii. c. 13. [z] Geogr. of the Old Test. ubi supr. [a] Connect. of the sacred and profane hist. v. i. p. 152.

*Bambyce*,

*Bambyce*, otherwiſe *Hierapolis*, is called by the *Syrians*, *Magog*[b]; but this proves to be a palpable miſtake of the tranſcriber, who has written *Magog* inſtead of *Mabog*, as has been obſerved by Dr. *Hyde*, who wonders nobody had corrected that error in *Pliny*[c]. *Aſſemani* has taken notice of it ſince[d]; yet it ſtill remains uncorrected in *Hardouin*'s laſt pompous edition of that author. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

3. It is generally agreed, that *Madai* planted *Media*, and the *Medes* are always called by this name in Scripture[e]. To this a learned author[f], who makes *Macedonia* the ſettlement of *Madai*, objects, 1. That the *Madai*, or *Medes*, are not mentioned in Scripture till the latter ages; but it may be anſwered, that the *Jews* always retained the name, and it is plain, they made uſe of it as ſoon as they had occaſion. 2. That this ſituation removes *Madai* too far from the reſt of his brethren, and takes him out of their general lot, which was the iſles of the *Gentiles*, to put him into that of *Shem*. But, according to our hypotheſis, their plantations hitherto have been contiguous; for the weſtern *Media* was bounded on the north by the river *Ros*, or *Aras*; to which, as we have obſerved above, the dominion of *Magog* extended; and perhaps thoſe words, *by theſe were the iſles of the* Gentiles *divided*[g], relate only to *Javan* and his ſons, and not to *Gomer* and his ſons, or to a future plantation; the paſſages in Scripture, where theſe laſt are mentioned, requiring a ſenſe which places them on the continent. 3. Several authorities are produced by this writer, to ſhew there were a people in *Macedonia* called *Medi* or *Mædi*, and a tract called the *Medic* region in the borders of *Pæonia*; but, even ſuppoſing them ſome later colony of *Madai*, which is the moſt that can be allowed, we cannot ſee how it tends to prove, that *Macedonia* is compounded of *Madai*, and *Cetim* or *Kittim*, any more than that *Æmathia*, the antient name of *Macedonia*, comes from *Madai*, upon the bare authority of a forced etymology. Madai.

4. Javan may probably be ſuppoſed to have ſettled firſt near his brothers, in the ſouth-weſt part of the leſſer *Aſia*, about *Ionia*, which contains the radical letters of his name. Javan.

[b] Hiſt. natur. l. v. c. 23. [c] In notis ad Peritſol. itiner. p. 42. [d] Bibliotheca oriental. vol. ii. Diſſert. de Monophyſ. ad voc. Mabug. [e] Dan. v. 28. Ibid. vi. 8, 12, 15. Ibid. viii. 20. Eſth. i. 3. 14, 18, 19. Ibid. x. 2. [f] See Mede's Works. [g] Gen. x. 5.

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Elisha.

Tarshish.

Kittim.

Dodanim.

His four children may find places correspondent with their names, in the same parts. 1. The *Æoles*, who inhabited *Æolia* to the north of *Ionia*, are by *Josephus* made to descend from *Elisha*, *Javan*'s eldest son; but there is a greater appearance of his name in *Hellas*, the antient name of *Greece*; the isles of which seem to be those called the isles of *Elisha* by *Ezekiel*, and most probably supplied *Tyre* with the purple and blue [h], wherewith, as *Bochart* proves at large, the coast of *Peloponnesus* and the adjacent islands abounded [i]. *Peloponnesus*, which may be well comprehended among the isles, as being almost one, contained moreover a city and province, by the name of *Elis*; and in *Attica* there was the city *Eleusis*, and the river *Elissus*, or *Ilissus*. 2. *Tarshish*, according to *Josephus*, gave name not only to *Tarsus*, but to all *Cilicia*, of which it was the capital [k]: it seems also to have been the *Tarshish* to which *Jonas* thought *to flee from the presence of the Lord* [l], as well as that also mentioned so often by the prophets, on account of its trading with *Tyre* [m]. 3. To the west of *Tarshish* it is supposed *Kittim* first planted. *Homer* mentions a people in those parts called *Cetii* [n] (from the river *Cetius*), which is the word by which the *Septuagint* have rendered *Kittim*. In *Ptolemy*, we find two provinces in the western parts of *Cilicia*, one maritime, called *Cetis*, the other towards the mountains, called *Citis*. *Josephus* will have the island of *Cyprus* to be the seat of the *Kittim*, and the town called *Citium*, which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them [o]; but in the apocrypha, *Macedonia* is plainly denoted by the land of *Chettiim*, *Alexander* being mentioned as coming from thence [p], and *Perseus*, king of *Macedonia*, is called king of the *Citims* [q]. Nor do we see any thing amiss, in supposing that country to be the original plantation of the *Kittim*, at least in the intention of *Moses*, since it comes under the general denomination of *the isles*, which were to be the portion of *Japhet*, at least of the posterity of *Javan*; and their brother *Elisha* has been already placed in that neighbourhood. 4. It is not so easy to find a place for *Dodanim*, the youngest of the sons, or rather of the descendants of *Javan*, except we admit the change of the *d* into *r* (which letters in

[h] Gen. viii. 7. [i] Phaleg, l. iii. c. 4. [k] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [l] Jonas i. 3. [m] Isaiah xxiii. 1, 14. Ezek. xxvii. 12, 25. Ibid. xxxviii. 13. [n] Odyss. xi. ver. 520. Vide Strab. l. xiii. [o] Antiq. l. i. c. 7. [p] 1 Mac. i. 1. [q] Ibid. viii. 5.

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the *Hebrew* are ſcarcely to be diſtinguiſhed), and call him *Rodanim*, as the *Septuagint* have done, in order to ſettle the iſland of *Rhodes* upon him; which, perhaps, is not a worſe ſhift than to extract the name of *Doris*, and the *Dorians*, in *Peloponneſus*, from *Dodanim*. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

As to, 5. *Tubal*, and, 6. *Meſhech*, we have already ſhewn, under the article of *Magog*, that their lots lay contiguous to his; as may be gathered from the two places of *Ezekiel* there mentioned [r]; and that is enough, without diſtorting names of countries, in order to provide them ſettlements, in ſpite of all the rules of etymology. And, 7. That we may ſhorten this account, which the uncertainty of our evidence has made tedious, we ſhall in the laſt place allow *Tiras*, according to *Joſephus* [s], and the general opinion, to have led his colony into *Thrace*. Tubal *and* Meſhech. Tiras.

THUS we have given an account of the nations concerned in the firſt diſperſion of mankind, by which it does not appear, that they migrated eaſtward beyond *Media*, northward beyond the mountains of *Caucaſus*, ſouthward beyond *Ethiopia* or *Habaſhia*, or weſtward beyond a part of *Libya* and *Greece*, including *Macedonia*; tho' it is moſt probable, the more diſtant parts were not planted immediately by theſe firſt colonies, but by their poſterity afterwards.

IT is not our deſign here to enter into a long detail of future migrations, in order to ſhew by what degrees, and in what manner, the ſeveral parts of the world came to be inhabited, as ſome, with more labour than ſucceſs, have attempted to do; but ſhall reſerve what may be gathered from antient writers in relation thereto, when we inquire into the original of each particular country. *No tracing the original of moſt nations.*

HOWEVER, we are obliged to ſay ſomething with reference to the deſcendants of *Joktan*; who, if they were not concerned in the firſt diſperſion, ſeem to have begun their migration in *Peleg*'s life-time; with regard to which patriarch we ſhall only obſerve here, that it is not probable the *Pelaſgians* of *Greece* and *Italy* derive their original from him, as ſome imagine [t]; but it rather appears from Scripture, that both he and his poſterity remained in *Chaldea*, within the lot of their great anceſtor *Arphaxad*, till *Terah*, the father of *Abraham*, left *Ur* of the *Chaldees* to remove into the land of *Canaan*. *The countries poſſeſſed by the deſcendants of* Joktan *in a ſecond migration.*

[r] 1 Mac. xxvii. 13. chap. xxxviii. 2, 3. [s] Ubi ſup.
[t] See CUMBERL. on Sanchon. p. 268.

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THE habitation of *Joktan*'s ſons was, according to *Moſes*, *from* Meſha, *as thou goeſt unto* Sephar, *a mount of the eaſt* [u]. Authors are at a loſs about the ſituation of theſe places, and therefore have run into ſtrange miſtakes. Some ſuppoſe *Meſha* to be mount *Maſius*, or *Ararat* in *Armenia* (but it ſeems rather to be a city); and look for mount *Sephar* beyond *Media*, towards *India*. *Jerom*, after *Joſephus*, would have both *Meſha* and *Sephar* to be in the *Eaſt-Indies*. In ſhort, the antients have generally peopled all the eaſtern parts of *Aſia* beyond *Media* with theſe ſons of *Joktan*; which is ſo inconſiſtent, that *Bochart* might well wonder ſo many of the moderns have been led by them [x]; and yet ſome have done worſe, and peopled *America* immediately by *Joktan*, from whom *Arias Montanus* imagined the province of *Jucatan* took its name; and the ſame author judges mount *Sephar* to be the *Andes*, mountains of *Peru*.

IN all probability, the places in queſtion are to be looked for in *Arabia*; but we cannot agree in opinion with *Bochart* [y], that *Meſha* is *Muza* (ſuppoſed to be *Mokha*, a noted port in the *Arabian* gulf), and *Sephar* the city *Saphar* [z], any more than with the *Arab* paraphraſts, that they are *Mecca* and *Medinah*.

THE ſettlement of *Almodad* and *Sheleph*, the two firſt ſons of *Joktan*, is quite unknown; but the name of the third, *Hazarmaveth*, or, as it is better written in the vulgat, *Haſarmoth*, is found in *Hadhramaut*, a province of *Yaman* or *Arabia Felix*; both having the ſame radicals, and ſignifying, *the court* or *country of death*. *Bochart* diſcovers the name of *Jerah* in the iſland *Hieracon* (or of hawks) in the *Arabian* gulf, and a town ſo called within land, on the river *Lar*, near the *Omanitæ*; and, 5. That of *Hadoram* in the *Drimati* of *Pliny*, towards the *Perſian* gulf [b]. 6. *Uzal* is the name given to *Sanaa*, the capital of *Yaman*, by the *Jews* who dwelt there [c]; and it appears from *Pliny* to be the ſame city [d]: its port was *Ocela*, or *Ocilis*, as *Ptolemy* calls it, which alſo bears ſome reſemblance to the name. 7. *Diklah*, ſignifying, in the *Chaldean* or *Syriac*, a *palm-tree*, or *a country ſtored with palms*, may have choice of ſeats in *Arabia*. 8. It is with reluctance that we muſt croſs the ſea with *Obal*, from *Arabia* to

Hazarmaveth.

Jerah.

Hadoram.

Uzal.

Diklah.

Obal.

[u] Gen. x. 30. [x] Phaleg, l. ii. c. 15. [y] Ibid. l. ii. c. 30. [z] Vid. PTOL. tab. 6. Aſiæ. [b] BOCHART phaleg, l. ii. c. 19. & 20. [c] ZACUT. in Juchaſin. [d] Nat. hiſt. lib. xii. c. 19. l. vi. c. 28. l. xii. c. 14.

the

the *Avalitic* port [e], in the *Avalitic* or *Abalitic* bay, on the coaſt of *Africa*, juſt without the ſtreights of *Bab-al-mandab* [f], for want of a place in *Arabia* bearing ſome likeneſs to his name, to ſettle him in. It is true, there is a town called *Obollah*, towards *Baſrah*, which might ſerve the turn, if that part had not been already diſpoſed of by us to the family of *Ham*. Some may think the uncertainty of its antiquity might be another objection againſt *Obollah*; but that would perhaps be calling all we have ſaid of the migrations in queſtion. 9. We might be obliged to look for a ſeat on the ſame coaſt for *Abimael*, if *Theophraſtus* [g] did not luckily furniſh us with the name of a place in the aromatic quarters of *Arabia*, called *Mali*. It is true, other authors ſeem to write *Minæi*, inſtead of it; and *Ptolemy* mentions the *Minæi* and *Manitæ*, but no *Mali*: however, the authority of *Theophraſtus* muſt go againſt them all, ſince it makes for our purpoſe. This is a rule which has the ſanction of moſt authors who have written on this ſubject. 10. *Sheba* will not have the ſame difficulty with the reſt of his brethren, to find a place in *Arabia*. *Pliny* ſays, the *Sabæan* nations extended themſelves from one ſea to the other; that is, from the *Arabian* to the *Perſian* gulf. Indeed there wants no proof of a people of this name poſſeſſing a large ſhare of the ſouth parts of *Arabia*, moſt authors mentioning them as very numerous, and their country excellent [h], but they ſeem to differ in the name of their chief city; for ſome call it *Saba* [i], others *Mariaba*, or *Maraba* [k]. However, that cauſes no difficulty in the matter, ſince we learn from the *Arab* authors, that they are both names of the ſame place, and that it was the antient regal ſeat, which was afterwards tranſlated to *Sanaa*. They alſo tell us, that *Balkis*, who viſited *Solomon*, reigned there; and CHRIST ſeems to allude to this country, when he calls her the *queen of the ſouth*; for *Yamin*, with the *Jews*, as well as *Yaman* with the *Arabs*, ſignifies the *ſouth*; and *Saba* or *Mareb* is in that part of *Arabia* called *Yaman* [l]. 11. We are at a loſs again about providing a ſettlement for *Ophir*: *Arabia* furniſhes no place which reſembles the name, except *Copar* [m], a place

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Abimael.

Sheba.

Ophir.

[e] PTOLEMÆUS. [f] Vid. BOCHART ubi ſup. c. 23. [g] Hiſt. plant. l. ix. c. 4. apud BOCHART. l. ii. c. 24. [h] AGATHARCHIDES, STRABO, DIOD. SICUL. [i] AGATHARCHIDES, PHILOSTORG. l. iii. THEOPHRAST. STEPHANUS. [k] ERATOSTHENES apud Strab. l. xvi. ARTEMIDORUS, PLINIUS, l. xii. c. 14. [l] Geog. Nub. p. 26. & 52. ABULFEDA deſcr. Arab. [m] PTOL.

on

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on the *Arabian* gulf, near the northern limits of the *Cinædocolpitæ*, and *Ogyris* an island in the same sea [n]. *Bochart* endeavours to squeeze *Ophir* in among the *Cassanitæ* or *Gassandæ* [o], probably, the tribe of *Ghassân*, consulting the similitude of sense in words, when that of sound fails: and he chooses rather to be put to his shifts, than to run into the common absurdity of planting *Ophir* in *India*, where the place which bears his name (so famous in Scripture for gold) is supposed to be situate. We shall speak more particularly, with reference to this land, when we come to the reign of *Solomon*; and shall only observe here, that the gold of this place seeming in one passage of Scripture to be called the gold of *Parvaim* [p], hath occasioned two conjectures: the first, that *Ophir* is the island of *Taprobana* [q]; the second, that it is *Peru* [r], in *America*. The reader may easily see the latter name comes nearest that of *Ophir*: but, to shew what an *ignis fatuus* the similitude of names is, *Peru*, as Sir *Walter Ralegh* assures us, is not the true name of the country, but was given to it by the *Spaniards*, on their mistaking the answer of the natives to a question they did not understand.

Havilah.

12. *Havilah* is, by *Bochart*, supposed to have settled in the land of *Khaulan* [s], towards *Yaman*, mentioned by *Al Edrisi* [t]: but as there seem to be two places (as well as two persons) in Scripture called by that name; one near the *Persian* gulph, possessed by *Havilah* the son of *Cush* already taken notice of, and another in the borders of the *Amalekites*, towards the *Land of Promise*; the reader, if he pleases, may fix this twelfth son of *Joktan* in this last country, and place his brother

Jobab.

*Jobab*, who is the 13th and last, with him for company; unless he rather chooses to quarter him upon the *Jobarites*, near the *Sachalites*, in the south-east part of *Arabia*, upon a presumption, that they should be written *Jobabites* [u].

[n] Plin. l. vi. c. 28. [o] Phaleg, l. ii. c. 27. [p] 2 Chron. iii. 6. [q] Bochart geog. sacr. l. ii. c. 27. [r] Arias Montanus antiquit. Judaic. Phaleg, v. l. i. c. 9. [s] Geogr. sacr. l. ii. c. 28. [t] Geogr. Nubiens. p. 49. [u] Bochart geog. sacr. lib. ii. cap. 29.

SECT.

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## SECT. VII.

### *Of the origin of civil government, and the eſtabliſhment of the firſt kingdoms.*

*The firſt government patriarchal.*

WE have formerly obſerved, that the firſt form of government was certainly patriarchal [a]. For though the father had no natural right to govern his children when out of their minority; and though that honour, reſpect, and ſupport, which they indiſpenſably owe to their parents all their life-time, and in all eſtates, give the father no power of making laws, and enacting penalties on his children, nor any dominion over their properties or actions; yet it is obvious to conceive how eaſy it was, in the firſt ages of the world, and ſtill is, in places where the thinneſs of people gives families leave to ſeparate, and plant themſelves in yet vacant habitations, for the father of the family to become the prince of it. He had been a ruler from the beginning of the infancy of his children; and ſince, without ſome government, it would be hard for them to live together, it was likelieſt it ſhould, by the expreſs or tacit conſent of the children, when they were grown up, be in the father; where it ſeemed, without any change, barely to continue: when, indeed, nothing more was required to it, than the permitting the father to exerciſe alone, in his family, that executive power of the law of nature which every freeman naturally hath, and, by that permiſſion, reſigning up to him a monarchical power, while they remained in it. Thus it was almoſt natural for the children to make way for the father's authority. They had been accuſtomed, in their childhood, to follow his directions, and to refer their little differences to him; and when they were men, who fitter to rule them? Their little properties, and leſs covetouſneſs, ſeldom occaſioned greater controverſies; and when they did, where could they have a fitter umpire than the perſon by whoſe care they had every-one been ſuſtained, and brought up, and who had a tenderneſs for them all? The government they were under continued ſtill to be more their protection, than reſtraint; and they could no-where find a greater ſecurity to their peace, liberties, and fortunes, than in the rule of a father.

[a] See before, p. 230.

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THUS fathers of families, by an insensible change, might become politic monarchs of them too, and, as they chanced to live long, and leave able and worthy heirs, for several successions, or otherwise, lay the foundations of hereditary or elective kingdoms, under various constitutions and manners; according as chance, contrivance, or occasions, happened to mould them [b].

*Changed into monarchical.*

*The policy of the* Noachidæ.

NOAH, therefore, being the common parent of the new world, while he lived, we may imagine, all his descendants considered themselves as in a state of dependence on him: and as he was the supreme governor of the whole race of mankind then in being, so his sons *Shem*, *Ham*, and *Japhet*, were, in all probability, chief governors of their respective branches in particular, as their sons, again, were heads or rulers of their respective families, under their fathers. Each son of *Shem*, for instance, as head of his own family, not only decided all differences among them, but, probably, gave laws to them, though his authority extended no farther: for, in disputes between their families, their powers being all equal, they were obliged to have recourse to the decision of their common father *Shem*, whose authority, also, was limited to his proper descendants; so that, in any difference between him and his brothers, *Ham* and *Japhet*, the appeal must have been to the judgment of their father *Noah*, as the only common superior.

ON *Noah*'s death, the unity of government was dissolved, and mankind became divided into three grand parties, which no longer acknowleged one common head, but had each its own independent ruler, in one of his three sons. Upon their deaths, the bonds of union were again loosed, and mankind became, a second time, divided in their political state; so that, by degrees, they became ranged under a great number of independent chiefs; which seems to have been the state of the world for some time after the dispersion.

*The establishment of kingdoms.*

BUT as families increased, and gradually extended their plantations, forming villages and towns, lest their different interests and inclinations might trouble the public tranquillity, it became necessary to trust the government of each society in the hands of one, or, at least, a small number of persons, who might reunite all the chiefs under one and the same authority, and execute such laws and regulations as were thought conducive to the well-being of the community. The idea they still retained of the patriarchal go-

[b] LOCKE of government, treatise ii. c. 6, &c.

vernment,

vernment, and the happy experience they had had of it, naturally directed them to the choice of a ſingle perſon, rather than many, and of ſuch as was moſt conſpicuous for paternal care and tenderneſs. Ambition and intrigue had, we may ſuppoſe, little or no ſhare in this election, which was rather decided in favour of the moſt worthy, by his known probity and moderation [c].

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In this firſt beginning of political ſocieties, almoſt every town had its own king, who, more attentive to preſerve his dominions, than to extend them, reſtrained his ambition within the bounds of his native country [d], till diſputes with neighbours, which were ſometimes inevitable, jealouſy of a more powerful prince, an enterpriſing genius, and martial inclination, the deſire, in ſome, of aggrandizing themſelves, and ſhewing their abilities, occaſioned thoſe wars, which often ended in the abſolute ſubjection of the vanquiſhed; whoſe poſſeſſions fell to the ſhare of the conqueror, and, by inlarging his dominions, both enabled and encouraged him to puſh on his fortune by new enterprizes: and thus ſeveral cities and territories, united under one monarch, formed kingdoms of greater or ſmaller extent, as the prince happened to have ambition and ſucceſs.

These firſt conquerors uſed their victory in different manners, according to their various tempers and intereſts. Some, looking on themſelves as abſolute maſters of the conquered, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, ſtripped them of every thing elſe, and reduced them to the ſtate of ſlavery, condemning them to the meaneſt offices, and the moſt laborious employments; which introduced the diſtinction between freemen and ſlaves, ever ſince kept up in the world.

Others brought in the cuſtom of intirely tranſporting the vanquiſhed people, with their families, into new countries, where they were to ſettle, and cultivate the lands aſſigned them.

Others, yet more moderate, contented themſelves with obliging the conquered to purchaſe their liberty by a ranſom, and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges on payment of an annual tribute, ſometimes even leaving their kings on the throne, and only obliging them to acknowlege the ſuperiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and ſubmiſſion.

The wiſeſt, and moſt politic, gained the affections of their new ſubjects, by admitting them to an equality with

[c] Justin. l. i. c. 1. [d] Idem ibid.

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their old ones, and granting them the ſame liberties and privileges: thus they united their intereſts, and made them one people [e].

Nimrod *the firſt uſurper on the rights of others.*

IF the *Phœnician* hiſtory may be credited, and their *Cronus* allowed to be *Ham*, the deſire of rule began to make havoc in the world, even during the life-time of *Noah*, who was driven out of his ſettlements, and, at laſt, ſlain, by his rebellious ſon [f]. But the firſt act of violence and uſurpation we find recorded in Scripture, was that of *Nimrod*, who, it ſeems, diſpoſſeſſed *Aſhur*, the ſon of *Shem*, at firſt ſettled in *Shinaar*, and obliged him to remove into *Aſſyria*. The acquiſitions he made, on this occaſion, muſt be allowed to be unjuſt, though he might have a legal right to govern thoſe who, probably, choſe him for their chief, on account of his perſonal merit. However, it is to be preſumed, that this revolution, which we ſuppoſe to have happened about thirty years after the diſperſion, extended only to ſome few of the new-planted nations. In the reſt, and eſpecially thoſe which lay outermoſt, we cannot but perſuade ourſelves, that a ſimplicity of manners continued ſeveral ages; and that wars did not ariſe in the world, till the colonies, which were at firſt ſeparated, by the increaſe of their numbers, began to preſs upon one another, and grow uneaſy, for want of room; which inconvenience muſt have affected thoſe moſt, who were ſettled neareſt the centre: and, accordingly, the firſt warlike motions we have any credible account of, were made by the kings of *Shinaar* and *Elam* [g].

*Of the original of arts and ſciences,*

THOUGH *Noah* and his ſons had, doubtleſs, ſome knowlege of the inventions of the antediluvians, and, probably, acquainted their deſcendants with ſuch of them as were moſt obvious and uſeful in common life; yet it is not to be imagined, that any of the more curious arts, or ſpeculative ſciences, were improved in any degree, ſuppoſing them to have been known, or invented, till ſome conſiderable time after the diſperſion. On the contrary, one conſequence of that event ſeems to have been, that ſeveral inventions, known to their anceſtors, were loſt, and mankind gradually degenerated into ignorance and barbarity, till eaſe and plenty had given them leiſure again to poliſh their manners, and apply themſelves to thoſe arts, which are ſeldom brought to perfection under other circumſtances. For, on their ſettling in any country, they found it employment

[e] ROLLIN. hiſt. ancienne, &c. p. 3, &c. [f] See before, p. 313, &c. [g] Gen. xiv. 1.

ſufficient, to cultivate the land (which yet, for want of ſeparate property and ſecurity in their poſſeſſions, in thoſe early times, they improved no farther, than barely to ſupply preſent neceſſities), and to provide themſelves habitations and neceſſaries, for their mutual comfort and ſubſiſtence[k]. Beſides this, they were often obliged to remove from one place to another, where they could more conveniently reſide: and it was a great while before they came to embody themſelves together in towns and cities, and from thence to ſpread into provinces, and to ſettle the bounds and extent of their territories[l]. Year of flood 352. Bef. Chr. 1996.

COMMERCE was, in all probability, carried on with greater eaſe before the flood, when there was, as it ſeems, but one and the ſame language in the world[m]: yet it was not ſo neceſſary then, as it is become ſince; not only becauſe mens wants have been increaſed by the ill effects of the deluge on the earth, and its productions[n], but becauſe they dwelt more together, and might ſupply their occaſions by bartering with their neareſt neighbours, without being obliged to extend their dealings much farther; and that they had no ſhips to carry on a traffic to remote parts, ſeems evident: for if navigation had been then found out, ſome others might have ſaved themſelves from the flood, as well as *Noah* and his family. But after that deſtruction, and the diſperſion of mankind, as it became more difficult to trade with nations who ſpake different languages, ſo their neceſſities were increaſed by this diviſion; the colonies who planted new countries, not only perceiving their own wants, by the conveniences they had left behind them; but finding ſomething uſeful in their ſettlements, which were before unknown to them, or their founders. This engaged them to fetch what they wanted from the parts where they had formerly dwelt, and, in exchange, to carry what they had diſcovered thither: which ſeems to have given the firſt riſe to foreign trade, the gradual advances whereof we may occaſionally mention hereafter. The invention of ſhipping was certainly the greateſt ſtep to its improvement, ſince it made the ſea, before an inſuperable obſtacle to commerce, the moſt eaſy and convenient method of carrying it on[o]. *and of commerce.*

[k] Vid. THUCYD. l. i. ſub initio.

[l] STILLINGFL. orig. ſacr. book i. c. 1. ſect. 16.

[m] SIMPLIC. de cœlo, l. ii.

[n] See before, p. 231, &c.

[o] Vid. HUET hiſt. du commerce & de la navig. des anciens, c. 2, & 3.

# CHAP. III.

## *The history of* Egypt, *to the time of* Alexander the Great.

### SECT. I.

### *A description of* Egypt.

*Its names.* EGYPT, called by its antient inhabitants *Chemia* [a], and by the *Copts*, at present, *Chemi*, was so named, as is supposed, from *Ham*, the son of *Noah*; being, more than once, stiled, in the book of *Psalms*, *the land of* Ham. But the name by which it is generally denoted in Scripture, is *the land of* Mizraim: from whence the *Arabians*, and other oriental nations, still call it *Mesr*, which the *Greeks* write *Mesre* and *Mestræa*. We have already observed, that *Mizraim* is a word of a dual termination [b], and is therefore, by some, thought to have been used in that number, on account of the twofold division of *Egypt* hereafter mentioned, and thence given to its first planter, the son of *Ham* [c]: the singular, *masor*, signifies *a fortress*; and, according to some, is also used, in Scripture, as a proper name of that country [d]; though others, and our version in particular, translate the word as an appellative. *Bochart* is of opinion *Egypt* received this name from the natural strength of its situation [e].

THIS country is best known to us by its *Greek* name *Egypt*, the original of which is variously accounted for by authors. Some say, it was so called from one of its kings, named *Ægyptus* [f]; not reflecting that this name was antiently given, not only to the country, but, likewise, to its famous river, the *Nile*. Others say, it signifies no more than *the land of the* Copts; the word *aia* being *Greek* for *a country*, and *Ægoptos* easily softened into *Ægyptus*. Yet this derivation seems as ill-grounded as the former; the city of *Coptus*, whence the remains of the antient *Egyptians*

[a] PLUT. de Isid. & Osir. p. 364. [b] See before, p. 272.
[c] Vid. PERIZON. orig. Ægypt. p. 6. [d] 2 Kings xix. 24. Isa. xix. 6. Micah vii. 12. [e] Phaleg, l. iv. c. 24. [f] DIOD. SIC. EUSEB. &c.

are

MARE MEDITERRANEVM

Sinus Syrticus

Syrtis Maior

CYRENAICA sive PENTAPOLIS

Horti Hesperidum

Nasamones

Psylli

Macæ Cinyphii

CINYPS REGIO

Macæ

LIBYA DESERTA

Apotimatæ

Marmaridæ

Augila

Magri locus

Oasitæ Nomi

Nomos Ammoniacus

Oasis magna

Oasis parva

Tropicus Cancri

Garamantes

Blemmyes

AETHIOPIAE REGIO

AETHIOPIA SVPRA AEGYPTVM

Meroe

Insula

Colobi

Catadupæ

Ichthyophagi

Troglodytæ

Rhizophagi

Eleii seu

ARABIA PETRÆA

ARABIAE FELICIS PARS

SARABICVS SINVS

PALÆSTINAE PARS

A MAP OF ANCIENT EGYPT

J Blundell Sc.

Occidens 10 15 20 25 30 Meridies 35 40 Oriens

3

*Its na*

are

are ſtill called *Copts*, being ſituate far up in the *Higher Egypt*, and, in all likelihood, utterly unknown to the *Greeks* till long after the name was in uſe among them. The moſt probable opinion, therefore, to omit ſome other conjectures, ſtill more groundleſs, is, that this region was ſo called from the blackneſs of its ſoil, and the dark colour both of its river and inhabitants, atteſted by all relations: for ſuch a blackiſh colour is called, by the *Greeks*, *ægyptios*, from *gyps* and *ægyps*, a *vultur*, a bird of that hue; and, by the *Latins*, *ſubvulturius*. And, for the ſame reaſon, other names, of the ſame import, have been given to this country by the *Greeks*; ſuch as *Aeria*, and *Melambolus* [g]. The river itſelf was alſo called *Melo*, or *Melas*; by the *Hebrews*, *Shihor*; and, by the *Ethiopians*, *Siris* [h]; all which names ſignify *black*. And *Plutarch* ſeems to intimate, that the inhabitants called their country *Chemia*, becauſe its ſoil was very black, like the ſight of the eye [i].

EGYPT is ſituate between the 48th and 53d degrees of longitude, and the 24th and 33d degrees of north latitude; and its length, from north to ſouth, about 600 miles; and the breadth of its coaſt on the *Mediterranean*, from eaſt to weſt, near 300 miles: but above the diviſion of the *Nile* it grows much narrower, ſo that, in ſome places, the two chains of mountains which riſe on each ſide of that river, leave a plain between them of leſs than a day's journey to croſs [k]. It is bounded, on the ſouth, by the kingdom of *Sennar*, which is tributary to the king of *Ethiopia*, and the cataracts of the *Nile*; on the north, by the *Mediterranean* ſea; on the eaſt, by the *Arabian* gulph, or *Red* ſea, and the iſthmus of *Suez*; on the weſt, by a region of *Lybia* called *Marmarica*. *Situation and extent.*

THE old geographers differ, as to the antient bounds of this country: ſome have thought, that the *Delta* only, or that part incompaſſed by the arms of the *Nile*, was properly to be called *Egypt* [l]; others make it reach weſtward to the greater *Catabathmus* [m], or valley which divides it from *Cyrenaica*: but this would give it too great an extent, and include *Marmarica* and *Ammonis*, which are by everybody elſe agreed to be no part of *Egypt*. The true limits on that ſide, therefore, ſeem rather to be taken from *Plinthine*, a town beyond the lake *Mareotis*; and to extend eaſtward as far as the lake *Serbonis* [n], or, more exactly, to

[g] See WELLS's geog. of the old teſt. vol. ii. p. 5. [h] Vid. PERIZON. ubi ſup. p. 13. [i] Ubi ſup. [k] Vid. LUCAS's voyages, tom. ii. p. 193. GOL. in Alfrag. p. 100. [l] JONES apud Herodot. l. ii. c. 15. [m] STRABO, l. xvii. [n] Vid. HEROD. ubi ſup.

*Oſtracine*, on the *Mediterranean* ſea, and *Heroopolis* at the head of the *Arabian* gulph. The ſouthern bounds were, *Syene*, a city ſituate almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, and *Elephantine* and *Phylæ*, two others which lie ſomething further [o].

As the antients differ, likewiſe, in ſettling the limits of *Aſia* and *Africa*, ſome, who make the *Nile* the boundary of thoſe two parts of the world [p], place ſo much of *Egypt* as lies eaſt of that river, in *Aſia*; but others place it intirely in that part, by removing the limits of *Aſia* ſo far as *Alexandria* [q], or the *Catabathmus* [r]. But we think the common opinion the moſt natural, which divides *Aſia* from *Africa* by the *Arabian* gulph, and the iſthmus of *Suez*. However, we hope the former authorities will excuſe our including the *Egyptians* among the *Aſiatic* nations, whoſe hiſtories we give in this book; which we have done merely for convenience.

*Its diviſion.* ANTIENT *Egypt* is divided, by ſome, into two parts, the *Upper*, and the *Lower Egypt*; by others, into three; the *Upper Egypt*, properly ſo called, or *Thebais*; the *Middle Egypt*, or *Heptanomis*; and the *Lower Egypt*, the beſt part of which was the *Delta*.

Thebais. THEBAIS, which was ſo named by the *Greeks* from its principal city *Thebes*, is, in the Scripture, called *Pathros*; and, at preſent, *Al Saïd*. It is the moſt ſoutherly part of *Egypt* next to *Ethiopia*, and is near as big as all the reſt, including the country on both ſides the *Nile* down to the *Heptanomis*; its laſt city, according to the antients, being *Lycopolis* on the weſtern, and *Antæopolis* on the eaſtern ſide of the river; which agrees pretty exactly with the preſent extent of *Al Saïd*, the moſt northern city of which is *Manfalût* [s].

*Cities of note in this part of* Egypt. THERE were formerly, in this part of *Egypt*, ſeveral cities, of great note; *viz.* on the weſtern ſide of the *Nile*, *Lycopolis*, or *the city of the wolves*; for extraordinary worſhip was formerly paid here to wolves, becauſe they drove back the *Ethiopians*, ſays *Diodorus Siculus* [t], when they invaded *Egypt*, and purſued them to *Elephantine*, on the borders of *Ethiopia*. This city is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where the preſent town of *Monfalût* ſtands. *Hypſele*, ſtill

[o] Vid. CELLAR. geogr. ant. l. iv. c. 1. [p] STRABO, l. xi. DIONYS. perieg. ver. 18. PLIN. hiſt. nat. l. iii. c. 1. [q] HIRTIUS de bello Alex. c. 14. [r] SALLUST. de bello Jugurth. c. 17. POMP. MELA, l. i. c. 8. [s] LUCAS's voy. t. ix. p. 209.
[t] DIODOR. l. i. c. 88.

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a pretty large town, known by the name of *Aboutig*, and a biſhop's ſee: it ſtands about a mile to the weſt of the *Nile*. *Aphroditopolis*, or *the city of* Venus, to whom great worſhip was paid here. This city is omitted by *Ptolemy*, but mentioned by other geographers. *Ptolemais*, formerly a city of great note, and, by *Strabo*, thought equal to *Memphis* [u]. *Abydus*, once the ſecond city in the *Thebaid*, and famous for the magnificent palace of *Memnon*, but, in *Strabo*'s time, only a village [w]. That author mentions a fountain here, to which there was an extraordinary deſcent by ſteps; and a grove, that was ſacred to *Apollo*. *Abydus* ſtood at ſome diſtance from the river, perhaps in the place where the preſent village *El-berbi* is ſituate, about three miles to the weſt of the river, as a modern traveller conjectures [x]. *Little Dioſpolis*, or *the city of* Jupiter, perhaps the preſent town of *Houy* [y]. *Tentyra*, of which city the inhabitants were famous for their enmity to the crocodile, which, by all means, they endeavoured to deſtroy, and even waged war with the worſhippers of that animal, eſpecially with the people of *Ombos*. Of this war, the poet *Juvenal* takes notice, in one of his ſatires [z]. At *Rome*, the *Tentyrites* were employed to take the crocodiles, with nets, out of the ponds, where they were kept as a curioſity, and to ſhew them to the people; which they did without receiving from them the leaſt hurt. Hence ſome have ſuppoſed a kind of a natural aſcendant, in that people, over the crocodile; but *Seneca*, more juſtly, aſcribes the whole to their temerity in facing and attacking ſo dangerous an enemy; while others, with more prudence, declined the encounter, and placed all their ſafety in flight [a]. The ruins of *Tentyra* are ſtill to be ſeen at *Amara*, about a mile from the river [b] *Hermenthis*, now *Erment*. It ſtood in the midſt of a large plain, and ſeems to have been between three and four miles in compaſs. Here are ſtill to be ſeen the ruins of two antient buildings [c]. *Latopolis*, ſo called from the fiſh *latus*, formerly worſhipped here. About three miles to the north-north-weſt of the preſent town of *Eſne*, are to be ſeen the ruins of an antient temple, which our traveller ſuppoſes to have been the temple of *Pallas* and the fiſh *latus* at *Latopolis*, where they were both worſhipped. Within this temple are three ſtories of hieroglyphics of men about three feet high, and at one end the loweſt figures

[u] Strabo, p. 559. [w] Idem ibid. [x] Pococke's deſcript. of the eaſt, p. 83.
[y] Idem ibid. p 85.
[z] Juv. ſatyr. xv. ver. 33.
[a] Sen. quæſt. nat. c. 11.
[b] Pocock. ib. p. 85. [c] Idem ib. p. 110, 111.

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are as big as the life, one of them with the head of the *ibis*. The cieling is curiouſly adorned with all ſorts of animals, and painted in very beautiful colours. All the hieroglyphics are very well cut, but ſome of them defaced [b]. *Great Apollinopolis*, whereof the inhabitants rivalled the *Tentyrites* in their enmity and hatred to the crocodile [c]. It is thought to have been ſituate where the town of *Etfou* now ſtands, and where are ſtill the ruins of a magnificent temple, in the front of which are cut coloſſal figures in two ſtories, ſome ſtanding, and ſome ſitting [d]. *Elephantine*, in an iſland ofthat name [e], about a mile long, and a quarter of a mile broad to the ſouth, ending in a point at the north. On this iſland are the ruins of a ſmall temple, before which is a ſtatue ſitting with the hands acroſs on the breaſt, about eight feet high, with a *lituus* in each hand. In the middle of the iſland are the remains of one ſide of a great gate of red granite, finely adorned with hieroglyphics. Here are ſeveral large rocks of red granite [f]. *Elephantine* is the laſt place of *Egypt* on the weſt ſide of the river; but it extends ſomewhat farther on the eaſt ſide [g].

On the eaſt ſide of the river are the following cities, worthy of notice. *Antæopolis*, ſo called from *Antæus*, whom *Hercules* overcame [h]. It is ſuppoſed to have ſtood in the place where the preſent city of *Sciout* was built, which is ſituated in the middle of a pleaſant country, near a large lake, filled from the *Nile* by a canal, over which there is a bridge of three high *Gothic* arches [i]. *Paſſalus*, perhaps the preſent *Gava-Kiebre*, where is ſtill to be ſeen a very beautiful portico of a temple, with eighteen pillars, in three rows [k]. *Panopolis*, the birth-place of the poet *Nonnus*. It borrowed its name from *Pan*, who is ſaid to have attended *Oſiris* in his expedition againſt the *Ethiopians* [l]; and therefore was worſhipped, ſays *Diodorus* [m], by the *Egyptians*, in every temple. *Panopolis* and *Cheramis* were, according to that writer, one and the ſame city; but *Herodotus* ſeems to diſtinguiſh them [n]. The preſent town of *Akraim*, ſtanding about a mile from the river, is ſuppoſed to be the antient *Panopolis*. *Chenoboſcia*, con-

[b] Idem ib. p. 111, 112. [c] Ælian. hiſt. animal. l. x. c. 21. [d] Pocock. ib. 113. [e] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 817. Plin. l. v. c. 9. [f] Pocock. ib. p. 117, 118. [g] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 544. Plin. l. v. c. 9. [h] Diodor. l. iv. c. 17. Pomp. Mela, l. iii. Lucan. l. iv. ver. 590. Plin. l. iv. c. 9. [i] Pocock. p. 73. [k] Idem, p. 76. [l] Diod. l. i. c. 18. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Herod. l. xi. c. 91.

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cerning which we find nothing, in the antients, worthy of notice. *Cæne*, or *Neapolis*, mentioned both by *Herodotus* and *Ptolemy* [o], perhaps the prefent *Kena*, a ſmall town on a riſing ground, about a mile from the river [p] *Coptos*, now *Kept*. Here *Iſis*, if *Plutarch* is to be credited [q], receiving the news of the death of *Oſiris*, cut off one of her locks, in token of grief; and hence the place was named *Coptos*, which word, in the *Egyptian* language, ſignifies want, or privation. This city was inhabited both by the *Egyptians* and *Arabians*, and ſtood at ſome diſtance from the river, as the preſent village of *Kept* does; but had a port on it; for *Pliny* calls it the empory of commodities brought from *India* and *Arabia* [r]. The difficult navigation of the *Red* ſea to the north threw the trade into this chanel. *Pliny* mentions *Juliopolis* as two miles from *Alexandria*; adding, that from *Juliopolis* to *Coptos* the voyage of three hundred and three miles was performed in twelve days, when the northerly winds blew; and the journey from *Coptos* to *Berenice*, on the *Red* ſea, likewiſe, in twelve days [s]. *Ptolemy Philadelphus* cauſed a good road to be made from *Coptos* to *Berenice*, with wells, and ciſterns, to preſerve the rain-water: whence the ſtations, where travellers ſtopt, were called *hydria*, and *hydreumata*, that is, *watering-places* [t]. *Strabo* is ſomewhat confuſed, in this place: for, after deſcribing the city of *Coptos*, and its trade, he adds, "Hence "an iſthmus ſtretches out to the *Red* ſea, near the city of "*Berenice*." He ſeems to miſtake the city of *Berenice* for that of *Albus Portus*, placed, by *Ptolemy*, on the *Red* ſea, and parallel with *Coptos*. For he adds, "Not far "from *Berenice* is the town called *Myos Hormus*." But between this town and *Berenice*, *Arrian* reckons one thouſand eight hundred ſtadia [u] (A). The Chriſtians were formerly very numerous in the city of *Coptos*, whence the name of *Copts* was given, in deriſion, by the *Mohammedans*, to all

[o] Idem ib. PTOL. l. iv. c. 5.
[p] POCOCK. p. 87.
[q] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 356.
[r] PLIN. l. v. c. 9.
[s] Idem, l. vi. c. 23.
[t] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 815.
[u] ARRIAN, in perip. ſub init.

(A) Dr. *Pococke*, in oppoſition to *Pliny*, *Arrian*, *Ptolemy*, and the Itinerary, will have *Berenice* to be the port on the *Red* ſea neareſt to *Coptos*, and at a ſmall diſtance from *Myos* on the ſame ſea. However, after finding fault with *Ptolemy*, as miſtaken in his latitudes, in removing *Berenice* ſo much farther ſouth, and *Myos* ſo much more to the north; he himſelf, in his map, conforms to the latitudes of that geographer, by placing *Myos* on the *Heroopolitic* gulf, above 140 miles north of *Berenice*.

the Chriſtians in *Egypt*. The only remains of this great city are, ſome ſquare pillars, with broken entablatures, all of red granite; a ſmall temple, almoſt quite deſtroyed; a large baſon, the ruins of two bridges over the canal, by which the water was conveyed from the river into the baſon. Here are found great numbers of medals, of ſmall ſtatues of earthen ware, ſome pieces of rock cryſtal, and, ſometimes, precious ſtones [u]. *Apollinopolis*, or *the little city of* Apollo, called, by *Antoninus*, in his itinerary, *the village of* Apollo. There are, here, the ruins of a temple, with a *Greek* inſcription, by *Cleopatra* and *Ptolemy*, in honour of *Apollo*, worſhipped by the inhabitants.

*The city of* Thebes.

The great city of *Thebes*, deſervedly reckoned one of the fineſt cities in the world. It was alſo called *Dioſpolis*, or *the city of* Jupiter; and was built, according to ſome, by *Oſiris*; according to others, by *Buſiris*. Its length, in *Strabo*'s time, was eighty furlongs, or ten miles [x]; but this was nothing in compariſon of its antient extent, before it was ruined by *Cambyſes*, which, we are told, was no leſs than four hundred and twenty ſtadia, or fifty-two miles and an half [y]. The wealth of this city was ſo great, that, after it had been plundered by the *Perſians*, what was found, on burning the remains of the pillage, amounted to above three hundred talents of gold, and twenty-three hundred of ſilver [z]. The hundred gates of *Thebes* are mentioned by *Homer* [a], and, after him, by many others: but ſome think, that this was not the number of the gates of the city, but of the temples; and that, from them, the city had the epithet of *Hecatompylos*, expreſſing a definite for an indefinite number. *Pomponius Mela*, and others, by the hundred gates, underſtand ſo many palaces of princes, each of whom could, upon any preſſing occaſion, arm and ſend out twenty thouſand fighting men, and two hundred chariots [b]. A modern traveller could obſerve no ſigns or remains of walls round *Thebes* [c]; and if it had none, which he is inclined to believe, we muſt conclude, that, by two hundred gates, were meant, the gates of the temples, or, rather, the palaces of great men; which latter interpretation ſeems to be countenanced by *Homer*: who, immediately after mentioning the great wealth of their houſes, ſpeaks of their hundred gates, and the chariots and men that could be ſent out of them. In *Strabo*'s [d] time the city ſtood chiefly on the

[u] Pocock. p. 89.
[x] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 1170.
[y] Eustath. ad Dionyſ.
[z] Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 43.
[a] Homer. Iliad. x. ver. 381.
[b] Mela, l. i. c. 9.
[c] Pocock. p. 90, &c.
[d] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 561.

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east side of the river. At *Thebes* there were, antiently, four remarkable temples: one of them is said, by *Diodorus Siculus*, to have been a mile and an half in circumference, and forty-five cubits in height, with walls twenty-four feet thick [e]. A traveller, who saw, very lately, the ruins of this great building, thinks, that it exceeds the account *Diodorus* gives of it. To this temple there were no fewer than eight grand entrances, to three of which were avenues, of a great length, with sphinxes. Of these avenues, two had sixty statues on each side. To one of the entrances are four grand gateways, that lead to the temple, about thirty-five feet deep, an hundred and fifty in length, and must have been, before the ground was raised, from fifty to sixty feet high. There is an entrance to them at one end, and a flight of stairs, that leads up to the opening over the door in the middle, these buildings being open in the midst. From this part there is another flight of steps up the middle of the other side of the building, that lands at the top. The first of these four gates is red granite, finely polished, and beautifully adorned with hieroglyphics, in four compartments in the height of it, on each side of the gate without, and three in the inside; in each of which are the figures of two women bigger than the life, and of exquisite workmanship. Further, on each side, are colossal figures, with hieroglyphics under them, about fifteen feet in height, above-ground. On each of these four gates there seem to have been colossal statues, whereof some are still remaining: and our author, taking some measures of one, found the hand to be sixteen inches broad, and the head five feet six inches long. The next gate is very much ruined, and has only two stories of colossal figures to the south, and one to the north. The third gate has hieroglyphics all round, and colossal figures of men. Here are the remains of a statue of white marble, the head of which has a serpent worked on its casque: it is five feet diameter, and measured four feet and an half from the lower part of the neck to the top of the head. The fourth gate is now an heap of ruins: before it are some pieces of a red granite statue, the trunk of which is seven feet and an half broad. From these gateways walls were built, extending not only to the other gates, to make the intire closure of the temple; but, also, to include the particular courts between the gates and the temple. The other entrances are no less grand and magnificent. That to the west, our au-

*Ruins of a temple at Thebes.*

[e] Diod. l. i. p. 43.

thor thinks one of the moſt ſtately of the kind that ever was built in *Egypt:* within it is a large open court, having, on each ſide, at the firſt entrance, a terrace, eighty feet broad: on either ſide of the middle walk to the inner part of the temple, there was a great colonnade of pillars above forty feet high, and eight in diameter, with capitals like a vaſe, and ſquare ſtones on the top of them, like pedeſtals, for ſtatues. At the farther end of theſe pillars are two coloſſal ſtatues of red granite, on pedeſtals four feet wide, and ſix long: the pilaſters behind the ſtatues are adorned with hieroglyphics. This muſt have been the ante-temple, according to the deſcription *Strabo* gives us of the *Egyptian* temples. Beyond this is the inner temple, in which there are ſixteen rows of pillars one way, and eighteen the other: the two middle rows are eleven feet diameter, the others eight. Every part of this temple is covered, inſide and out, with hieroglyphics, and other repreſentations: on each ſide of the grand entrance into the temple itſelf, are two obeliſks, ſixty-three feet four inches high, and ſix feet ſquare; further, to the eaſt, are two other obeliſks, ſeven feet ſix inches ſquare, and ſeventy-three feet high: all theſe obeliſks are of red granite. A little farther, a wall is built to the north and ſouth, with ſeveral coloſſal buſts, very much defaced. Continuing on along the middle, to the eaſt, you come, at length, to the ſmall granite room, with a room on each ſide of it, which ſeems to have been a place of more than ordinary ſanctity. This granite room our author takes to have been the place allotted for the beautiful noble virgin who was annually conſecrated to the deity. All along, on each ſide, are apartments, much ruined, which, perhaps, ſerved for the prieſts, and the beaſts kept for ſacrifice. About an hundred and ſixty feet to the eaſt, is another large building, conſiſting of ſeveral ſmall apartments on each ſide of a ſpacious colonnade, probably for the officers of the temple: to the north, without the incloſure, are the ruins of buildings, with a grand gate before them, which ſeem to have led to the temple. Farther to the eaſt of the other building are ſigns of a colonnade; and to the eaſt of this is the moſt eaſtern grand gate. The ruins of this temple are to be ſeen near *Carnack*, and four miles to the eaſt of that village the remains of another temple, which is almoſt utterly deſtroyed; however, the grand gate is intire, and near it is a ſphinx, about four feet high.

AT a place called *Biban-el-meluke*, that is, *the gate, or court, of the kings*, are to be ſeen the ſepulchres of the kings of *Thebes*, never exceeded, in the opinion of *Diodorus Siculus*, by any thing of this kind. He tells us, that 47 of them were mentioned in the *Egyptian* hiſtories; that 17 only remained to the time of *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*; and that, in his own time, moſt of them were deſtroyed. Theſe ſepulchres are in grottos, cut out of the rock in a moſt beautiful manner, with long rooms, or galleries, under the mountains. Theſe galleries are moſtly about 10 feet wide, and 10 high, four or five within one another, from 30 to 50 feet long, and from 10 to 15 feet high: they generally lead to a ſpacious room, in which is ſeen the tomb of the king, with his figure, cut in relievo, on the lid, or painted at full length on the ſtone: the ſides and the cielings of the rooms are cut with hieroglyphics of birds and beaſts, and ſome of them painted, being ſtill as freſh as juſt finiſhed, though above 2000 years old. The tomb of the king, which our author ſaw, is of one ſtone, of red granite, ſeven feet nine inches high, eleven feet eight inches long, and above ſix feet broad; the cover being made to ſhut into it, with the figure of the king in mezzo-relievo, and a hieroglyphical inſcription. In the farthermoſt room is a figure in relievo, with the arms acroſs on the breaſt; over it is a globe, and a man kneeling on each ſide of the apartment. In the great room there is a ſtatue of a man, with a ſceptre in his hand, and, on the cieling, a large figure of a man, painted with a particular ſort of ſceptre in his hand, and wings hanging down lower than the feet, and covering the whole body: the painting is exceeding freſh. At the entrance, on each ſide, are four men, cut into the ſtone, above the natural ſize, with heads of hawks, and of other animals; on the inſide, a tortoiſe, and a man, with a goat's head, are cut within a circle, on each of the pilaſters. At a place in that neighbourhood, towards *Medinet-Habon*, are the two coloſſal ſtatues of *Memnon*: the pedeſtal of that to the north is 30 feet long, and 27 broad; that of the other 33 feet long, and 19 wide. The ſtatues are of a very particular kind of porous hard granite, and ſtand about 30 feet aſunder: that to the north has been broken off at the middle, and built up with five tier of ſtones. The height of the ſtatue, from the bottom of the foot to the top of the knee, is about 29 feet; from the bottom of the foot, to the ancle, two feet ſix inches; to the top of the inſtep, four feet; the foot is five feet broad, and the leg

*Sepulchres of the kings of Thebes.*

four

four deep. There are to be ſeen, in the ſame place, the ruins of ſeveral others, which, probably, ſerved as an avenue to the temple, whereof the ruins lie at a ſmall diſtance. Here are the remains of two ſtatues of black granite; one of them has been thought by ſome to be the famous ſtatue of *Memnon*, which is ſaid to have daily uttered a ſound, as ſoon as it was touched by the rays of the riſing ſun [c]: others are of opinion, that it was one of the ſtatues mentioned above. *Pauſanias*, ſpeaking of this wonderful ſtatue, ſays, that every day, at ſun-riſing, it uttered a ſound like that which is heard at the breaking of a ſtring of an harp, when it is wound up [f]. *Pliny* writes, that it made a noiſe every day about ſun-riſing, when the rays of the ſun came on it [g]; and *Philoſtratus*, that it was ſaid to ſpeak, when the rays of the ſun came to its mouth [h]. *Strabo* owns, that, being at *Thebes* with *Ælius Gallus*, the firſt governor of *Egypt*, he heard the ſound; but adds, that he did not know whether it proceeded from the baſis, the ſtatue, or the people about it [i]; ſo that he ſuſpected a trick; and a trick, no doubt, it was. The remains of theſe ſtatues are all to be ſeen in that part of antient *Thebes* which ſtood on the weſt ſide of the river; and was called, as is ſuppoſed, *Memnonium*, from the ſtatues of *Memnon*. Thus far of the antiquities of *Thebes*, from the relations of a traveller, who has viewed them very lately, and given a moſt minute and accurate account of thoſe countries, and every thing in them worthy of notice [k].

*The famous ſtatue of* Memnon.

To the ſouth of *Thebes*, and on the ſame ſide of the river, ſtand the following cities, mentioned by the antient geographers; *Chnumis*, or *Cnuphis*, ſo called from a god of that name, worſhipped by the inhabitants [l]; *Elethya*, or the city of *Lucina*, famous for a temple ſacred to that goddeſs, now intirely deſtroyed [m]; *Onebos*, now *Comombo*, that is, *The hill of* Ombo, where great ruins are ſtill to be ſeen of an antient temple. The inhabitants of this city were famous for the worſhip of the crocodile, as we have obſerved above: they fed them in their ponds, ſays *Ælian*, where they became ſo tame as to obey when they were called [n]. *Syene*, the ruins of which are ſtill to

[c] Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 7. Strabo, l. vii. p. 561. Pausan. l. i. c. 42. Philostr. vit. Apoll. l. vi. c. 3. [f] Paus. ib. [g] Plin. ib. [h] Philostr. ibid. [i] Id. ibid. [k] Pococke, p. 90—105. [l] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 561. [m] Id. ib. p. 562. [n] Ælian. hiſt. animal. l. i. c. 21.

be

be ſeen, at a ſmall diſtance from *Aſſouan*. It was ſituated exactly under the tropic of *Cancer*; and is placed by *Pliny* in a peninſula: whence we may conclude, that it ſtood on an hill, to the weſt of the preſent fort; which hill has water on three ſides. At a ſmall diſtance from this place are the remains of ſeveral antient buildings, and the granite-quarries; all the country to the eaſt, the iſlands, and bed of the *Nile*, being red granite: the quarries were not worked in deep, but the ſtone was hewed out of the ſides of the low hills. Our traveller obſerved ſome columns marked out in the quarries, and ſhaped on two ſides: he is of opinion, that they worked the ſtone round, with a narrow tool; and, when it was almoſt ſeparated, they forced it out of its bed with large wedges; of which there are great ſigns in the quarries [o]. At *Syene* there was a *Roman* gariſon, conſiſting of three cohorts, as appears from *Strabo* [p], and the *notitia*. About twelve miles ſouth of *Syene* ſtood the city of *Phylæ*, in an iſland of the ſame name, not above a quarter of a mile long, and half a quarter broad. *Pliny* places *Phylæ* on the weſt ſide of the river, over-againſt *Syene* [q]; but, that he was miſtaken, is plain from *Ptolemy*, from the itinerary, and from *Strabo*, who viſited thoſe places, and tells us, that he went from *Syene* to *Phylæ* by land, to avoid the cataract; that is, the leſſer cataract [r]. The iſland of *Phylæ* was deemed ſacred, from an opinion, that *Oſiris* was buried there [s]; and the ruins of a magnificent temple are ſtill to be ſeen. It appears from the *notitia*, that the *Romans* had a gariſon at *Phylæ*, which was the moſt ſouthern city of all *Egypt*. Between this place and *Syene* is the leſſer cataract, and the greater at a ſmall diſtance from *Pſelca*, a town in *Ethiopia*. *Cicero* was impoſed upon from a falſe report when he wrote, that the people who lived near the leſſer cataract were all deaf; which, he ſays, was occaſioned by the noiſe the river made, in falling from very high mountains [t]; for the fall is no-where above ſeven or eight feet. At this cataract ends the navigation of the *Egyptians* to the ſouth, and of the *Ethiopians* to the north [u].

*Cities on the Red Sea.*

We ſhall now give a ſuccinct account of the cities on the *Red Sea*, within the bounds of *Egypt*. This ſea is divided to the north into two gulphs; that to the eaſt was called the *Ælantic* gulph, from the city of *Ælana*, at the

[o] Pococke, p. 117. [p] Strabo ib. [q] Plin. l. v. c. 9.
[r] Strabo ib. [s] Diodor. l. i. p. 19. [t] Cic. ſom. Scip. c. 5. [u] Plin. l. v. c. 9.

north end of it; and that to the weſt, the *Heroopolitic*, from the city of *Heroopolis*. The *Ælantic* gulph belongs to *Arabia*, and the *Heroopolitic* to *Egypt*. On the latter ſtood the cities of *Heroopolis* and *Arſinoe*. *Heroopolis*, or, *The city of heroes*, as it is called by *Strabo* [w] and *Pliny* [x], ſtood at the north end of the gulph, perhaps where the caſtle of *Adjercute* now ſtands; and *Arſinoe*, ſo called from a queen of that name, in the time of the *Ptolemies*, where *Suez* is now; there being in that neighbourhood plain ſigns of an antient city. *Strabo* ſeems to ſuppoſe *Arſinoe* and *Cleopatris* to have been different cities; but in the ſame page, ſpeaking again of *Arſinoe*, he ſays, that *by ſome it is called* Cleopatris [y]. Some think that the text has been altered; others, that *Cleopatra* embelliſhed the city of *Arſinoe* by the addition of ſeveral buildings, which formed, as it were, a new city, called, after her name, *Cleopatris*; whence the whole was by ſome named *Arſinoe*; by others, *Cleopatris*. On the *Red Sea* itſelf ſtood *Myos*, *Albus Portus*, and *Berenice*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo*. The laſt city, ſo named from the mother of *Ptolemy Philadelphus* [z], was the great empory of goods from *Arabia* and *India*. It is placed by *Ptolemy* near the tropic of *Cancer*; and that he was not miſtaken in the latitude, is manifeſt from *Pliny*, from *Arrian*, and from the itinerary, as we have obſerved above. *Berenice* is the laſt town of *Egypt*, properly ſo called, on the *Red Sea*. Of the inland towns, between that ſea and the *Nile*, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

Heptanomis. HEPTANOMIS, or the middle *Egypt*, was ſo called from the ſeven *nomes*, or præfectures, into which it was divided, though *Strabo* ſays it contained ſixteen [a]; which difference may have been occaſioned by the adding of new nomes to thoſe it originally compriſed, as were in particular thoſe of *Oaſis*, of which name there were two cities, not properly in *Egypt*, but on the borders of *Libya*. The *Heptanomis* comprehended all the country on each ſide of the *Nile*, from *Thebaïs* to the point of the *Delta*, where that river divides itſelf into thoſe branches by which it enters the ſea. Some of the antients make this tract a part of the *Thebaïs*; and ſome of the eaſtern geographers alſo give the ſame extent to *al Saïd* [b].

*Cities in the* Heptanomis. THIS part of *Egypt* was alſo in old times full of large and noble cities. On the weſt ſide of the river were, *Memphis*,

[w] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 553. [x] PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. [y] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 553. [z] PLIN. l. vi. c. 29. [a] STRABO, l. xvi. [b] Vid. GOLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 100.

ſuppoſed

ſuppoſed to have been built by *Menes*, the firſt king of *Egypt*, and for many ages the metropolis of the whole kingdom. It is placed by *Pliny* [c] and *Strabo* [d] 15 miles ſouth of the *Delta*: but there are now no more remains of ſo great a city, than as if ſuch a place had never been; the beſt part of the ruins having been, in all likelihood, carried to *Alexandria*, and other cities, built in after-ages, and the reſt buried by the overflowing of the *Nile*. At *Memphis* there were many magnificent temples, and one among the reſt conſecrated to *Apis*, who was worſhiped under the ſhape of an ox, that was kept and fed here. This was a great and populous city, even in *Strabo*'s time, who calls it the ſecond after *Alexandria* [e]. Of the pyramids, which ſtood not far from this city, we ſhall ſpeak hereafter. *Acanthus*, where was a great temple, dedicated to *Oſiris*, and a grove of *Thebaic acantha* [f], from which the city had probably its name. *Heracleopolis*, or, the city of *Hercules*, in an iſland, called, by *Strabo*, *the great iſland* [g], where the *ichneumon* was worſhiped. In the lower part of this iſland, to the north, ſtood the city of *Nilopolis*, at an equal diſtance from both banks of the river; whence *Ptolemy* calls it a mediterranean, or inland town. *Arſinoe*, firſt called *the city of crocodiles*; for the inhabitants worſhiped that animal, and bred up ſome tame ones in the neighbouring lakes [h]. The ruins of this city are ſtill to be ſeen, at a place called *Faiume*. It muſt have ſtood at ſome diſtance from the river, ſince *Ptolemy* calls it a *mediterranean metropolis*. *Oxyrynchus*, ſo called, from a fiſh of that name, worſhiped all over *Egypt*, but chiefly in this place [i]. *Hermopolis*, or, *The city of* Mercury, reckoned by *Ammianus* among the famous cities of *Egypt* [k]. On the eaſt ſide of the river ſtood the following cities of note: *Aphroditopolis*, or, *The city of* Venus, where particular worſhip was paid to a white cow [l]. *Ancuropolis*, or, *the city of anchors*, mentioned by *Ptolemy*, and ſo called from a neighbouring quarry, out of which ſtone anchors were cut. *Cynopolis*, or, *the city of dogs*; for dogs were worſhiped there, and ſacred food allotted them. *Antinoopolis*, now *Enſinel*, built by the emperor *Adrian*, in honour of his favourite *Antinous*; who, having attended him into *Egypt*, was here drowned. Some think that *Adrian* did not build a new city, but only embelliſhed the old city of *Beſa*,

[c] Plin. l. v. c. 9. [d] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 555. [e] Id. ib.
[f] Id. ib. [g] Id. ib. [h] Id. ib. p. 556. [i] Strabo, ib.
[k] Ammian. l. xxii. c. 40. [l] Strabo, ib.

and gave it a new name[m]. *Besa* is mentioned by *Ammianus* as an *Egyptian* god[n]. An *Egyptian* writer, quoted by *Photius*[o], joining the old and new name of this place, calls it *Besantinoopolis*. Some ruins are still to be seen, in the place where *Antinoopolis* is supposed to have stood[p].

*Cities of* Lower Egypt.

The lower *Egypt*, reaching from *Heptanomis* to the *Mediterranean Sea*, contained not only that part which is incompassed by the arms of the *Nile*, and, from its triangular figure, named *Delta*, but also *Mareotis* and *Alexandria*, with its dependencies, to the west; and *Casiotis*, and *Augustamnica*, with some other territories towards *Arabia*, to the east.

In the *Mareotic* nome, called *Mareotis*, from the lake *Marea*, we find the following places mentioned by the antients: *Plinthine*, *Monocomium*, *Cobii*, *Almyræ*, *Hierax*, *Taposiris*, *Phomotis*, *Marea*; but nothing relating to them worthy of notice. The lake *Marea*, or *Mareotis*, was, according to *Strabo*, above 150 stades in breadth, and under 300 in length[q]. It was formerly navigable, but is now dry, and has water only after great rains. The country adjoining to this lake was once famous for excellent wine, as appears from the two great *Latin* poets, *Virgil*[r] and *Horace*[s]. Between the lake and the *Canopic* branch of the *Nile* stood the famous city of *Alexandria*, and several other cities, of no small note. It is well known, that the city of *Alexandria* took its name from *Alexander* the Great; who, coming to *Rhacotis*, after consulting the oracle of *Jupiter Ammon*, and being pleased with the situation of the place, ordered a new city to be built there. After the death of *Alexander*, the *Ptolemies* chose this city for the place of their residence; by which means it became the metropolis of all *Egypt*. It was built, say the antients, in the form of a *Macedonian* chlamys, or cloak[t]; and took up about 15 miles[u]. The royal palace, which was a fifth part of the city[w], stood by the sea, in a most pleasant situation; and, besides the habitation of the princes, contained the *museum*, and the burying-place of the kings. Here was deposited the body of its founder, in a coffin of gold; but that was afterwards taken away, and one of glass put in its room. *Augustus*,

*Alexandria.*

[m] Vide Casaub. in Spart. Hadrian. c. 14. [n] Ammian. l. ix. c. 26. [o] Phot. cod. 173. [p] Vide Pococke, p. 79. [q] Strabo, ib. p. 550. [r] Virg. Georg. l. ii. ver. 91. [s] Hor. l. i. od. 37. [t] Plin. l. v. c. 10. Diodor. l. xvii. c. 52. Plut. de vit. Alex. p. 679. [u] Plin. ib. [w] Id. ib.

when

when he was in *Egypt*, viewed the body of that great hero, ſcattered flowers over it with the greateſt veneration, and honoured it with a golden crown [y]. On the ſhore, where the antient palace ſtood, are ſtill to be ſeen great remains of ſtately buildings, with ſeveral pieces of porphyry, and other fine marbles. That part of the city, which ſtood at ſome diſtance from the ſhore, was called *Necropolis*, from the many ſepulchres and burying-places there, and inhabited only by the meaner ſort of people [z]. The ſtreet, which is ſaid by *Strabo* to have extended from the gate of *Necropolis* to that of *Canopus*, that is, the whole length of the city, was one hundred feet wide [a]. In this ſtreet ſtood the gymnaſium, with porticos, above half a quarter of a mile in extent [b]; and, no doubt, ſeveral other magnificent buildings. Near the city was the iſland of *Pharos*; which, in the time of the kings, was joined to it by a bridge, ſo as to be reckoned part of the city [c]. This iſland, extending from eaſt to weſt, in a bay, about three leagues wide, formed the two ports of *Alexandria*; the port *Eunoſtus* to the weſt, and the great port, as it was called, to the eaſt: the latter is now called the *new*, and the other the *old port*. *Homer* ſuppoſed this iſland as far diſtant from the continent as a ſhip, with a fair wind, could ſail in a day [d]: but he was certainly miſinformed; the diſtance between the iſland and the ſhore not exceeding 900 paces. What others call a bridge, *Strabo* [e] calls a mole, joined to the town by a bridge. The ſea has gained on the weſt end of the iſland; where are ſeen, under water, the remains of ciſterns cut in the rocks [f]. The famous light-houſe, named *Pharos*, from the iſland, ſtood on a rock, at the eaſt end of it, which was ſurrounded on all ſides with water, ſo as to form a ſmall ſeparate iſland: the pillars, which are ſeen there in a calm ſea, may be the remains of that great ſtructure. The iſland *Antirrhodes* is alſo mentioned by the antients, as lying at a ſmall diſtance from the ſhore [g]; but it has been intirely deſtroyed by the ſea. The city of *Alexandria* was reckoned next to *Rome*, for the grandeur, magnificence, and number of its buildings; and yet very few remains of them are to be ſeen, the materials having been carried away to other places, and many of them employed

*The iſland of Pharos.*

[y] Suet. in Octav. c. 18. [z] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 547. Joseph. in Apion. l. ii. p. 547. [a] Strabo, ib. [b] Id. ib. [c] Plin. l. v. c. 31. [d] Hom. odyſſ. Δ, ver. 354. [e] Strabo, ib. p. 545. [f] Pococke, p. 2. [g] Strabo, ib.

in the building of the preſent city. About three miles and three quarters from *Alexandria* was the city of *Nicopolis*, which took its name from the victory *Auguſtus* gained there over *Antony*; and was, on that account, greatly embelliſhed by the conqueror [h]. Near *Nicopolis* was *Eleuſis*, mentioned by *Strabo*, as a village in the diſtrict of *Alexandria* [i]. *Canopus* is placed by *Strabo* on the ſea-ſide, 120 ſtades from *Alexandria* [k]. This city is ſaid to have been built by the *Spartans*, on their return from the *Trojan* war; and to have taken its name from *Canopus*, the pilot of *Menelaus*, who died and was buried in this place [l]. *Canopus* was famous, or rather infamous, for the lewd and diſſolute diverſions, which the *Alexandrians* indulged themſelves in here: whence *Seneca*, in one of his epiſtles; "No one, ſays he, thinking of a retreat, "would chuſe *Canopus*; though a man may be good and "honeſt even at *Canopus* [m]." On the narrow tract between the ſea and the cânal that runs from *Alexandria* to *Canopus*, were *Zephyrium*, the *Leſſer Taposiris*, and *Thonis*, ſuppoſed to have been ſo called from a king of that name, who received *Menelaus* and *Helena* [n]. To the ſouth of *Canopus*, and on the weſt ſide of the *Canopic* branch of the *Nile*, the following places are mentioned by the antients; *Schadia*, the *Leſſer Hermopolis*, *Gynæcopolis*, *Anthylla* at a ſmall diſtance from the river, *Momemphis*, *Andropolis*, and the city of *Latona*.

SOME have imagined the *Delta*, or the greater part of it, to have been an acceſſion of land to *Egypt*; and that the plains between the mountains beyond *Memphis* were formerly a bay of the ſea; which was at length filled up by the ſoil brought down by the *Nile* [o]. But this opinion ſeems very groundleſs, conſidering the little alteration which has been in this part of *Egypt* for above 2000 years paſt, and the time allowed for this effect by *Herodotus*, which is no leſs than 20,000 years; a much longer ſpace than the world has laſted. Some *Arabs* divide the *Delta* into two parts, *al Rif*, and *al Bahriya*: the former, being the weſtern part, is ſuppoſed by *Bochart* to be the *Rahab* of the Scriptures [p]; and was ſo called becauſe of its form,

[h] Id. ib. p. 547. DIO, lib. li. p. 456. JOSEPH. de bell. Jud. l. iv. ſub fin. [i] STRABO, ib. p. 550. [k] Idem ibid. [l] STRABO, ib. PLIN. l. v. c. 11. EUSTATH. ad Dionyſ. ver. 13. TACIT. annal. l. xi. c. 60. [m] SENEC. ep. 51. [n] STRABO; ib. [o] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 30. HEROD. l. ii. c. 5. [p] Pſal. lxxxvii. 4. and lxxxix. 10. Iſai. li. 9.

reſembling a pear; which the *Egyptians* call *rib*, or *ribi* [q]. *Al Bahriya* is the eaſtern part of the *Delta*, according to ſeveral [r]; though a late traveller more truly places *al Bahriya*, or, as he writes it, *Beheiré*, beyond the weſtern branch of the *Nile* [s].

As the *Delta* is compriſed within the branches of that river, we muſt premiſe a ſuccinct account of thoſe branches, and of the river itſelf; without which the reader would be at a loſs, as to the ſituation of the places we are to deſcribe.

*Of the river* Nile.

THE ſources, or ſprings, of this river, were ſo abſolutely unknown to the antients, that they thought it even impoſſible to diſcover them: they are now well known to be in *Ethiopia*, though modern travellers differ in their accounts of them; as will be ſeen when we come to deſcribe them in a more proper place. The *Nile* enters *Egypt* almoſt under the tropic of *Cancer*, pouring itſelf down no leſs than ſeven cataracts, or falls. The people of thoſe parts uſed formerly to entertain ſtrangers with a ſurpriſing ſpectacle, which ſome modern travellers ſay is ſtill continued: two of them get into a ſmall boat, one to guide it, and the other to keep it clear of water; after having borne the violence of the agitated waves for ſome time, they dextrouſly ſteer their boat through the narrow chanels, thereby avoiding the rocks; and, letting themſelves be carried down by the falling river, direct their little veſſel with their hands; and, ruſhing headlong, to the great terror of the ſpectators, who think them utterly loſt and ſwallowed up, they appear again on the water, far from the place from which they fell, as if they had been ſhot out of an engine [t]. The *Nile*, having paſſed through the upper and middle *Egypt*, a little below the antient *Memphis*, divided itſelf into two large arms, which, afterwards forming ſeven chanels, emptied themſelves into the ſea by as many mouths. Theſe ſeven mouths of the *Nile*, much ſpoken of by the antient writers, were, to begin from the weſt, the *Canopic*, or *Heracleotic*, the *Bolbitic*, the *Sebennytic*, the *Phatnic*, or *Pathmêtic*, the *Mendeſian*, the *Tanitic*, or *Saïtic*, and the *Peluſian*; which had their names from ſo many cities, ſtanding on their ſeveral branches. Beſides theſe, there were the two *Pſeudoſtomata*, or falſe mouths, as they called

[q] BOCHART geogr. ſacr. l. iv. c. 24. [r] KIRCHER. Oedip. Ægypt. t. i. p. 8. LUCAS voy. t. ii. p. 195. [s] Eſſai d'une arte d'Egypte par SICARD. [t] SENEC. nat. quæſt. l. iv. c. 2.

them, of *Pineptimi* and *Diolcos*, which were too ſmall to carry larger veſſels. But the greater part of theſe mouths have been ſince ſtopped up, and others formed; ſo that there are now reckoned to be above thirty chanels, which carry the waters of the *Nile* into the ſea, eſpecially at its overflowing, the greater part of them becoming dry when the waters retire[u]; the two chief, and indeed only conſiderable arms of that river, at preſent, being that of *Roſetta*, or *Raſhîd*, to the weſt, and that of *Damietta*, or *Dimyât*, to the eaſt.

*Cities in the* Delta. In the *Delta*, lying between the *Canopic* branch to the weſt, and the *Peluſian* to the eaſt, were the following cities; *Metelis*, on the *Canopic* branch, called *Bechis* in the time of *Stephanus*. *Naucratis*, ſaid to have been built by the *Mileſians*[w]: it ſtood ſomewhat ſouth of the place where the great chanel divides itſelf into the *Canopic* and *Bolbitic* branches. Ten miles to the eaſt of this branch was *Sais*, formerly the metropolis of *Lower Egypt*[x]. Here was a famous temple of *Minerva*, and before it was placed a room, cut out of one ſtone, on the outſide, twenty-one cubits long, fourteen broad, and eight high; within, it was above eighteen long, twelve broad, and five high: two thouſand men were employed three years in bringing it down by water from *Elephantine*: thus *Herodotus*[y]. This wonderful room was ſuppoſed to have been cut out of one of the iſlands near *Elephantine*, in which are many quarries. Near *Sais* was the aſylum of *Oſiris*, where he was ſuppoſed to have been buried; *Iſis* having depoſited ſeveral coffins in different places, that *Typhon* might not find out his body. To the north of *Sais* ſtood *Cabaſa*; and, a little more to the north, *Butus*, famous for the oracle of *Latona*, and temples of that goddeſs, of *Apollo*, and of *Diana*[z]. Theſe are the moſt remarkable places between the *Heracleotic* and the *Sebennytic* chanels. Between the latter and the firſt falſe mouth, called *Pineptimi*, were *Pachnamunis*, *Hermopolis*, *Sebennytus*, *Tava*, *Thermuthis*. From the city of *Sebennytus* the *Sebennytic* chanel took its name. To the eaſt, between the chanel *Pineptimi* and the *Phatnic*, were *Zais*, *Onuphis*, *Cynopolis*, *Athribis*; and, nearer the latter chanel, *Thmuis*, *Aphroditopolis*, *Leontopolis*, *Buſiris*. *Zais* ſtood in an iſland of the ſame

[u] Lucas, ubi ſup. p. 313. [w] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 551. [x] Id. ib. p. 552. [y] Herod. l. ii. c. 173. [z] Strabo, p. 551. Herodot. l. xi. c. 155.

name,

name, and *Athribis* on the river *Athribis*, which forms the falſe mouth, called *Diolcos*. *Thmuis*, in the *Egyptian* language, ſignified a goat; which animal was worſhiped in the city of that name. At *Leontopolis* particular worſhip was paid to the lion; and at *Cynopolis*, to the dog. The tyrant *Buſiris*, ſuppoſed to have been killed by *Hercules*, is thought to have reigned in the city of that name; but *Strabo* aſſures us, that no ſuch prince ever reigned in *Egypt* [a]. The city of *Mendes*, which gave name to the *Mendeſian* mouth of the *Nile*, ſtood on that branch, and the city of *Tarichea* at ſome diſtance from it, by the ſea-ſide. Between the *Mendeſian* and the *Tanitic* branches, and at a ſmall diſtance from the former, ſtood *Panaphyſis* and *Dioſpolis*; and on the *Tanitic* branch, *Tanis*, ſuppoſed to be the *Zoan* of Scripture, and the place where the *Pharaohs* reſided. Between the *Tanitic* and the *Peluſian*, which is the moſt eaſterly branch of the *Nile*, was the city of *Sethrium*. Theſe are the chief cities in the *Delta*, of which we find any mention made by the antients.

ON the eaſt ſide of the *Delta*, where *Egypt* was bounded by *Arabia Petræa* and *Paleſtine*, ſtood ſeveral cities of great note. Of theſe, the moſt remarkable were; *Bubaſtus*, ſtanding on the moſt eaſterly branch of the *Nile*; which, from this city, is called, by the antients, the *Bubaſtic* river. Here was a magnificent temple, dedicated to *Diana* [b]; who, in the *Egyptian* language, was called *Bubaſtis* [c]: and hence the name of the city. A modern traveller thinks it ſtood near the preſent village of *Benalhaſſar* [d], where great ruins of an antient city are ſtill to be ſeen. South of *Bubaſtus*, and on the ſame river, ſtood the city of *Onias*, ſo called from the *Jewiſh* prieſt of that name; who obtained leave of *Ptolemy Philometor*, king of *Egypt*, to build a temple here, in oppoſition to that of *Jeruſalem* [e]; as we ſhall relate more at length in the hiſtory of the *Jews*. On the ſame river ſtood the city of *Babylon*, ſaid, by *Diodorus Siculus*, to have been built by ſome captives from *Babylon* on the *Euphrates*; who, having made their eſcape, fled to an hill, and thence, with frequent excurſions, plundered the neighbouring country; but, having in the end obtained their pardon, and the hill being given them to inhabit, they built a city on it; which, from their

[a] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 552. [b] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 59. [c] Id. ib. c. 137. & 156. [d] POCOCKE, p. 22. [e] JOSEPH. bell. Jud. c. 37. & antiq. l. xiii. c. 6.

native

native city, they called *Babylon*[f]. *Strabo* likewise ſuppoſes this city to have been founded by ſome *Babylonians*, who obtained leave of the kings of *Egypt* to ſettle here[g]. *Joſephus* ſays, it was built in the time of *Cambyſes* king of *Perſia*, on the ſpot where the antient city of *Latopolis* ſtood[h]. *Ptolemy* mentions a canal between this city and the *Red Sea*, which he calls the canal of *Trajan*, who either made or repaired it. The ſituation of old *Cairo* ſeems to agree with that of *Babylon*, as deſcribed by the antients. One of the three *Roman* legions that guarded *Egypt* was ſtationed at *Babylon*[i]. The city of *Phacuſa*, or *Phaccuſa*, as *Strabo* ſtiles it[k], ſtood likewiſe on the *Bubaſtic* river, ſomewhat north of *Bubaſtus*. At this place began the canal, called, *the canal of the kings*, from the *Peluſian* branch to the *Red Sea*. This great work was begun by *Seſoſtris* king of *Egypt*, carried on by his ſucceſſors, and finiſhed by *Ptolemy Philadelphus*. The work had been long left unfiniſhed, out of an opinion, that the *Red Sea* was higher than the land of *Egypt*; and conſequently, that if a canal was opened, it might drown the country, or, at leaſt, ſpoil the waters of the *Nile*. This canal was 100 cubits in breadth, and of a ſufficient depth to bear the largeſt veſſels. On the ſame river, north of *Phacuſa*, were *Heracleopolis parva*, or, *Heracleopolis the leſſer*, ſo called to diſtinguiſh it from another of the ſame name, of which we have ſpoken above; and the city of *Peluſium*, about 20 ſtades from the ſea, in a marſhy ſoil, and thence called *Peluſium*, the *Greek* word, *pelos*, ſignifying *mud*[l]. *Ammianus Marcellinus* ſuppoſes this city to have taken its name from *Peleus*, the father of *Achilles*; who, according to his account, built it by the order of the gods[m]. It is called by *Hirtius* the key of *Egypt*[n], becauſe whoever was maſter of this place, had a free and open paſſage into *Egypt*. The lentils of *Peluſium* are commended by *Virgil*[o] and *Martial*[p]. Between *Peluſium* and *Rhinocolura*, the firſt city of *Paleſtine*, the following places are mentioned, as ſtanding on the ſea, by *Ptolemy*, *Strabo*, and other geographers; *Agger-Chabriæ*, *Gerra*, or *Gerrum*, *Pentaſchænos*, *Oſtracine*. Between the two latter places ſtood *Mount Caſius*, famous for the ſepulchre of *Pompey*, who was buried there,

*The canal of the kings.*

[f] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 52. [g] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 555. [h] Joseph. antiq. l. ii. c. 5. [i] Strabo, ib. [k] Strabo, ib. p. 553. [l] Id. ib. [m] Ammian. l. xxii. c. 40. [n] Hirt. bell. Alex. c. 27. [o] Virg. georg. l. i. ver. 228. [p] Mart. l. xiii. epig. 9.

and

and a magnificent temple of *Jupiter Caſius*[q]. *Ptolemy* places a town here, of the ſame name with the mountain; but no mention is made of a town by any other writer. Eaſt of mount *Caſius*, and at a ſmall diſtance from it, was the lake *Sirbonis*, very narrow, but of a ſurpriſing depth, and 200 ſtades in extent[r]; but of this lake no veſtiges are now to be found. To the eaſt of the *Bubaſtic* river, and near the borders of *Arabia Petræa*, ſtood *Phagroriopolis*; and to the ſouth, about three miles from the river, *Heliopolis*, or, *the city of the ſun*, worſhiped there in a magnificent temple; as was likewiſe a bull, under the name of *Menevis*[s]. This city was ſuppoſed by the antients to have been built by *Actis*, the ſon of *Rhoda*, and the *ſun*[t]; and is commonly thought to be the *On* of the Scripture. Thus far of the cities in *Egypt* mentioned by profane hiſtorians: of thoſe ſpoken of in Scripture, we ſhall have occaſion to take notice hereafter.

BESIDES this larger diviſion, *Egypt* was alſo diſtributed into ſeveral governments, or prefectures, called, by the *Egyptians*, *tabir*, and by the *Greeks*, *nomes*; whence that paſſage of Scripture[i], which our verſion renders, *I will ſet the* Egyptians *againſt the* Egyptians, *and they ſhall fight kingdom againſt kingdom*, the *Septuagint* have rightly tranſlated, *nome againſt nome*. The number of theſe is uncertain, being, according to the pleaſure of the prince, ſometimes greater, and ſometimes leſs; for which reaſon, antient authors differ in their accounts of them: but they were about thirty-ſix, and generally named from the chief city of each nome. This diviſion is attributed to *Seſoſtris*[k]. *Its diviſion into nomes.*

THE climate of *Egypt* muſt needs be very warm, from its near ſituation to the tropic. Though the air is generally dry, yet there fall great dews after the ſwelling of the *Nile*, which continue for ſeveral months; in the lower *Egypt* it often rains in the winter, notwithſtanding what ſome of the antients ſay to the contrary[l]; and even ſnow has been obſerved to fall at *Alexandria*, contrary to the expreſs aſſertion of *Seneca*[m]. In the upper *Egypt* indeed, towards the catadupes, or cataracts of *Nile*, it rains very ſeldom[n]. The firſt ſummer (for they reckon two in *Egypt*), *Climate.*

[q] STRABO, l. xvi. p. 523. & l. xvii. p. 548. SPART. in Adr. c. xiv. PLIN. l. v. c. 12. [r] DIOD. l. i. c. 30. [s] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 553. [t] DIOD. l. v. c. 57. [i] Iſaiah xix. 2. [k] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 50. [l] PLATO in Tim. POMP. MELA. [m] Nat. quæſt. l. iv. [n] Vid. GREAVES's deſcrip. of the pyramids, p. 74, &c. RAY's collect. of travels, t. ii. p. 92.

which

which is in *March*, *April*, and *May*, is the moſt unwholſome and ſickly ſeaſon, becauſe of the unequal weather, exceſſive heats, and parching winds, which reign at that time, and cauſe ſeveral diſtempers: but in return, in their ſecond ſummer, in *June*, *July*, and *Auguſt*, and in their autumn and winter, the air is much cooler, the weather more conſtant, and *Egypt* one of the moſt pleaſant and delightful countries in the world: though the cold is ſeldom felt there, except only for about ſeven days, which the *Arabs* call *berd al ajûz*, *the old woman's cold*, from the ſeventh to the fourteenth of *February*, yet thoſe who can afford it wear furs, becauſe of the uncertainty of the ſeaſon [o].

*Fertility.* THE fertility of *Egypt*, and the excellence of its productions and fruits, are greatly celebrated by antient writers, and by *Moſes* himſelf [p], who muſt needs have been well acquainted with this country. It abounds in grain of all ſorts, but particularly rice; infomuch that, as it was formerly the granary of *Rome*, it is now the country which chiefly ſupplies *Conſtantinople*.

THE moſt plentiful parts of *Egypt* are the *Delta*, and that province which is now called *al Feyyûm*, ſuppoſed to be the antient *Heracleotic* nome [q]; the capital of which, bearing the ſame name, is thought to have been either *Heracleopolis*, *Nilopolis*, or *Arſinoe*; and is ſaid by the natives to have been built by *Joſeph*, to whom they own themſelves obliged for the improvements of this territory; which, being much the loweſt part of *Egypt*, was before nothing but a ſtanding pool, till that patriarch, by cutting canals, and particularly the great one which reaches from the *Nile* to the lake *Mœris*, drained it of the water, and, clearing it of the ruſhes, and marſhy weeds, rendered it fit for tillage. It is now the moſt fertile and beſt cultivated land in the whole kingdom, containing above 360 villages, and yields linen, grapes, and other fruits in abundance; and it fails not bearing, even in thoſe years, when the *Nile*'s not riſing to its uſual height, occaſions a ſcarcity in the other parts of *Egypt* [r].

*Its anual overflowing.* THE annual inundation of the *Nile*, on which the fertility of *Egypt* depends, is one of the greateſt wonders of that country. The antient writers tell us, that it begins to riſe in *Egypt* about the ſummer ſolſtice, and continues

[o] Ibid. & LUCAS, voy. t. ii. p. 239.
[p] Geneſ. xiii. 10.
[q] Vid. STRABON. l. xvii.
[r] GOLII not. ad Alfrag. p. 157, &c. KIRCHER Oedip. vol. i. p. 8. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 205.

riſing

riſing till after the autumnal equinox, for about the ſpace of one hundred days; and then it gradually decreaſes for as many days, till it retires within its banks, and overflows no more till the next year. If the river did not riſe to the height of ſixteen cubits, or fifteen at leaſt, the country was not covered with water, and a dearth enſued [u]: this account comes very near to thoſe given by modern travellers. Though the river begins to ſwell in *May*, yet no public notice is taken of it till the 28th or 29th of *June*, by which time it is uſually riſen to the height of ſix or eight pikes (a *Turkiſh* meaſure, of about twenty-ſix inches); and then the public criers proclaim it through the capital, and other cities; and continue in the ſame manner to publiſh how much the river increaſes every day, till it riſes to ſixteen pikes; and then they cut down the dam of the *Khalîj*, or great canal, at *Bulâk*, which paſſes through the midſt of *al Kâhira*; and let in the water on their lands, by an artifice we ſhall mention by-and-by. If the river wants but an inch of this height, they will not cut the dam, becauſe, in ſuch caſe, no tribute is due to the prince for the lands which ſhould be watered by them, the produce being then ſcarce ſufficient to maintain the tillers. And therefore, at preſent, if the baſha, or governor of *Egypt*, cuts this dam before the river riſes to that determinate height, he is anſwerable for the conſequence, and muſt pay the *Turkiſh* emperor his tribute, whether the year be plentiful or no. If the water increaſes to the height of twenty-three or twenty-four pikes, it is judged moſt favourable; but if it exceeds that, it does a great deal of miſchief, not only by overthrowing houſes, and drowning cattle, but alſo by ingendering a great number of inſects, which deſtroy the fruits of the earth [w].

THE *Khalij* above-mentioned is always opened with great ſolemnity, in the preſence of the baſha, accompanied by all his great officers, and attended by an innumerable multitude of people, this being one of the greateſt feſtivals in *Egypt* [x]; and in former times, we are told, the *Egyptians* uſed annually, at this ceremony, to ſacrifice a girl, or, as others ſay, a boy and a girl, to the *Nile*, as a tribute paid to that river, for all the benefits they received from it. And this inhuman cuſtom continued, it is ſaid, till the

[u] HEROD. l. ii. DIOD. SIC. l. i. Vid. PLIN. l. v. c. 9.
[w] LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 327, &c. Vid. THEVENOT voy. part i. c. 22, 45, 46, &c. [x] Vid. eoſd. ubi ſup.

*Turks*

*Turks* made themſelves maſters of *Egypt* (C); when their firſt governor, reſolved to aboliſh it, by his prudent remonſtrances, prevailed on the *Egyptians* to lay it aſide: but the river, unfortunately, did not riſe that year to the accuſtomed height. The year following it was ſtill worſe; ſo that the people, apprehending a famine, began to murmur: whereupon the governor led all the inhabitants of the city, *Turks*, *Jews*, and Chriſtians, to a mountain on the eaſt of *al Kâhira*; and, after a pathetic exhortation, he obliged all that were preſent to offer up their prayers to GOD, for the obtaining his mercy; in which exerciſe they paſſed all the reſt of that day, and the following night. The next morning, before day, ſome women came, with great joy, to acquaint the governor, that the *Nile* had riſen in the night no leſs than twelve pikes; whereupon nothing was heard but the praiſes of GOD, and acclamations of the people. Coming down from the mountain, they erected an altar at the mouth of the canal, ten feet high, whereon they threw a great quantity of flowers, and a branch of olive; which laſt, as they ſay, took root there, as a more agreeable offering to GOD than the former innocent victim: they continue ſtill to erect ſuch an altar every year; and when they break down the dam, and the water enters the *Khalij*, it carries down the altar and flowers with it. The year when this event happened, the *Nile* roſe two pikes higher than uſual, and this extraordinary riſe was attended with extraordinary plenty; ſince which time, a final ſtop being put to the above-mentioned inhuman practice, whenever the waters fail of their accuſtomed height, they have recourſe to prayers on the ſame mountain[y].

*Of the Nilometers.*

THAT they may the better judge of the daily increaſe of the water, and the conſequent plenty or ſcarcity of the enſuing year, the gradual riſe of the river is very exactly meaſured, either by wells ſunk, or pillars erected and divided for that purpoſe. There was one of the former, we are told, on the bank of the *Nile*, in the upper *Egypt*,

y LUCAS, ubi ſup. Vid. THEVENOT, ubi ſup.

(C) It ſeems very ſtrange, that ſuch a practice ſhould be ſuffered, not only during the time *Egypt* was ſubject to the Chriſtian emperors of *Conſtantinople*, but while the *Arabs* were maſters of it. *Amoſis*, one of the antient *Egyptian* kings, is ſaid to have aboliſhed the human ſacrifices offered to *Juno*, as will be obſerved hereafter; and it might be reaſonably ſuppoſed, he alſo put a ſtop to thoſe offered to the *Nile*.

near

near *Syene* [z]; and one of the latter was set up in *Memphis* [a]. A very antient column, which served for the same use, is also yet to be seen in the castle of *Old Kâhira*, said to be erected in the time of the emperor *Heraclius*. The present *Nilometer* (D), or *Mikyâs*, as the *Arabs* call it, is in the same castle; it is a large square reservoir, round which runs an handsome gallery, sustained by twelve marble pillars, which form arches, with a balustrade for the convenience of those who look into the water. In the midst of this bason, through which passes a canal drawn from the *Nile*, is an octagonal pillar, of white marble, divided into twenty-two equal parts; the first is again divided into twenty-four inches, but the second is not; however, the others are all marked to the top of the column. They are very careful, during the time of the inundation, to observe the height of the water by the measure, and every day proclaim it in the city. This work is so exactly finished, and nicely levelled, that the water in the reservoir is neither higher nor lower than that in the river [b].

*Of the sphinxes.*

As these Nilometers were invented to shew the height to which the waters rose, the sphinxes were destined to shew at what time of the year the watets began to rise. They were a symbolic representation or figure, with the head of a woman, and the body of a lion, signifying, that the *Nile* began to swell in the months of *July* and *August*, when the sun passes through the signs of *Leo* and *Virgo* [c]. There are several of these sphinxes still to be seen; one in

[z] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 817.
[a] Diodor. Sic. l. i. p. 33.
[b] Lucas, ubi sup. p. 313, 321, &c.
[c] Ibid. p. 323.

(D) This *Nilometer* is different from that built in an island of the *Nile*, between *Jizâh* and *al Fosstât*, by *Asâmah ebn Yazîd* (3), collector of the tribute in *Egypt*, in the reign of the khalîfah *Soleymân ebn Abd'almalek*. This island, on account of its pleasant situation, and the several sorts of fruit-trees with which it is planted, is greatly celebrated by the orienal writers, and called *al Rawdat*, or, *the garden*. Some years after the above-mentioned Nilometer had been built, the khalîfah *al Mâmûn* ordered it to be pulled down, on account of a defect discovered in it, and a new one to be built in its room; which was at last finished, in a magnificent manner, by *al Motawakkel* (4). The eastern histories mention several other structures of this sort, built or repaired by the khalîfahs, while masters of *Egypt*.

(3) *Elmacin. in vita Soleymân.* 256, & *D' Herbelot bibl. orient. p.* 672.
(4) *Vid. Golii not. ad Alfrag. p.*

particular

particular near the pyramids, much ſpoken of by the antients, being of a prodigious ſize, and cut into the rock itſelf; the head and neck only appear at preſent, the reſt of the body being hid in the ſand. It is, according to *Thevenot*[d], twenty-ſix feet high, and fifteen feet from the ear to the chin; but *Pliny* aſſures us, the head was no leſs than one hundred and two feet about, and ſixty-two feet above the belly; that the body was one hundred and forty-three feet long, and was thought to be the ſepulchre of king *Amaſis*[e]. There is another alſo at the end of the lake of *al Matariya*, which lies on its ſide, the head being ſeparated from the body[f].

*The manner of conveying the water on their lands.*

As the river could not of itſelf overflow the lands everywhere in the neceſſary proportion, the inhabitants have been obliged, with infinite labour, to cut a vaſt number of canals and trenches, from one end of *Egypt* to the other, to convey the water to every part; ſo that each town and village has its canal, which is opened at the proper time, and the water ſucceſſively conducted to the moſt diſtant places. Theſe canals or trenches are not permitted to be opened, till the river has roſe to a certain height, nor yet all at once; becauſe, in ſuch caſe, ſome lands would have too much water, and others too little; but they begin to open them firſt in the upper *Egypt*, and then gradually lower, according to a public regulation of the meaſures made for that purpoſe. By this means the water is ſo carefully huſbanded, that, if it riſes to twenty-four pikes, it ſupplies the whole country; which is ſo large, and the canals ſo numerous, that it is thought, ſcarce a tenth part of the waters of the *Nile* enter the ſea for the firſt three months of its overflowing. However, as ſome places lie too high to be watered by the canals, they are obliged to raiſe the water by engines. Formerly they made uſe of *Archimedes*'s ſcrew, thence named, the *Egyptian* pump[g]; but they now generally uſe wheels, which carry a rope or chain of earthen pots, holding about ſeven or eight quarts apiece, and draw the water from the canals. There are beſides a vaſt number of wells in *Egypt*, from which the water is drawn in the ſame manner to water the gardens and fruit-trees; ſo that it is no exaggeration to ſay, that there are in *Egypt* above two hundred thouſand oxen daily employed in this labour, without reckoning the men who

[d] Thevenot's voy. part 1. c. 5. [e] Plin. nat. hiſt. l. xxxvi. c. 12. [f] Lucas, ubi ſup. [g] Vid. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 30. & l. v. p. 313.

draw

draw water in wicker baskets, ſo cloſe and well made, that not a drop runs through. As the land lies perfectly even, they cut their gardens into little ſquare beds, which are all ſurrounded with trenches; higher than the level of the gardens; ſo that, when they want to water one of theſe beds, they open one of the trenches, which immediately furniſhes as much water as is neceſſary; after which they ſtop it up again; and thus they manage the reſt; by which means they have the fineſt and moſt fertile gardens in the world. Pomgranates, oranges, lemons, and ſeveral other ſorts of trees, afford a ſhade and coolneſs, which, notwithſtanding the heat of the climate, make it delightful walking. When a tree is wanting in any place, they only cut down a branch, which they plant by the ſide of a little trench, and in two or three years it grows to be a tree, big enough to tranſplant.

THE *Nile*, differing in this from other rivers, which generally carry off the heart of the land they overflow, by the mud or ſlime it brings down with it, fattens the earth, and makes it exceeding fruitful, without any other manure. The *Egyptians* have not the laborious taſk of plowing, digging, or breaking the clods; but, when the river is retired, they have no more to do, than to mingle a little ſand with the earth, to abate its ſtrength; after which, they ſow with little pains, and almoſt without charge. Antiently, we are told, they uſed to put in their hogs to tread the ſeed into the ground, expecting the harveſt without any further care; and, when that ſeaſon came, they let in the hogs again, to ſhake the grain out of the ear, and had no other trouble than to gather and lay up their corn [h]. They ſow ordinarily in *October* and *November*, as the waters fall: within two months the ground is covered with all ſorts of grain and pulſe; and their harveſt is in *March* and *April*. The ſame piece of ground produces the ſame year three or four different ſorts of fruits, and of every thing that gardens afford: firſt, they ſow lettice and cucumbers, then corn, and, after harveſt, melons, and thoſe ſorts of pulſe which are peculiar to *Egypt*.

*The fecundity occaſioned by the Nile.*

WHAT is moſt extraordinary is, that this ſurpriſing fecundity, cauſed by the inundation of the *Nile*, reaches not only to the earth, but alſo to mankind and animals [i]. It is found, by conſtant experience, that the new waters make the women fruitful, whether they bathe in them, or only

[h] HEROD. l. ii. c. 19. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 32. [i] Vid. DIODOR. SIC. ibid.

drink them: they usually conceive in *July* and *August*, and are delivered in *April* and *May*. As to the cattle, the cows almost always bring two calves at a time; the sheep yean twice a year, having two lambs the first time, and but one the second; and a goat is often seen followed by four kids, which she has brought in six months: the pastures of *Egypt* are most excellent, the grass generally growing to the height of the cattle: on this they feed in winter, during which season great numbers are driven thither from about the *Euphrates*; in summer, the grounds being either burnt up by the sun, or overflowed by the *Nile*, they are taken up, and fed with hay, beans, and barley.

*Two different appearances of* Egypt *in two seasons.*

THERE is not a more pleasant sight in the world than *Egypt*, in two seasons of the year; for if you ascend some mountains, or one of the great pyramids of *al Kâhira*, about the months of *July* and *August*, you see a wide sea, out of which there arise a vast number of villages, turrets, and spires, appearing like the isles in the *Ægæan* sea [k], with some causeways for communication, intermixed with groves, and a great number of fruit-trees, whose tops only are seen; all which affords a most inchanting prospect. This view is terminated by mountains and woods, which, at a distance, form the most agreeable perspective in the world. On the other hand, in the winter, that is, about *January* and *February*, all the country is like a fine meadow, enamelled with all kinds of flowers. You see on every side herds and flocks of cattle scattered over the plain, with an infinite number of husbandmen and gardeners. The air is then embalmed by a prodigious quantity of flowers, blossoming on the orange, lemon, and other trees; and is so pure, that a man cannot breathe one more wholsome or agreeable: so that nature, which is then, as it were, dead in so many other climates, seems to revive only for the sake of so delightful an abode. If there be any places left not quite dry, they are covered with water-fowl, which afford great diversion to the sportsmen.

THE cities, towns, and villages in *Egypt*, to secure them from the inundation of the *Nile*, are all built either on some rising ground formed by nature, or on mounds raised by infinite labour; the communication between one town and another, while the country is under water, being carried on either by the causeways above-mentioned, or boats.

[k] Vid. HEROD. & DIODOR. SIC. ubi sup.

When

When the river is retired within its banks, the canals ſerve for the ſame purpoſe, and, at the ſame time, furniſh the inhabitants and cattle with water, which the maidens are continually to be ſeen fetching thence, according to the antient cuſtom ſo often taken notice of in Scripture[l].

*The cauſe of the inundation of the Nile.*

As the antients were ignorant of the true cauſe of the inundation of the *Nile*, which ſeemed the more unaccountable to them, becauſe, contrary to other rivers, it overflowed in the ſummer, and was loweſt in winter, they made ſeveral ſubtle conjectures to explain this phænomenon [m]. But it has been long ſince well known to be occaſioned by the great rains which fall in *Ethiopia*, about the ſprings of the *Nile*, and ſwell that river into a ſea, which firſt lays *Ethiopia* almoſt intirely under water, as it afterwards does *Egypt*. *Agatharchides* of *Cnidos* [n], and ſome others, gueſſed this to be the cauſe, though they were not certain of it; but it was afterwards confirmed by eye-witneſſes, *Ptolemy Philadelphus*, a very inquiſitive prince, having ſent ſome perſons on purpoſe to examine into the matter. It has been thought, that this piece of natural hiſtory was not unknown to *Homer* himſelf; and that he alludes to it when he ſays [o], that the *Nile* came down from heaven [p]. Theſe rains conſtantly fall in *Ethiopia*, during the months of *April* and *May* [q]; at which time it alſo rains with the ſame regularity in *India*, cauſing the *Indus* and the *Ganges* to overflow their banks, as the *Nile* does [r].

DIVINE providence has been juſtly admired, for ſending the rains in *Ethiopia* ſo punctually to ſupply *Egypt*, where it rains ſo ſeldom, and thereby rendering a moſt dry and ſandy ſoil one of the moſt fruitful in the univerſe. Nor is it to be omitted, that in the beginning of *June*, and the four following months, the *Eteſian* winds (which ſome formerly imagined to be the great cauſe of the inundation [s]) conſtantly blow from the north-eaſt, and keep back the water from flowing down and emptying itſelf into the ſea too faſt [t]. As the fertility of the land of *Canaan* was owing to a very different method of providence, that is, to the *former and latter rains*, which regularly fell at two appointed ſeaſons of the year, while the children of *Iſrael* con-

[l] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 328, &c. [m] Vid. HERODOT. l. ii. c. 20—27. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 33, &c. [n] DIOD. SIC. ib. p. 39. [o] HOM. Odyſſ. iv. ver. 591. [p] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 1137. [q] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 321. [r] BERNIER, voyage de Cachemire, p. 343, &c. [s] HEROD. ubi ſup. [t] LE BRUYN voyage, tom. ii.

tinued in their duty, *Moſes* thought proper to acquaint them beforehand with ſo material a difference between the promiſed land and that they had lately left; *The land whither thou goeſt in to poſſeſs it*, ſays that lawgiver, *is not as the land of* Egypt, *from whence ye came out, where thou ſowedſt thy ſeed, and wateredſt it with thy foot, as a garden of herbs; but the land whither ye go to poſſeſs it, is a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven; a land which the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it, from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year* [u].

*Of the animals of Egypt.*

LET us now take a view of the animal and vegetable productions of *Egypt*. The crocodile, and hippopotamus or river-horſe, are, it is to be preſumed, too well known to the reader, to need a particular deſcription here [v]: they are both inhabitants of the *Nile*. The crocodiles are often killed by the natives. One way of taking them is, by a piece of fleſh ſtuck on an iron hook, and let down into the river by a rope, the other end of which is faſtened to a ſtake: when the crocodile has ſeized the bait, he is drawn to land, and killed [w]. *Herodotus* deſcribes this manner with very little variation [x]. Another more dangerous way is ſometimes practiſed, by ſtriking them, as they ſleep, under the belly, with a ſtake armed with a bearded point of iron, and alſo faſtened to a rope [y]. A more extraordinary method ſtill was made uſe of to catch one of theſe creatures that had done much miſchief: the perſon, who undertook it for a reward, bound his ſon, a young lad, to a ſtake, in the place where the crocodile uſed to come, and laid himſelf flat on his belly, with two ſhort clubs in his hand, one of which was wound round at the end with a very large ball of coarſe thread dipped in pitch, and ſo waited for the crocodile; which, coming out of the river, and ſmelling the boy, made directly towards him; but as he opened his mouth to ſeize him, the father thruſt the ſtaff with the pitched ball into his jaws, which ſticking in his teeth, and entangling them as he bit it, the man broke his back, and killed him, with the other [z]. The inhabitants of *Tentyris* are reported to have been very bold and dextrous in hunting theſe creatures, as we have obſerved above; they ventured even to leap on their backs in the water, and, clapping

[u] Deut. xi. 10, 11, 12. [v] Vid. Herod. & Diod. ubi ſupra. Strabo, l. xvii. [w] Lettre du P. Sicard, dans les mem. des miſſions, tom. vi. p. 252. [x] Ubi ſup. [y] Sicard, ubi ſupr. [z] Lucas, ubi ſupr. tom. i. p. 88.

a ſtick

a ſtick acroſs their mouths, as they opened them to bite, they managed them with it as with a bridle, and brought them to land; ſo that theſe creatures were terrified even by their voice and ſmell [a]. The fleſh of the crocodile is white and fat, and a delicious diſh when they are young; the *Arabs* of the upper *Egypt* are very fond of it [b], and formerly the inhabitants of *Elephantis* uſed alſo to feed on it [c].

THE hippopotami are common in the upper *Egypt*, eſpecially near the cataracts; but are ſcarce to be met with in any part of the lower *Egypt*. Theſe creatures never go in herds, and it is rare to ſee two of them together. They are ſo diſtruſtful, and fly with that ſwiftneſs from their purſuers, that they are very ſeldom taken [d].

BESIDES wild and tame oxen, camels, aſſes, goats, and ſheep, of which there is great plenty in *Egypt*, and the fleſh of the laſt very delicate food, there are a vaſt number of antelopes, and a large kind of ape, with a head ſomewhat like a dog, whence it was called *cynocephalus*: the *Egyptians* often uſed the figure of this creature as an hieroglyphic. The chameleon is alſo common in the hedges near *al Káhira*.

THE animal called the little, or land crocodile (which we take to be the *ſcincus* of *Pliny* [e]) is about the bigneſs of a lizard, and has a round tail covered with ſcales. It is found near the *Nile* and the *Red Sea*, and uſually feeds on the moſt odoriferous flowers: the fleſh is of uſe in phyſic, great numbers of them being, for that reaſon, carried to *Venice*, and other places.

THE *Egyptian* rat, called by the antients *ichneumon*, is of the ſize of a cat, with very rough hair, ſpotted with white, yellow, and aſh colour; its noſe like that of an hog, with which it digs up the earth: it has ſhort black legs, and a tail like a fox. It lives on lizards, ſerpents, ſnails, chameleons, rats, *&c.*; and is of great ſervice in *Egypt*, by its natural inſtinct, hunting out and breaking the eggs of the crocodile, and thereby preventing too great an increaſe of that deſtructive creature. The naturaliſts alſo ſay, that it is ſo greedy after the crocodile's liver, that, rolling itſelf in mud, it ſlips down his throat, while he ſleeps with his mouth open, and gnaws its way out again [f]. It is eaſily tamed, but muſt not be kept where cats are, with which it is at perpetual enmity [g].

[a] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 25. [b] SICARD, ubi ſupr. [c] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [d] SICARD, ubi ſupr. p. 251. [e] Nat. hiſt. ubi ſupr. [f] Vid. DIOD. SIC. p. 32, 78. [g] Vid. LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 245.

Of birds there are alſo great numbers in *Egypt*, particularly oſtriches, eagles, hawks, and a prodigious number of water-fowl, as pelicans, flamingos, or *phœnicopteri*, wild geeſe, herons, ducks, and various other ſorts. Thoſe which are peculiar to the *Nile*, are the *ibis*, the gooſe with golden feathers, the rice-hen or hen of *Dimyât*, and the *ſak-ſak*; which laſt is the *trochilus* of the antients [h], obſerved by them to be the only creature with which the crocodile is in friendſhip, becauſe this bird picks and clears his mouth of the leaches which infeſt it [i]. The *ibis* deſerves particular notice, not only becauſe it is ſo peculiar to *Egypt*, that it pines away, and dies, if carried elſewhere, but for the great uſe it is of in that country, by deſtroying the flying ſerpents, which the ſouth winds bring from the deſerts of *Libya*, and are ſhaped as the water-ſnakes, with wings like a bat: in the proper ſeaſon of the year, theſe birds in vaſt numbers, by a peculiar inſtinct, go and wait on the frontiers for theſe ſerpents, and devour them as they fly, before they enter *Egypt*. There are two kinds of the *ibis*: one is of a deep black, and about the bigneſs of an heron: this is the *ibis* which kills the ſerpents, and is ſeldom found except only in the lower *Egypt*: the other is white, but has the head, neck, and ends of the wings and tail as black as the former; they are very common, and great numbers of them are often ſeen. The bill and legs of this bird reſemble thoſe of a ſtork; its uſual food (beſides the ſerpents above-mentioned) are ſnails, locuſts, and other inſects [k].

Besides the lakes which are in other parts of *Egypt*, thoſe in the *Delta* near the ſea, of which there are three pretty large ones between *Alexandria* and *Tinah* [l], the antient *Peluſium*, afford great numbers of fiſh, though not of above ſeven or eight ſorts; two of which they ſalt, and ſend large quantities to *Syria*, *Cyprus*, and *Conſtantinople*. The revenue, which one of theſe lakes alone, called *Manzalah*, brings into the *Turkiſh* emperor's treaſury, amounts to no leſs than forty thouſand crowns a year. Thoſe who live near theſe lakes have great plenty of freſh fiſh, and very cheap, as the *Iſraelites* formerly had [m]; but the heat of the climate will not ſuffer them to be carried far; for which reaſon the inhabitants of *al Kâhira* are obliged to content themſelves with the fiſh which the *Nile* affords them. The bed of that river, being very full of mud and ſlime, communicates a

[h] Sicard. mem. des miſſ. tom. vi. p. 249. [i] Herodot. ubi ſupr. [k] Vid. Herod. ib. Lucas, ubi ſupr. p. 246.
[l] Sicard, ubi ſupr. p. 233, &c. [m] Numb. xi. 5.

muddy

muddy taſte to all the fiſh that are fed in it, except four ſorts, which are excellent. Theſe are the *keſher* or *lates*, the *latos* of the antients, which is often ſo large as to weigh two and three hundred pounds; the *caſhouc*, formerly called *oxyrynchus*, from the ſharpneſs of its noſe; the *bonni*, which weighs ſometimes twenty or thirty pounds, and is the *lepidotus* ſo much eſteemed by the old *Egyptians*; and the *karmûd*, known in antient writers by the name of *phagrus*: this laſt is black, grows to the ſame ſize as the *bonni*, and is very voracious. What makes theſe fiſh the more ſerviceable to the inhabitants of *al Kâhira* is, that they are to be found in the *Nile* at all ſeaſons of the year, and are very eaſily taken [n].

*Of the vegetables of* Egypt.

THOUGH woods are very rare in *Egypt*, yet there are ſome foreſts of palm-trees towards the deſerts of *Libya*; and near *Dandera*, there is one of *doms* or wild date-trees [o], whoſe fruit is exceſſive hard, but much admired by thoſe of the country. Palm-trees are the moſt common of all others in this country; beſides which there are ſeveral ſorts of fruit-trees, and alſo ſome cedars, though not ſo large, or ſo frequently to be ſeen, as in *Syria*; and a great thorny tree called *al hilaji*, out of which, perhaps, the antient *Egyptians* made thoſe boats mentioned by *Herodotus* [p]. However, *Egypt* is not a country proper for trees, which thrive not there without great care and cultivation. As to plants, their kinds are ſo various, that we ſhall mention only a few, and chiefly thoſe which may give ſome light into antient hiſtory.

THE firſt we ſhall take notice of is, the reed *papyrus* or *byblus*, called at preſent by the natives *al berdi*. It grows on the banks of the *Nile*, and ſhoots out a ſtalk of nine or ten feet high; the trunk is compoſed of a great number of long ſtrait fibres, which produce ſmall flowers; the leaves are like the blade of a ſword, and they make uſe of them to keep wounds open; the aſhes of the ſtalk cure thoſe that are not inveterate. This is the plant whereof the antients made their writing-paper, which thence took its name. The way of making it was, by taking out the pith of the ſtalk, which they worked into a white paſt or glew, and of that made the paper, almoſt in the ſame manner as we do with our linen rags; but others ſay it was made of the inner rind of the plant. Before agriculture was improved in *Egypt*, this reed was of great ſervice; for they did not

[n] SIC. p. 245, &c. LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 242. [o] SICARD, ubi ſupr. p. 157. [p] Lib. ii.

only uſe it as food, but made cloaths, boats, and domeſtic utenſils of it; and alſo crowns for their gods, and ſhoes for their prieſts. But more uſeful inventions have ſet all this aſide, and the plant is now intirely neglected [q].

THE flax of *Egypt*, eſpecially one ſort of it, was ſo exceeding fine, and they dreſſed and ſpun it ſo curiouſly, that the threads could ſcarce be ſeen [r]. It grew in ſo great plenty, that they had not only enough to cloathe their prieſts (who wore nothing elſe), and people of condition [s], and to make ſhrouds for their dead, but to drive a very great trade with it into foreign parts. The fine linen of *Egypt* was in great requeſt over all the eaſt [t]: that ſuperfine ſort, called *byſſus*, was often died in purple, and was ſo dear, that none but the rich could afford to wear it.

THE *lotus*, which grows plentifully in the lower *Egypt*, eſpecially near *Raſhîd* or *Roſetta*, is called by the inhabitants *al baſhnîn*, and is a ſpecies of *nenuphar*, *nymphæa*, or *water-lily*. Its leaves float on the water, and cover the ſurface of it, producing many flowers, which were formerly wove into the crowns of conquerors. The antient *Egyptians* have made bread of the middle, or pulp, of this plant, dried, which reſembled that of a poppy; and likewiſe fed on the root, which is round, and as big as an apple [u]. This *lotus* is different from the fruit of the ſame name whereon the *Lotophagi* lived: the *Arabs* at this day make a drink of the *Egyptian lotus*, which is very good for inward heat; and eat the ſtalk and heads of them raw, which are very moiſt and cooling [w].

THE *henna*, called *alcanna* by the botaniſts, is a ſhrub which ſhoots forth a great many branches. Its leaves are like that of an olive-tree, but ſhorter, broader, and of a more pleaſant green. The flowers, which are ſet like thoſe of the elder, have an agreeable ſmell, and are thrown by the inhabitants into their baths [x]. The women dye their nails with a reddiſh colour extracted from this plant, by way of ornament.

OTHER plants, the fruits or roots of which afford food to the inhabitants, are in ſo great abundance, and ſo excellent in their kind, that they are almoſt ſufficient to main-

[q] LUCAS ubi ſupr. p. 249, &c. Vid. ROLLIN. hiſt. anc. v. i. p. 106. Vid. PLIN. l. xiii. c. 11. [r] Vid. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xix. c. 1. [s] Vid. Geneſ. xli. 42. [t] Prov. vii. 16. Ezek. xxvii. 7. [u] HEROD. l. ii. c. 26. DIOD. SIC. l. ii. p. 30. [w] LUCAS, ubi ſup. p. 257. [x] Idem ibid.

tain

tain them without the uſe of corn [y]; and formerly the labouring people ſcarce lived on any thing elſe. It is not, therefore, ſo ſurpriſing, that the *Iſraelites* in the wilderneſs regretted *the cucumbers, and the melons, and the leeks, and the onions, and the garlick* [z], which they uſed to eat ſo freely in *Egypt*.

*Of the artificial rarities of Egypt.*

THE buildings and other works of the antient *Egyptians*, which have raiſed the admiration of all ſucceeding ages, deſerve a more particular view.

*The pyramids.*

THE firſt inquiry generally made by thoſe who would be acquainted with this country, is concerning the pyramids, thoſe ſtupendous ſtructures, which were deſervedly reckoned by the antients among the wonders of the world.

THERE are many of them in ſeveral parts of *Egypt*, and particularly in the upper *Egypt*, as we have already obſerved; but thoſe which have been chiefly taken notice of and deſcribed by travellers, ſtand on the weſt ſide of the *Nile*, not far from *Jizah*, which ſucceeded the antient *Memphis*. The number of theſe pyramids is about twenty, of which three, ſtanding pretty near together, are moſt remarkable, and are thoſe which have been ſo often deſcribed. The other lie far ſcattered in the *Libyan* deſert, and are leſſer models of the other, though ſome of them are very conſiderable, particularly one, which ſtands ſouth-and-by-weſt from them, at about twenty miles diſtance more within the deſert, and has been undeſervedly neglected, both by antient and modern writers, though it be as worthy of memory, and as near a miracle, as any of the former three.

*Whence ſo named.*

IT is the common opinion, that the word *pyramid* is derived from the *Greek pyr* or *pur*, *fire*; and that theſe ſtructures were ſo called from their ſhape, aſcending from a broad baſe, and ending in a point like a flame; others, whoſe opinion *Voſſius* [a] ſeems to approve, ſay they took the name from *pyros*, which, in the ſame language, ſignifies *wheat*, becauſe they will have them to be the granaries of the antient *Egyptian* kings; but a late writer, verſed in the *Coptic* tongue, has given us another etymology from that language, wherein *pouro* ſignifies a *king*, and *miſi*, a *race*, or *generation*: and the reaſon why the pyramids had this name given them, was, as he tells us, becauſe they were erected to preſerve the memory of thoſe princes and their families; and that thoſe who were de-

[y] PLIN. l. xxii. c. 15. [z] Numb. xi. 5. [a] Etym. ling. Lat. voce Pyramis. Vid. STEPH. de urb. voce Πυραμίδες.

ſcended

ſcended from them, had therefore recourſe to thoſe pillars to prove their pedigree [b] (E).

*By whom built.*

WHO were the builders of theſe *pyramids*, has been matter of much diſpute. *Joſephus* [c], followed by ſome modern writers [d], ſuppoſed they were erected by the *Iſraelites* during their heavy preſſure under the tyranny of the *Pharaohs*. The Scriptures, however, ſeem to be againſt this opinion; for they expreſly make the ſlaviſh employment of that people to have been the making of bricks; whereas all theſe pyramids are of ſtone. Others pretend they were built by the patriarch *Joſeph*, for granaries to lay up the corn of the ſeven plentiful years [e]; and, to ſupport this imagination, allege the above-mentioned derivation from *pyros*, *wheat*: but this opinion is much more groundleſs than the former; for, beſides that their figure is the leaſt capacious of any regular mathematical body, and therefore improper for ſuch a purpoſe, the ſtreightneſs and fewneſs of the rooms within (the reſt being a ſolid fabric of ſtone) utterly overthrow ſuch a conjecture.

HERODOTUS ſays, the firſt or greateſt of the three moſt remarkable pyramids was built by *Cheops*, whom *Diodorus* names *Chemmis*; for that they were the ſame perſon, will appear hereafter. The ſecond both thoſe hiſtorians agree

[b] WILKINS differt. de ling. Copt. p. 108. [c] Antiq. l. ii. c. 5. [d] SPONDANUS de cœmet. ſacr. l. i. c. 6. PERIZON. orig. Ægyt. p. 387, &c. [e] STEPH. de urb. ubi ſupr. NICETAS, NONNUS, &c. apud Greaves, ubi infra.

(E) This gentleman endeavours to ſupport his aſſertion by the authority of *Herodotus*, as if he affirmed, that the *Egyptians* preſerved their genealogies on pillars, and that thoſe pillars were called pyramids: but we do not remember any ſuch thing in that author. The paſſage quoted is no more than this; that when *Hecatæus* the hiſtorian acquainted the prieſt of *Jupiter* with his genealogy, and derived himſelf from no leſs than ſixteen gods, the prieſts would by no means admit that a man could be begotten by a god, but ſhewed him three hundred and forty-five large wooden images of their high-prieſts in a ſpacious edifice, which ſtood in regular order, the ſon being placed after the father; and told him, that none of them had been reputed either a god or a hero; but that each image, which he ſaw, repreſented a *piromis* begotten by another *piromis*; the word *piromis* ſignifying no more in their language than *an honeſt man* (1). It may be obſerved, that *romi*, and, with the article, *piromi*, ſignifies a *man* in the preſent *Coptic*.

(1) *Herod. l.* ii *c.* 124.

to

to have been erected by *Cephren*, brother and ſucceſſor to the former prince. And the third was the work of *Mycerinus*, the ſon of *Cheops* [f]. This laſt, ſome of the *Greeks* pretended, was built by *Rhodopis* [g] or *Rhodope*, a courteſan, whom *Sappho* called *Doricha*, miſtreſs to her brother *Charaxus* [h]. But this is very improbable, if we conſider either her condition, or the vaſtneſs of the expence; tho' ſome, to amend the ſtory, ſay ſeveral governors of provinces, who were in love with her, built it for her by contribution [i]: beſides, *Herodotus* has ſhewn, that ſhe lived long after theſe pyramids were in being [k]. Yet, after all, *Diodorus* confeſſes, that there is little agreement as to theſe pyramids, either among the natives or hiſtorians; ſome ſaying that the largeſt was built by *Armæus*, the ſecond by *Amaſis*, and the third by *Inaron* [l]; and this uncertainty *Pliny* mentions as a juſt reward of the vanity of the undertakers [m].

THE *Arab* writers aſſign other founders of theſe three pyramids different from thoſe mentioned by the *Greeks*. To omit the fancy of thoſe who thought them built by *Jân ebn Jân*, univerſal monarch of the world before *Adam* [n], and the above-mentioned opinion, which attributes them to *Joſeph*; ſome ſay they were erected by *Nimrod*; ſome by queen *Dalûka*; and others, by the *Egyptians* before the flood. The *Copts* report, that the eaſt pyramid is the ſepulchre of king *Saurid*, the weſtern of his brother *Hûjib*, and the coloured pyramid of *Fazfarinûm* the ſon of *Hûjib*. The *Sabians* pretend, that one of them is the ſepulchre of *Seth*, the ſecond of *Hermes* (or *Enoch*); and the third of *Sabi*, from whom this ſect ſay it is denominated: it is alſo ſaid, that the *Sabians* go in pilgrimage thither, and ſacrifice at them a cock, and a black calf, and burn incenſe [o]. But the general opinion is, that they were built by *Saurid* before the flood; and the *Copts* mention an inſcription engraven on them to this effect: *I* Saurid, *the king, built the pyramids in ſuch-and-ſuch a time, and finiſhed them in ſix years: he that comes after me, and ſays he is equal to me, let him deſtroy them in ſix hundred years; and yet it is known, that it is eaſier to pull*

[f] Vid. HEROT. l. ii. c. 126. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p 41. [g] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [h] STRABO, l. xvii. [i] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [k] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [l] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [m] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. xxxvi. c. 12. [n] D'HERBEL. bibl. orient. p. 311. See introd. p. 106, 107. [o] MERAT. ALZEMAN. apud Greaves, ubi infr. Vid. KIRCH. Oedip. vol. i. p. 74.

*down*

*down than to build: and when I had finiſhed, I covered them with ſattin; and let him cover them with mats* P.

As the antients have omitted ſpeaking of ſeveral pyramids ſtill remaining in the *Libyan* deſert, ſo have they, on the other hand, mentioned the names and founders of ſome others, not much inferior to theſe three in magnitude, which have been long ſince ruined and defaced by time. *Herodotus* ſays, there was one of forty fathoms, or two hundred and forty feet, which ſtood at the end of the labyrinth, with large figures of animals in ſculpture, and a ſubterraneous paſſage to it q. This ſeems to be that pyramid wherein *Strabo* tells us *Imandes*, or, as *Diodorus* names him, *Oſymanduas*, was buried r, and therefore, probably, built by him; though he differs from *Herodotus* as to the dlmenſions, making each ſide of it to be four hundred feet, and the height as much s. *Pliny*, who agrees with *Herodotus* in this laſt particular, mentions ſeveral pyramids built near the labyrinth; but, if his expreſſion t be not miſtaken, deſcribes them to be ſexangular. *Mœris*, who lived after *Oſymanduas*, but long before *Cheops*, alſo built two pyramids, one for himſelf, and the other for his wife, in the midſt of a lake which he dug, and which we ſhall take notice of by-and-by. Theſe pyramids were each a furlong in height, and ſtood one half above the water, and the other half under the water; and on the top of each there was placed a marble ſtatue or coloſſus ſitting on a throne u. It is ſaid, that *Cheops*, having exhauſted his treaſures in building the firſt and largeſt pyramid, proſtituted his own daughter, commanding her to get as much money as ſhe could; and that ſhe, at the ſame time ſhe obeyed her father, contrived to leave a monument of herſelf alſo; and aſked every one that came to her, to give her a ſtone towards the ſtructure ſhe deſigned: by which means ſhe built a pyramid, which ſtood in the midſt of the three, within view of the great pyramid, and extended to the length of a plethron and a half (or about one hundred and fifty feet) on every ſide of the baſis x. This ſtory has ſome reſemblance to that of *Rhodopis* above-mentioned, and might, perhaps, have given occaſion to it. After all theſe, *Aſychis*, the ſucceſſor of *Mycerinus*, built a pyramid of brick, with this inſcription cut in ſtone: *Compare me not with the pyramids of ſtone; for I as far excel them, as* Jupiter *does the other*

P Ebn Abd al Hokm. q Herod. l. ii. c. 148. r Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 44. s Strabo, l. xvii. p. 557. t Senas radicum oras obtinentes. Plin. l. xxxvi. c. 13. u Herod. & Diod. ubi ſupr. x Herod. ubi ſupr.

*gods:*

*gods: for, ſtriking the bottom of the lake with long poles, and gathering the mud which ſtuck to them, thereof they made bricks, and formed me in that manner* [y]. *Diodorus* mentions three other pyramids, each ſide of which contained two hundred feet; and ſays, that *Chemmis*, *Cephren*, and *Mycerinus*, were reputed to have erected them for their wives [z]. Theſe, likewiſe, are not now to be ſeen, unleſs they ſhould be ſome of thoſe in the deſert, which well anſwer the meaſure aſſigned by *Diodorus*; but if thoſe princes built them for their queens, it may be wondered, why they placed them ſo remote from their own ſepulchres, or at ſuch large and unequal diſtances of ſeveral miles from one another [a].

*The time when the pyramids were built.*

SINCE it is uncertain, who were the founders of the pyramids that are now ſtanding, it would be in vain to endeavour to determine the time when they were built. The ages of the ſeveral princes to whom they have been attributed, will beſt appear, when we diſcourſe of the *Egyptian* chronology: in the mean time we ſhall obſerve, that the leaſt antiquity which can be allowed theſe ſtructures, ſeems to be near three thouſand years; ſince *Herodotus*, who lived two thouſand two hundred years ago, was able to find ſo little ſatisfaction in his inquiries after them; and *Diodorus*, who lived before the birth of our Saviour, ſuppoſes the great pyramid to have been built at leaſt one thouſand years before his time [b].

*The end for which they were erected.*

NOT to mention a ſecond time the improbability of the conjecture of thoſe, who imagine ſuch buildings were deſigned for granaries, it is the conſtant opinion of moſt authors who have written on this ſubject, that they were intended for ſepulchres and monuments of the dead. *Diodorus* expreſly tells us, that *Chemmis* and *Cephren* deſigned thoſe built by them for their ſepulchres, tho' it happened, that neither of them were buried in them [c]; and *Strabo* judges all thoſe near *Memphis* to have been royal ſepulchres [d]: to which the writings of the *Arabs* are conſonant, as has been obſerved above. And if none of theſe authorities were extant, the tomb which ſtands at this day in the firſt pyramid, puts it out of all doubt.

WHY the *Egyptian* kings ſhould have been at ſo vaſt an expence in building of theſe pyramids, is an inquiry of an higher nature. *Ariſtotle* makes them the works of tyranny [e]: and *Pliny* conjectures, that they built them partly

[y] Idem ib. [z] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. [a] GREAVES deſcr. of the pyramids, p. 113. [b] DIODOR. SIC. l. i. p. 57. [c] Idem ibid. p. 58. [d] STRABO, l. xvii. [e] ARISTOT. polit. l. iii.

partly out of oſtentation, and partly out of ſtate policy, to divert the people, by this employment, from mutinies and rebellions [f]. But the true reaſon depends on higher conſiderations, and ſprang from the theology of the *Egyptians*; who believed, that as long as the body laſted, ſo long the ſoul continued with it; which laſt was alſo the opinion of the *Stoics* [g]. And hence it was, that this nation took that exceſſive care to preſerve the corpſe from corruption, and were at ſuch a vaſt expence in raiſing monuments for them, as will be ſpecified hereafter.

THE reaſon why they frequently made uſe of the pyramidal figure for theſe monuments (for they were not always of that ſhape), to omit ſeveral philoſophical fancies of little ſolidity [h], ſeems to have been, becauſe it is the moſt permanent form of ſtructure; for, by reaſon of the gradual contracting and leſſening of it at the top, it is neither over-preſſed with its own weight, nor is ſubject to the ſoaking in of rain, as other buildings: or elſe they might thereby intend to repreſent ſome of their gods; pyramids and obelisks, which are but a leſſer ſort of pyramids, being, both by them and other heathens, antiently made uſe of, and worſhiped as images of ſeveral deities [i].

THIS practice of the *Egyptians*, of erecting pyramids, or columns of that ſhape, for ſepulchres, was alſo ſometimes, though not frequently, imitated by other nations. That of *Porſena* king of *Etruria*, built by him near *Cluſium* in *Italy*, was accounted almoſt miraculous; tho' it was more to be admired for the number and contrivance of the pyramids, which were fourteen, than for any exceſſive magnitude [k]. The tomb of *C. Cæſtius*, now part of the walls of *Rome*, near the gate of *St. Paul*, is built after the model of thoſe of *Egypt*.

*Their deſcription.*

THE dimenſions and deſcriptions of the three greateſt of the pyramids of *Memphis* have been given by ſeveral writers, both antient hiſtorians [l], and modern travellers. They differ pretty much from one another as to the dimenſions. A countryman of our own, who meaſured them with great care, and wanted not ability to do it with the greateſt accuracy, ſeems to have been the moſt exact; for which reaſon we ſhall chiefly adhere to his obſervations.

*The dimenſions of the firſt pyramid.*

THE firſt and faireſt of theſe three pyramids is ſituated on a rocky hill, in the ſandy deſert of *Libya*, about a

[f] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 12. [g] Vid. SERVIUM in Virgil. Æn. iii. [h] Vid. auctor. anonym. ad calcem hieroglyph. PIERRII. [i] Vid. GREAVES, ubi ſupr. p. 62. [k] Vid. eund. ibid. p. 64. [l] Vid. SOLIN. POLYHIST. c. 45. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxiii.

quarter of a mile from the plains of *Egypt*; above which the rock riſes 100 feet, or better, with a gentle and eaſy aſcent. Upon this advantageous riſe, and ſolid foundation, is the pyramid erected; the height of the ſituation adding to the beauty of the work, and the ſolidity of the rock affording it a ſtable ſupport. The north ſide, near the baſis, being meaſured by a *radius* of 10 feet in length, taking two ſeveral ſtations, was found by our author to be 693 *Engliſh* feet. The other ſides were examined by a line, for want of an even level, and a convenient diſtance to place the inſtruments. The altitude, if meaſured by its perpendicular, is 481 feet; but, if it be taken as the pyramid aſcends inclining, then it is equal, in reſpect of the lines ſubtending the ſeveral angles, to the latitude of the baſis (F). Whereby it appears, that though ſeveral of

(F) According to *Herodotus*, each face of this pyramid contains eight *plethra*, or 800 *Grecian* feet, in length (1). *Diodorus Siculus* (who comes neareſt the truth) makes this dimenſion but ſeven *plethra*, or 700 feet (2); and *Strabo*, leſs than a furlong (3); that is, leſs than 600 *Grecian*, or 625 *Roman* feet. Whereas *Pliny* equals it to 883 (4). As to the height, *Herodotus* ſays, it is equal to the breadth of one of its ſides; which is true, if taken for the inclining, and not the perpendicular altitude. By *Strabo*'s computation, the height exceeds the breadth: but *Diodorus* rightly acknowleges it to be ſomething leſs. The altitude of this pyramid was taken by *Thales* the *Mileſian*; but his admeaſurement is not preſerved. The method propoſed by him to do it, muſt be very uncertain; for it was by obſerving the hour when the ſhadow of the body is equal to its height (5).

Of the modern travellers, *Belon*, or rather *Gyllius* (for the other, it is ſaid was a plagiary, and publiſhed the obſervations of *Gyllius* in his own name) (6), makes the breadth of each ſide 324 paces; and the height 250 ſteps, each ſtep being 45 inches high (7). *Marco Grimani*, patriarch of *Aquileia*, and afterwards cardinal, computes it to be 270 paces broad, and as much in height (8). Prince *Radzivil* ſays, it is reported to be 300 cubits every way (9). *Della Valle* ſets down nothing preciſely, but acquieſces in the meaſures of *Belon* (10). *Thevenot* tells us, it is 520 feet high, on a ſquare baſe of 682 feet (11). And *Le Bruyn* calculates the

(1) *Herod. l.* ii. *c.* 127. (2) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 57. (3) *Strabo, l.* xvii. *p.* 1161. (4) *Plin. l.* xxxvi. *c.* 12. (5) *Plin. ibid. Vid. Diog. Laert. in vita Thaletis.* (6) *Vid. Thuan. hiſt. l.* xvi. (7) *Bellon. obſerv. l.* ii. *c.* 44. (8) *Apud Kircher Oedip. vol.* iii. *p.* 294. (9) *Radzivil. Ieroſol. perigr. p.* 161. (10) *Della Valle, let.* xi. *p.* 359. (11) *Theven. voy. l.* i. *c.* 5.

height

of the antients have exceſſively magnified the height of theſe pyramids, yet the biggeſt falls ſhort of the height of *St. Paul*'s church in *London*; which, from the ground to the top of the lantern only, is no leſs than 470 feet. If we imagine on the ſides of the baſis, which is perfectly ſquare, four equilateral triangles mutually inclining till they meet in a point (for ſo the top ſeems to thoſe who ſtand below), then we ſhall have a juſt idea of the true dimenſions and figure of this pyramid; the *area* of whoſe baſis contains 480,249 ſquare feet, or ſomething more than eleven *Engliſh* acres of ground; a proportion ſo monſtrous, that did not the antients atteſt as much, and ſome of them more (G), it might appear incredible.

*The outſide of the pyramid.*

THE aſcent to the top of the pyramid is contrived by degrees, or ſteps, the lowermoſt of which is near four feet in height, and three in breadth; and, running about the pyramid in a level, made a narrow walk, when the ſtones were intire, on every ſide. The ſecond degree is like the firſt, benching in near three feet. In the ſame manner is the third row placed on the ſecond; and the reſt in order, like ſo many ſtairs, riſing one above another to the top; which ends not in a point, as mathematical pyramids do, but in a little flat, or ſquare, of 13,280 *Engliſh* feet broad, and conſiſting of nine ſtones, beſides

height to be 112 fathom; which, at five feet and an half to the fathom, is 616 feet: and the breadth 300 paces, or 128 fathom; that is, according to the ſame proportion, 704 feet (12). *Wanſleb* ſays, the ſides of the pyramids are not equal; it being viſible in the largeſt, and ſo in the others, that the north-ſide is longer than that which ſtretches from eaſt to weſt (an expreſſion which we do not well underſtand): the dimenſions he gives us, are thoſe of *Thevenot* (13). The *Arab* writers make the perpendicular height 317 cubits, and the breadth of each ſide 460 (14).

(G) The area, according to *Herodotus*, muſt be 640,000, and, according to *Diodorus*, 490,000 ſquare feet. *Pliny* allows the baſis but eight *Roman jugera*; which is, probably, a miſtake of the tranſcriber; for the ſquare of the ſide, by his own admeaſurement, muſt be no leſs than 779,689 *Roman* feet, almoſt equal to 28 *jugera* (1).

(12) *Le Bruyn. voy. vol.* ii. *p.* 137, 138. *Plin. l.* xxxvi. *c.* 12.

(13) *Wanſleb, apud Ray. collect. of travels,*

(14) *Vid. Kircher, ubi ſupr. p.* 300.

(1) *Vid.*

two, which are wanting at the corners (H). This pyramid, by reaſon of the ſtones being worn by the weather, cannot be conveniently aſcended, except on the ſouth ſide, or at the north-eaſt angle. The ſteps are made of maſſy and poliſhed ſtones, ſaid to have been hewn out of the *Arabian* mountains [m], which bound the upper *Egypt* on the eaſt; and are ſo vaſt, that the breadth and depth of every ſtep is one ſingle ſtone. *Herodotus* makes the leaſt ſtone to be 30 feet [n]; and this may be granted in ſome, but not in all, unleſs his words be underſtood of cubical feet; which dimenſion, or a greater, in the exterior ones, may, without difficulty, be admitted. It is alſo to be obſerved, that the ſteps are not all of equal depth; for ſome are near four feet, and others want of three, diminiſhing the higher one aſcends: and the breadth of them is proportionable to their depth; ſo that a right line, extended from the baſis to the top, will equally touch the outward angle of every degree. The number of theſe ſteps is not mentioned by any of the antients; but modern

[m] Herod. & Diod. ubi ſup. [n] Herod. ubi ſup. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9.

(H) *Herodotus* gives no dimenſions of this flat; *Diodorus* ſays, it is nine feet (2); but *Pliny* ſeems to make it 25 if we rightly underſtand the paſſage of that author; for *Hardouin* is ſurely miſtaken, in ſuppoſing him to mean, that the pyramid was 15000 feet high (3). *Belon* ſays, the diameter is two paces (4), *Radzivil* 10 cubits (5), and *Thevenot* about 16 feet and two thirds (6). They differ alſo in the number of ſtones which cover it; one will have it a ſingle ſtone (7); another counts three (8); and a third 11 or 12 (9).

On this platform *Proclus* ſuppoſed the *Egyptian* prieſts made their aſtronomical obſervations (10); but it is far from being probable, that theſe ſtructures were deſigned for obſervatories. And it is ſcarce to be conceived, that the prieſts would take the pains to aſcend ſo high, when they might make the ſame obſervations with more eaſe, and as much certainty, below; having as free and open a proſpect of the heavens, and over the plains of *Egypt*, from the rock itſelf, as from the tops of the pyramids (11).

(2) *Diod. Sic. l.* i. *p.* 57. (3) *Plin. ubi ſupr. Vid. Harduin. in loc.* (4) *Belon, ubi ſupr.* (5) *Radziv. Ieroſ. pereg. p.* 162. (6) *Thev. ubi ſupr.* (7) *Voy. de Villamont.* (8) *Sandys's trav. p.* 100. (9) *Theven. ubi ſupr.* (10) *Procl. in Tim.* (11) *Greaves, ubi ſupr. p.* 73. *Vid. Ciceron. de divinat. l.* i.

travellers differ very much in their computation (I). Our author, and two others, counted them very carefully, and found them to be 207; though one of them, in deſcending, reckoned 208.

HENCE it may be conſidered, how far we may credit what ſome ſay, *viz.* that an arrow ſhot from the top of this pyramid cannot fly beyond the baſis, but will fall on ſome of the ſteps; it being certain, that an indifferent arm can eaſily ſhoot an arrow much farther than one half of the breadth of this pyramid: it is confeſſed, however, that a man, unleſs he be very ſtrong, cannot throw a ſtone from the top, ſo as to make it fall beyond the ſteps [o]. Some of the antients have reported, that theſe pyramids caſt no ſhadow [p]; which, if taken ſtrictly, muſt be alſo a miſtake: it is true, for almoſt three quarters of the year they caſt no ſhadow at noon; but in winter they certainly do.

*The inſide of it.* AS to the inſide of this pyramid, the antients are altogether ſilent; except only, that *Herodotus* ſays, there were ſubterraneous vaults built within the hill on which it ſtands; and that the founder of it conveyed the water of the *Nile* thither by a trench, and formed a little iſland in the midſt of the water, deſigning to place his ſepulchre on that ground [q]. *Strabo* alſo mentions an oblique entrance into this pyramid, to be ſeen on removing a ſtone, which covered it [r]; and *Pliny* takes notice of a well of 86 cubits in depth, into which he ſuppoſes the water of the *Nile* was brought by ſome ſecret aqueduct [s]. What the *Arabs* relate of the inner parts of theſe buildings, is no better than a romance; for which reaſon we ſhall proceed to thoſe accounts that may be better depended on.

THE entrance into the pyramid is by a ſquare narrow paſſage, which opens in the midſt of the north-ſide on the 16th ſtep, or aſcending 38 feet (K), on an artificial bank

[o] LE BRUYN. voy. Yet ſee LUCAS, t. i. p. 45. [p] SOLIN. POLYHIST. c. 45. AUSON. idyll. 3. AMM. MARCELL. l. xxii. CASSIODOR. var. 7. form. 15. [q] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [r] STRABO, ubi ſupr. [s] PLIN. ubi ſupr.

(I) *Belon* counts 250, *Sandys* 255, *Lewenſtein* 260, *Helfricus* 230, *Grimani* and *Le Bruyn* 210, *Lucas* 243, and *Thevenot* 208 (12). This laſt author obſerves, it is very difficult to count them exactly; not only becauſe a man may miſcount, but becauſe ſeveral of the lower ſteps are, in ſome places, covered with ſand.

(K) In the following deſcription we have only given the meaſures of *Greaves*, tho' other travellers vary both from him, and one another, therein. But we did not think thoſe variations conſiderable enough to be particularly ſet down.

(12) *See the places quoted above, and Lucas's voy. t. i. p. 45.*

of

of earth. The ſtone that is over it is very big, being near 12 feet long, and above eight wide. This entry goes declining with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in breadth exactly 3463 *Engliſh* feet, and in length 92 and an half. The ſtructure of it has been the labour of an exquiſite hand, as appears by the ſmoothneſs and evenneſs of the work, and cloſe knitting of the joints; a property long ſince obſerved by *Diodorus* to have run through the whole fabric of this pyramid. At the end of this paſſage there is another, like the former, but a little riſing: at the meeting of theſe two paſſages, the one deſcending, and the other aſcending, the lowermoſt ſtone of the roof, perpendicular to it, forms a ſharp ridge, between which and the ſand there is ſometimes not a foot ſpace to paſs through; ſo that a man muſt ſlide on his belly cloſe to the ground, and yet grate his back againſt the above-mentioned ſtone, unleſs he be very ſlender. However, this difficulty is occaſioned chiefly by the ſand, which the wind drives into this place; for if the paſſage be cleared, it is of the ſame dimenſions there as at the entrance. There being no window, or other opening in this pyramid to admit the light, thoſe who would view the inſide muſt carry lights with them.

HAVING paſſed this ſtreight, on the right hand there is an hole of about 89 feet in length, the height and breadth various, and not worthy conſideration: whether this part be decayed by time, or has been dug away for curioſity, or hopes of diſcovering ſome hidden treaſure, is uncertain. On the left-hand, adjoining to the narrow entrance, climbing up a ſteep and maſſy ſtone, 8 or 9 feet in height, you enter on the lower end of the firſt gallery; the pavement of which riſes with a gentle acclivity, conſiſting of ſmooth poliſhed marble, and, where not covered with duſt and filth, appearing of a white and alabaſter colour; the ſides and roof of unpoliſhed ſtone, not ſo hard and compact as that of the pavement: the breadth of this gallery is almoſt five feet, the height about as much, and the length 110 feet. At the end of it there are two paſſages, one low and horizontal, or level with the ground, and the other high, and riſing like the former. At the entry of the lower paſſage, on the right hand, is the well mentioned by *Pliny*, which is circular, and a little above three feet diameter: the ſides are lined with white marble, and the deſcent is by fixing the hands and feet in little open ſpaces cut in the ſides within, oppoſite and anſwering to one another in a perpendicular; which is the contrivance for

deſcending into moſt of the wells and ciſterns at *Alexandria*. This well led perhaps to the vault above-mentioned; but it is almoſt now ſtopped up with rubbiſh, and not above 20 feet deep.

LEAVING the well, and going ſtrait on the diſtance of 15 foot, you enter another paſſage opening againſt the former, and of the ſame dimenſions, the ſtones of which are very maſſy, and exquiſitely joined. This paſſage runs in a level 110 feet, and leads to an arched vault or chamber, ſtanding due eaſt and weſt, of a grave-like ſmell, and half full of rubbiſh; its length not quite 20 feet, the breadth about 17, and the height leſs than 15: the walls are intire, and plaſtered over with lime; the roof is covered with large ſmooth ſtones, not lying flat, but ſhelving, and meeting above in an angle. On the eaſt ſide of this room, in the middle of it, *Greaves* ſays there ſeems to have been a paſſage leading to ſome other place; but neither *Thevenot* not *Le Bruyn* could diſcover any ſuch paſſage.

RETURNING back through the narrow horizontal paſſage, you climb over it, and enter into the other, or ſecond gallery, on the left, divided from the firſt gallery by the wall, in which is the entrance to the laſt-mentioned paſſage. This ſecond gallery is a very ſtately piece of work, and not inferior, either in curioſity of art, or richneſs of materials, to the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent buildings: it riſes with an angle of 26 degrees, and is in length 154 feet from the well below; but, if meaſured on the pavement, ſomewhat leſs, by reaſon of a little vacuity of about 15 feet, before deſcribed, between the well and the ſquare hole: the height of it is 26 feet, and the breadth 6870 feet, of which one half is to be allowed for the way in the midſt, there being a ſtone bench on each ſide of the wall, of one foot and $\frac{717}{1000}$ in breadth, and as much in depth. On the top of theſe benches, near the angle where they cloſe with the wall, are little ſpaces, cut in right-angled parallel figures, ſet in each ſide oppoſite to one another; intended, no queſtion, for ſome other end than ornament. The ſtone of which this gallery is built, is a white and poliſhed marble, very evenly cut in large tables; and the joints are ſo cloſe, that they are ſcarce diſcernible by a curious eye: but what adds grace to the whole ſtructure, though it makes the paſſage more ſlippery and difficult, is the acclivity and riſing of the aſcent. However, the going up is not a little facilitated by certain holes made in the floor, about ſix hands breadth from one another, into which a man may ſet his feet, while he holds by the

bench with one hand. In the ranging of the marble tables, in both the ſide-walls, there is one piece of architecture very graceful; and that is, that all the courſes, which are but ſeven, do ſet and flag over one another about three inches, the bottom of the upper courſe overſetting the higher part of the next below it, in order as they deſcend.

HAVING paſſed this admirable gallery, you enter another ſquare hole, of the ſame dimenſions with the former, which leads into two ſmall antechambers, or cloſets, lined with a rich and ſpeckled kind of *Thebaic* marble. The firſt of theſe is almoſt equal to the ſecond, which is of an oblong figure, one ſide containing ſeven feet, and the other three and an half: the height is 10 feet, and the floor level. On the eaſt and weſt ſides, within two feet and an half of the top, which is ſomewhat larger than the bottom, are three ſemicircular cavities, or little ſeats.

THE inner antechamber is ſeparated from the former by a ſtone of red ſpeckled marble, which hangs in two mortices (like the leaf of a ſluice) between two walls, more than three feet above the pavement, and wanting two of the roof. From this ſecond cloſet you enter another ſquare hole, over which are five lines cut parallel and perpendicular; beſides which no other ſculptures or engravings are obſerved in the whole pyramid (L). This ſquare paſſage is of the ſame wideneſs as the reſt, and in length near nine feet, being all of *Thebaic* marble moſt exquiſitely cut, and landing you at the north end of a very ſumptuous and well-proportioned room. The diſtance from the end of the ſecond gallery to this entry, running upon the ſame level, is 24 feet.

THIS magnificent and ſpacious chamber, in which art ſeems to have contended with nature, the curious work being not inferior to the rich materials, ſtands, as it were, in the heart and centre of the pyramid, equidiſtant from all the ſides, and almoſt in the midſt between the baſis and the top. The floor, the ſides, and the roof, are all made of large tables of *Thebaic* marble. From the top of it to the bottom, there are about ſix ranges of ſtone, all which, being reſpectively ſized to an equal height, very

(L) It may, therefore, be juſtly wondered, whence the *Arabians* borrowed thoſe vain traditions, that all ſciences are inſcribed within the pyramids in hieroglyphics; and alſo upon what authority *Cornelius* (or rather *Ælius*) *Gallus* is ſaid to have therein engraven his victories (1).

(1) *Xiphil. in Cæſ. Aug.*

gracefully in one and the ſame altitude run round the room. The ſtones which cover this chamber are of a ſtupendous length, like ſo many huge beams, lying flat, and traverſing the room, and withal ſupporting that infinite maſs, and weight of the pyramid above. Of theſe there are nine which cover the roof; two of them are leſs by half in breadth than the reſt, the one at the eaſt end, and the other at the weſt. The length of the chamber on the ſouth ſide, moſt accurately taken at the joint or *line*, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 34,380 *Engliſh* feet; the breadth of the weſt ſide, at the joint or line, where the firſt and ſecond row of ſtones meet, is 17,190; and the height 19 feet and a half.

WITHIN this ſtately and magnificent room ſtands the monument of *Cheops* or *Chemmis*, of one piece of marble, hollow within, uncovered at the top, and ſounding like a bell; which laſt particular is mentioned not as a rarity, but becauſe ſome authors have taken notice of it as ſuch. Some write, that the body has been removed hence; but it has been already obſerved, that the founder was not buried in it. This monument is of the ſame kind of ſtone with which the whole room is lined, being a ſpeckled marble, with black, white, and red ſpots, as it were, equally mixed, which ſome call *Thebaic* marble; but Mr. *Greaves* rather conceives it to be that ſort of porphyry which *Pliny* calls *Leucoſtictos*, of which there were, and ſtill are, an infinite number of columns in *Egypt*; though *Burretini*, who accompanied him, imagined this kind of marble came from mount *Sinai*, where he affirmed the rocks to be of the ſame colours, and that he had ſeen among them a great column of the ſame marble left imperfect, almoſt as big as that called *Pompey*'s pillar, near *Alexandria*.

THE figure of the tomb is like an altar, or two cubes finely ſet together; it is cut ſmooth and plain, without any ſculpture or engraving. The outward ſuperficies is in length ſeven feet three inches and an half, and in depth three feet three inches and three quarters. The hollow inſide is in length on the weſt ſide 6488 feet, in breadth at the north end 2218, and in depth 2860. As this monument could not have been brought hither through the above-mentioned narrow paſſages, it is ſuppoſed to have been raiſed and placed there before the roof of the chamber was cloſed. It ſtands exactly in the meridian, or due north and ſouth, and almoſt at an equal diſtance from all ſides of the chamber, except the eaſt, from which it is twice as remote as it is from the reſt. Under it there is

a little

a little hollow ſpace dug away, and a large ſtone in the pavement removed at the angle next adjoining to it, which *Sandys* imagined to be a paſſage into ſome other apartment, but more probably done in hopes of finding ſome treaſure hidden there; it being a ſuperſtitious cuſtom formerly obſerved by the antients, and continued to this day in the *Eaſt-Indies*, to conceal money in their ſepulchres. In the ſouth and north ſides of the chamber there are two inlets oppoſite to one another, ſeven tenths of a foot broad, four tenths of a foot deep, evenly cut, and running in a ſtrait line ſix feet and farther into the thickneſs of the wall: that on the ſouth ſide is larger and ſomewhat round, not ſo long as the former, and by the blackneſs within ſeems to have been made uſe of for receiving of lamps.

THIS is all that is to be ſeen within this firſt pyramid; but there is one thing more to be obſerved, and that is a very ſurpriſing echo, which *Plutarch* takes notice of, and ſays, that it anſwers four or five times [t]; but a late traveller aſſures us, that it repeats no leſs than ten or twelve times very diſtinctly [u]. If we conſider the narrow entrance of the pyramid, and the length of the two galleries, which all lie, as it were, in one continued line, and leading to the middle of the pyramid, we need not be at a loſs to account for this effect; for the ſound being ſhut in, and carried in thoſe ſmooth paſſages, as in ſo many pipes, finding no iſſue out, reflects on itſelf, and cauſes a circulation of the air, which by degrees vaniſhes as the motion ceaſes [w].

SCARCE the flight of an arrow diſtant from the firſt, towards the ſouth, ſtands the ſecond pyramid, of which both antient and modern writers have delivered very little. *Herodotus* ſays, it falls ſhort of the other in magnitude, he having meaſured them both, but he does not give the dimenſions: he adds, that it has no ſubterraneous chambers, neither is the *Nile* conveyed into it by a chanel, as into the former, but that it is of equal altitude [x]. *Diodorus* is ſomewhat more particular, and tells us, that for the architecture it is like the former, but much inferior to it in reſpect of magnitude; each ſide of the baſis containing a ſtadium, or 600 *Grecian* feet, in length [y]; ſo that, by his computation, each ſide ſhould want 100 *Gre-*

*The ſecond pyramid.*

[t] PLUT. de placitis philoſ. l. iv. c. 20. [u] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. t. i. p. 43. [w] Vid. GREAVES, ubi ſupr. p. 67—101. THEVENOT, part i. c. 5. LE BRUYN. t. ii. DELLA VALLE, lit. 11. p. 359, &c. [x] HEROD. l. ii. c. 126. [y] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 40.

*cian* feet of the former pyramid. *Pliny* makes the difference to be greater by 46 feet [z]. Moſt of the modern travellers do alſo agree this pyrrmid to be leſs than the other [a]. *Thevenot* makes it but 631 feet ſquare [b]. However, *Strabo* ſuppoſes theſe pyramids to be equal [c]; and Mr. *Greaves*, on the credit of a perſon who meaſured the ſecond with a line, aſſures us the baſes of both are alike; and that the height, taken by a deliberate conjecture (which it is eaſy to do by reaſon of the nearneſs of this and the former, and their ſtanding on the ſame plain), is not inferior to that of the firſt. This pyramid has no entrance, and is built of white ſtones, not near ſo large as thoſe of the firſt; the ſides riſe not with degrees like that, but are ſmooth and equal; and the whole fabric (except on the ſouth ſide) ſeems quite intire, free from any deformed breaches [d].

*The prieſts lodgings near it.*

ON the north and weſt ſides of this ſecond pyramid are two very ſtately and elaborate pieces of architecture, about 30 feet in depth, and about 1400 in length, cut out of the rock in a perpendicular, and ſquared by the chiſſel; being deſigned, as is ſuppoſed, for the lodgings of the *Egyptian* prieſts. They run parallel to the two ſides of the pyramid, at a convenient diſtance from it; and, meeting in a right angle, make a very fair proſpect. The entrance is by ſquare openings hewn out of the rock, much of the ſame ſize with the narrow paſſages of the firſt pyramid, each leading into a ſquare chamber, arched with the natural rock. In moſt of them is a paſſage opening into ſome other apartments, but dark, and full of rubbiſh. On the north ſide without, there is a line engraved in ſacred *Egyptian* characters [e].

*The third pyramid.*

THE third pyramid ſtands at the diſtance of about a furlong from the ſecond, on an advantageous riſing of the rock, whereby afar off it ſeems equal to the former, though it be much leſs, and lower. *Herodotus* ſays, it is 300 feet on every ſide (M), and, to the middle, built

[z] PLIN. l. xxxvi. c. 12. [a] RADZIVIL. p. 163. LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 46. SANDYS, p. 102, &c. [b] THEVEN. ubi ſupr. [c] STRABO, l. xvii. [d] GREAVES, ubi ſupr. p. 103, &c. [e] Idem ibid. p. 106, &c.

(M) Yet he tells us, that it wants but 20 feet on each ſide of the firſt pyramid, which muſt be a miſtake; unleſs we charge it rather on the copies, and, inſtead of 20, read 500. Mr. *Littlebury*, in his tranſlation of *Herodotus*, ſuppoſes the meaning to be, that this pyramid was 20 feet lower than the former. As great a miſtake as the other.

of *Ethiopic* marble [f]. *Diodorus* gives the ſame dimenſions of the baſis; and adds, that the walls were raiſed fifteen ſtories with black ſtone, like *Thebaic* marble, and the reſt finiſhed with ſuch materials as the other pyramids are built with; that this piece of work, though it be exceeded by the two former in magnitude, yet, for the ſtructure, art, and magnificence of the marble, it far excels them; and that in the ſide, towards the north, the name of *Mycerynus*, the founder, is engraved [g]. *Pliny* writes to the ſame effect, except only, that he makes this pyramid 363 feet between the angles [h]. *Belon* tells us, that it is but a third part greater than that of *C. Cæſtius* at *Rome*; and that it is ſtill perfect, and no more decayed than if it had been newly built, conſiſting of a kind of *Ethiopic* marble called *baſaltes*, harder than iron itſelf [i]. The deſcriptions of other modern travellers concur in the ſame tale as to the ſubſtance, only differing as to ſome circumſtances; ſo that they all ſeem to have copied *Herodotus*, or one another, and, ſurfeited with the view of the two other pyramids, not to have been near this, ſince they ſo conſtantly agree in what is moſt evidently falſe; for they have miſtaken both the quality of the ſtone, and the colour of the pyramid, the whole appearing to be of a clear and white ſtone, ſomewhat choicer and brighter than that in either of the two other pyramids: there are, indeed, the ruins of a pile of buildings on the eaſt-ſide of it, of a dark colour, which might be the occaſion of the error. But *Belon*, and thoſe who follow him, are more inexcuſable in making this pyramid but a third part greater than that of *Cæſtius*, which, exactly meaſured, on that ſide which ſtands within the city, is completely 78 *Engliſh* feet in breadth, to which, if we add a third part, the reſult will be 104, which ſhould be equal to this *Egyptian* pyramid. An unpardonable overſight, of no leſs than 200 feet in very little more than 300; for ſo much, beſides the authority of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, Mr. *Greaves* takes the ſide of this pyramid to be, and the altitude to have much the ſame proportion. The name of *Mycerinus* is not now to be ſeen on it, the engraving having been defaced by time [k].

*A fourth pyramid.*

To the deſcriptions of theſe three pyramids we ſhall add that of a fourth, which ſtands near the *mummies*, and

[f] Herodot. l. ii. c. 127. [g] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 57. Vid. Strab. ubi ſupr. [h] Plin. ubi ſupr. [i] Belon. obſerv. l. ii. c. 44. [k] Greaves, ubi ſupr. p. 108, &c.

which

which we take to be that remarkable one mentioned above. This pyramid would fall nothing ſhort of the beauty of the firſt, if it had been finiſhed: it has 148 ſteps of large ſtones like the firſt pyramid; the platform of it is not even, the ſtones being ſet together without order; which ſhews, that it has not been finiſhed; and yet it is much more antient than the other, as is evident by the ſtones, which are all worn out, and crumbled into ſand. It is 643 feet ſquare, and has its entry at the fourth part of its height on the north ſide, as the former, being diſtant from the eaſt ſide 316 feet, and by conſequence 327 from the weſt. There is but one paſſage into it three feet and an half broad, and four feet high, which, reaching 267 feet downwards, ends in an hall with a ſharp arched roof 25 feet and an half in length, and 11 in breadth. In the corner of the hall there is another paſſage, or gallery, parallel to the horizon, three feet ſquare within, and nine and an half long, which leads to another chamber, 21 feet in length and 11 in breadth, with a very high arched roof, having at the weſt end a ſquare window raiſed 24 feet and two thirds from the floor, by which you enter into a paſſage pretty broad, and of a man's height, parallel to the horizon, and reaching in length 13 feet and two inches. There is a great room or hall at the end of this paſſage, with an arched roof, containing in length 26 feet eight inches, and in breadth 24 and one inch: the floor of it is the natural rock, which on all ſides is rough and unequal, leaving only a little ſmooth and even ſpace in the middle, incompaſſed round with the rock, and much lower than the entry into the room, or the foundation of the wall [l].

*How the pyramids were built.*

In what manner theſe wonderful ſtructures were erected, and by what contrivance the ſtones, eſpecially thoſe vaſt ones in the firſt, were raiſed to that height, has been the ſubject of much ſpeculation. *Herodotus*, whoſe expreſſions are not very clear, ſuppoſes, that when they had laid the firſt range, they raiſed other ſtones thither from the ground, by ſhort engines made of wood; that when the ſtone was lodged on this row, it was put into another engine ſtanding on the firſt ſtep, from whence it was drawn up to the ſecond row by another, there being as many engines as orders of ſtone; or elſe there might be but one engine, which they might remove as there was occaſion. He ſays alſo, that the higheſt parts were firſt finiſhed, and the reſt in order, but laſt of all, thoſe that are loweſt, and next the ground [m]. *Diodorus* imagines the work was erected

[l] Thevenot voy. part i. c. 6. [m] Herod. l. ii.

by

by the help of mounds, which, he ſays, the *Egyptians* pretended were raiſed of ſalt and nitre, and that they were diſſolved and waſhed away by letting in the river [n]. With this writer *Pliny* agrees, adding, that others were of opinion, that bridges were made of bricks, which, the work being ended, were diſtributed into private houſes; conceiving, that the *Nile*, being much lower, could not come to waſh them away [o]. *Greaves* thinks it was done none of theſe ways; but that they firſt built a large tower in the midſt, reaching to the top; to the ſides of which he conceives the reſt of the building to have been applied, piece after piece, like ſo many buttreſſes, ſtill leſſening in height, till at laſt they came to the lowermoſt degree. A difficult piece of building taken in the eaſieſt projection.

If what the antients deliver be true, that the ſtones made uſe of in the building of theſe pyramids were fetched either from the quarries in the *Arabian* mountains, *Thebaïs*, or *Ethiopia*, we need not be ſurpriſed, when we are told, that *Cheops* employed 100,000 men in this labour, 10,000 every three months [p]. But ſome modern travellers, obſerving that theſe ſtructures are built not with marble, but with a white ſandy ſtone, and very hard, rather believe it was dug out of the rock whereon they ſtand [q]. We think a middle opinion the moſt probable; that the aforeſaid rock indeed ſupplied them with great part of the materials, but that the marble of the inner rooms and paſſages was brought thither from ſome other place. *Wanſleb* imagines the greateſt pyramid to be nothing but a rock cut in that ſhape, and covered with a wall of ſtone [r]; a piece of work, to our apprehenſion, full as difficult as erecting a like maſs of ſtones from the quarry.

Diodorus makes the number of men employed in building the firſt pyramid 360,000, and *Pliny* 366,000. It is agreed, that twenty years were ſpent in the work: and *Herodotus* adds, that there was in his time an inſcription on the pyramid, tho' it be ſince worn out, declaring how much was expended in radiſhes, onions, and garlick, for the workmen, which his interpreter told him amounted to no leſs than 1600 talents of ſilver, or about 413,333 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* ſterling [s].

[n] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 57. [o] Plin. ubi ſupr. [p] Herod. l. ii. c. 127. [q] Thevenot, part i. c. 5. Wansleb, ubi ſupr. [r] Wansleb, ibid. [s] Vid. Herod. Diodor. & Plin. ubi ſupr.

(t) Some

SOME late writers think there is no beauty in these structures, except their prodigious size[t], though they might formerly be reckoned among the wonders of the world, when they were, as is supposed, cased with marble, before the later kings of *Egypt* took it away to adorn their palaces[u]; which is a piece of history we cannot warrant. However, a very intelligent traveller judges them, in their present condition, worthy the magnificence of the old *Egyptian* kings; adding, that no prince now in the world (without disparagement to any) is able to raise such a pile of building[w]: and antient writers say, that they were magnificent beyond expression, and singly comparable to many of the greatest structures in *Greece*, considered together; that they exceeded all other works in *Egypt*, not only in the massiness of the building, and in the expence, but also in the industry and skill of the workmen; the *Egyptians* themselves thinking (very justly), that the architects were more to be admired than the kings who were at the expence; for the former erected them by their own abilities and contrivance; the latter, by their wealth received by inheritance, and the labours of others[x].

ONE thing more remarkable in the first pyramid is, that the sides of it stand exactly facing the four quarters of the world, and, consequently, mark the true meridian of the place (N); which precise position could not well have been owing to chance, but was, in all probability, the effect of art and design; and that it was really so, is confirmed by the same position of the tomb within. A permanent proof of the early progress made by the *Egyptians* in astronomy[y].

HERODOTUS mentions a bridge near this pyramid, little less considerable than the pyramid *itself*: but there

[t] FIGUEROA emb. di Persia. p. 281. [u] SICARD, ibid. [x] HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi supr. elog. de Mr. de Chazelles, p. 91. SICARD, mem. des miss. t. ii. [w] THEVENOT, ubi supr. [y] Vid. FONTENELLE, LUCAS, tom. i. p. 366.

(N) Mr. *Chazelles*, who made this observation, and was on the spot in the year 1693, being an excellent mathematician, we shall here set down the dimensions of this pyramid, as taken by him; and the rather, because they come the nearest to those of Mr. *Greaves*. The side of the base is, according to this gentleman, 110 *toises*, which is, as we compute, 704,880 *English* feet; and the perpendicular height 77 *toises* and 3 quarters, or 498,222 *English* feet (1).

(1) *Vid. Rollin, hist. ant. t.* i. *p.* 20.

are

are now no remains of it to be ſeen. It was 40 ſtadia, or about five miles in length, 60 feet broad, and in the higheſt part 80 feet in altitude; all of poliſhed ſtones, and carved with the figures of various animals. This was the work of ten years [z].

*Other pyramids.*

HAVING dwelt ſo long on the deſcription of the pyramids of *Memphis*, we may be excuſed taking notice of thoſe which are to be ſeen in other parts of *Egypt*; obſerving only, that they are not all of the ſame form, ſome being round, and almoſt like a ſugar-loaf, and others riſing with a leſſer inclination, and not ſo pointed at the top [a]. *Lucas* aſſures us, that there are no fewer than twelve pyramids near the cataracts, and two in *al Feyyûm*, nothing inferior to thoſe of *al Kâhira* [b].

*Of the labyrinth.*

THE *Egyptian* labyrinth, from whence *Dædalus* is ſuppoſed to have taken the model of that which he afterwards built in *Crete*, though he therein imitated but the hundredth part of it [c], was a celebrated ſtructure; and yet *Herodotus*, who ſaw it, ſays, that it far ſurpaſſed the report of fame, being, in his judgment, even more admirable than the pyramids [d]. As there were at leaſt three buildings of this kind, antient writers, not diſtinguiſhing them, generally ſpeak but of one, and conſequently with great confuſion and diſagreement.

THEY tell us it ſtood in the *Heracleotic* nome, near the city of *Crocodiles*, or *Arſinoe*, a little above the lake *Mœris* [e]. *Pliny* places it in the lake, and ſays, it was built by *Peteſuccus*, or *Tithoes*, one of the demigods, 4600 years before his time; but that *Demoteles* would have it to be the palace of *Motherudes*; *Lyceas*, the ſepulchre of *Mœris*; and others, the temple of the ſun [f]. It is recorded by *Manetho*, that *Lachares* or *Labares*, the ſucceſſor of *Seſoſtris*, provided a labyrinth for his monument [g]. And *Diodorus* writes, that *Mendes* or *Marus* alſo built one for the ſame purpoſe, which was not ſo conſiderable, on account of its magnitude, as for the artificial contrivance of it [h]: but this ſeems to be a different building from that deſcribed by him a little after; which is, in all probability, the ſame with the labyrinth of *Herodotus*; for they both agree in the ſituation, that it was the work of twelve kings, among whom *Egypt* was at one time divided; and that they built

[z] HEROD. ubi ſupra. [a] LUCAS voy. t. ii. p. 10. [b] Idem, t. i. p. 99. and ii. p. 75. [c] DIODOR. SIC. l. i. p. 55. [d] HEROD. l. ii. c. 148. [e] Idem ibid. c. 149. PLIN. l. v. c. 9. & l. xxxi. c. 13. [f] PLIN. ibid. [g] SYNCELL. chronogr. p. 59, 60. [h] DIOD. ubi ſupra.

it at their common charge, as a public monument of their reign, and were buried there [i].

THIS ſtructure ſeems to have been deſigned as a *pantheon*, or univerſal temple of all the *Egyptian* deities, which were ſeparately worſhiped in the provinces. It was alſo the place of the general aſſembly of the magiſtracy of the whole nation, thoſe of all the provinces or *nomes* meeting here to feaſt and ſacrifice, and to judge cauſes of great conſequence [k]. And for this reaſon, every *nome* had a hall or palace appropriated to it; the whole edifice containing, according to *Herodotus*, twelve; *Egypt* being then divided into ſo many kingdoms. But *Pliny* makes the number of theſe palaces ſixteen, and *Strabo*, as it ſeems, twenty-ſeven [l]. *Herodotus* tells us, that the halls were vaulted, and had an equal number of doors oppoſite to one another, ſix opening to the north, and ſix to the ſouth, all incompaſſed by the ſame wall; that there were three thouſand chambers in this edifice, fifteen hundred in the upper part, and as many under-ground; and that he viewed every room in the upper part, but was not permitted, by thoſe who kept the palace, to go into the ſubterraneous part, becauſe the ſepulchres of the holy crocodiles, and of the kings who built the labyrinth, were there. He reports, that what he ſaw ſeemed to ſurpaſs the art of man: ſo many ways out by various paſſages, and infinite returns, afforded a thouſand occaſions of wonder, as he paſſed from a ſpacious hall to a chamber; from thence to a private cabinet; then again into other paſſages out of the cabinets, and out of the chamber into the more ſpacious rooms. All the roofs and walls within were incruſted with marble; but the walls farther adorned with figures of ſculpture. The halls were ſurrounded with pillars of white ſtone finely poliſhed; and at the angle, where the labyrinth ended, ſtood the pyramid formerly mentioned [m], which *Strabo* will have to be the ſepulchre of the prince who built the labyrinth [n].

TO this deſcription of *Herodotus* others add, that it ſtood in the midſt of an immenſe ſquare, ſurrounded with buildings at a great diſtance; that the porch was of *Parian* marble, and all the other pillars of marble of *Syene*; that within were the temples of their ſeveral deities, and galleries, to which was an aſcent of 90 ſteps, adorned

[i] Idem ibid. p. 59. HEROD. ubi ſupra. [k] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 1165. [l] See the places above quoted. [m] HEROD. ubi ſupra. See before, p. 428. [n] STRABO, ubi ſup.

with many columns of porphyry, images of their gods, and ſtatues of their kings, of a monſtrous ſize; that the whole edifice conſiſted of ſtone, the floors being laid with vaſt tables, and the roof appearing like a field of ſtone; that the paſſages met, and croſſed each other with ſo much intricacy, that it was impoſſible for a ſtranger to find his way, either in or out, without a guide; and that ſeveral of the apartments were ſo contrived, that, on opening of the doors, there was heard within a terrible noiſe of thunder [o].

We ſhall ſubjoin part of the deſcription given by *Diodorus* of a fabric, which, though he does not call it a labyrinth, but a ſepulchre, yet appears to be the ſame we are now ſpeaking of. He ſays it was of a ſquare form, each ſide being a furlong in length, built of moſt beautiful ſtone, the ſculpture and other ornaments of which poſterity could not exceed; that when one had paſſed the outer incloſure, a building preſented itſelf to view, ſurrounded by a piazza, every ſide conſiſting of 400 pillars; and that it contained the enſigns or memorials of the country of each king; and was, in all reſpects, a work ſo ſumptuous, and of ſuch vaſt dimenſions, that if the twelve princes who began it, had not been dethroned before it was finiſhed, the magnificence of it could never have been ſurpaſſed [p]. Whence it ſeems, that *Pſammetichus*, one of the twelve, who, expelling his aſſociates, made himſelf maſter of all *Egypt*, finiſhed the deſign, but not with a grandeur anſwerable to the reſt of the ſtructure; though *Mela* attributes the glory of the whole to that king [q].

The ſolidity of this wonderful building was ſuch, that it withſtood, for many ages, not only the rage of time, but that of the inhabitants of *Heracleopolis*, who, worſhiping the *ichneumon*, the mortal enemy of the crocodile, which was the peculiar deity of *Arſinoe*, bore an irreconcileable hatred to the *labyrinth*, which ſerved alſo for a ſepulchre to the ſacred crocodiles; and therefore ſtrove to demoliſh it. *Pliny* ſays, it was remaining in his days; and that, about 500 years before *Alexander*, *Circummon*, eunuch to king *Nectabis*, was reported to have beſtowed ſome ſmall reparations on it, ſupporting the building with beams of *acacia*, or the *Egyptian* thorn boiled in oil, while the arches of ſquare ſtone were erecting [r].

[o] Plin. & Strabo, ubi ſupr. [p] Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. p. 59, 60. [q] Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. [r] Plin. ubi ſupr. Vid. Strab. p. 1166.

Though

THOUGH the *Arabs* have alſo, ſince the days of *Pliny*, helped to ruin this ſtructure, yet a conſiderable part of it is ſtill ſtanding, almoſt at the ſouth end of the lake *Mœris*, a little to the eaſt, and about ten leagues from the ruins of *Arſinoe*. The people of the country call it the palace of *Charon*, of whom we ſhall ſay ſomething by-and-by.

The remains we ſpeak of retain yet ſome marks of the antient ſplendor of the whole. The firſt thing that preſents itſelf to your view is a large portico of marble, facing the riſing ſun, and ſuſtained by four great pillars of marble alſo, but compoſed of ſeveral pieces; three of theſe pillars are ſtill ſtanding, and one of the two middle ones is half fallen. In the middle is a door, whoſe ſides and entablature are very maſſy; and above is a frize, whereon is repreſented an head with wings ſtretched out along the frize, and ſeveral hieroglyphics underneath. This head is covered with a kind of veil, and ſurrounded with four points of marble, like rays; over this firſt entablature runs a frize, the ſtones of which are cut into the figures of ſerpents, very big below the head, but growing inſenſibly leſs to the tail. On this frize are the ruins of ſeveral doors, in different ſtories, by which probably they entered into the apartments that were above; but they are at preſent intirely ruined: on each ſide of that in the middle there is an *Anubis* full of hieroglyphics.

THIS edifice reſembles none of the four orders of architecture, which we have received from the antients. Having paſſed through the portico, you enter into a fine large hall, all of marble, the roof conſiſting of twelve tables of marble, exquiſitely joined, each 25 feet long and three broad, which croſs the room from one end to the other; the roof, being not arched (as *Herodotus* ſays), but flat, ſtrikes the ſpectator with admiration at the boldneſs of its architecture; it being ſcarce conceivable, how it could continue ſo many ages in a poſition ſo improper to ſupport ſuch a prodigious weight. This hall is at preſent 40 feet high, without making any allowance for the duſt and rubbiſh with which the floor is covered. At the end of this hall, over-againſt the firſt door, there is a ſecond portico, embelliſhed with the ſame ornaments as the firſt, but leſs, by which you enter into a ſecond hall, not ſo big as the firſt, which is covered with eight ſtones. At the end of this room, ſtrait forwards, there is a third portico, ſtill leſs than the ſecond, as well as the hall into which it leads, though it has thirteen ſtones to roof it. At the end of this third hall there is a fourth portico, ſet againſt the wall,

and placed there for ſymmetry only, to anſwer the reſt. The length of theſe three halls is the whole depth of the building in its preſent condition: it was on the two ſides, and eſpecially under-ground, that the prodigious number of rooms and avenues, mentioned by the antients, were built; the halls we have deſcribed having ſeveral openings made in them, through which are paſſages into other rooms on the ſame level, from whence there are ſtair-caſes to go up into thoſe above, and down into thoſe under-ground. Our author, having firſt taken the precaution which *Ariadne* taught *Theſeus*, and provided himſelf with above 2000 fathom of thread, and ſome chopped ſtraw to ſtrew in his way, went into above 150 of theſe chambers; but was often obliged either to creep on his belly, or to remove the rubbiſh which choaked up the paſſages; but, with all his endeavours, he was not able to go very far.

To have a perfect idea of the conſtruction of this edifice, you muſt imagine, that you go from one chamber into another, ſometimes into an alley, which has apertures in ſeveral places anſwering to other avenues, from which often, without perceiving it, you come to the place from whence you ſet out. All theſe chambers and paſſages, where a perfect obſcurity reigns, are not of equal dimenſions, nor of the ſame figure; ſome being long, ſome ſquare, and others triangular.

The diſagreement which may be found between this relation and the accounts of the antients, and even among the ſeveral deſcriptions of the antients themſelves in a building of ſo great variety and extent, need not be wondered at. What is now remaining of it, ſeems to be no more than a fourth part of the inner edifice, which, in all probability, had four fronts, and twelve halls anſwering to them; the reſt being decayed by time, or demoliſhed by deſign, as appears from the prodigious ruins which are to be ſeen all round it[s].

*Of the lake Mœris.*

How admirable ſoever the labyrinth was, yet the lake *Mœris*, by which that monument ſtood, is ſaid to be yet more wonderful. The antients make it no leſs than 3600 ſtadia in circumference[t], which is ſomewhat incredible (O); but

[s] Lucas voy. tom. ii. p. 18, &c. [t] Herod. l. ii. c. 149. Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 49.

(O) *Pomponius Mela* makes the circuit of this lake no more than 20 miles; which being ſo very diſſonant from what *Herodotus* and *Diodorus* have delivered, the critics will have it to be

but later relations aſſure us, that it is not above half a league broad, and a day's journey in length, being in circuit about 12 or 15 leagues [u]: which is prodigious enough, if we conſider, that it was the work of mens hands, as appeared from the two pyramids built in the midſt of it, which were ſtanding in the time of *Herodotus*. In the deepeſt parts it has 50 fathom of water. This lake ſtretches from north to ſouth, and is not fed by the ſea, the adjacent country being exceſſively dry, but by water derived from the *Nile*, by a chanel cut for that purpoſe, 80 ſtadia long and 300 feet broad, through which the water flowed into the lake ſix months of the year, and back again to the river the other ſix months: yet we are told by a modern traveller, that there are two conſiderable ſprings in the lake, which keep it from becoming ever quite dry; though in thoſe years that the *Nile* increaſes but little, it has not much water, and then ſeveral fine ruins are diſcovered, which at other times are not to be ſeen [w].

THIS lake was dug by a king of *Egypt*, called by *Herodotus Mœris*, and by *Diodorus Myris*, whoſe name it afterwards received, to correct the irregularities of the *Nile*, by receiving the ſuperfluous waters when that river roſe too high, and thereby preventing their ſtagnation in other places to the detriment of the land, and by ſupplying water for the lands when the river failed; which was effected by many canals and ditches cut from the main chanel [x]. Theſe canals are ſtill ſubſiſting, and almoſt intire at this day, their number and ſtructure being worthy admiration. And as they were of the greateſt benefit to the antient inhabitants, ſo are they no leſs ſerviceable to the preſent, who, as has been obſerved, attribute theſe works, and, indeed, almoſt all other antient works of public utility, to *Joſeph* [y].

[u] LUCAS voy. tom. iii. p. 63. [w] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. p. 53. [x] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [y] LUCAS, ubi ſup.
See before, p. 426.

be a miſtake in *Mela*'s copy, and have corrected it by thoſe authors (1); but, as we imagine, without reaſon: though we muſt not diſſemble the tradition of the people of the country, who ſay the lake was formerly much larger than it is now; and one place in particular, which the water has left, is become a dangerous quick-ſand, wherein men and cattle are ſometimes loſt (2).

(1) *Vid. Voſſium et alios in Melam, l.* i. *c.* 9. (2) *Lucas, ubi ſup. p.* 64, 71.

THE

THE canal of communication between the *Nile* and the lake had antiently large ſluices to let the water in or out, as occaſion required; and whenever they were either to be opened or ſhut, the charge of doing it was no leſs than 50 talents, or about 12,916*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* On the other hand, the lake brought in a very conſiderable revenue to the prince; the fiſhery, during the ſix months of the river's retreat, yielding a talent of ſilver, or about 258*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* every day to the royal treaſury; and the reſt of the time 20 *minæ*, or a fourth part of that ſum; there being 22 ſorts of fiſh in this lake, and in ſuch plenty, that though a great number of people were employed in ſalting them, yet there wanted hands for the work. *Mœris*, it is ſaid, gave theſe revenues to his wife, to buy her ointments, or, as we expreſs it, for pin-money. The earth dug for the making of the lake was, as the *Egyptians* told *Herodotus*, carried to the *Nile*, and diſperſed by the current of that river [z].

THERE is an iſle in the middle of the lake *Mœris*, of about a league in circumference: but nothing is now to be ſeen of the two pyramids which were built here, tho' they ſay there are ſeveral ruins of temples and tombs in the iſle, with large figures of men and animals. On the farther ſide of the lake there are ſome little mountains with grottos, which were formerly made uſe of for ſepulchres [a].

The inhabitants, at preſent, call this lake, *the lake of Charon*, concerning whom they tell the following ſtory; that, being a perſon of mean extraction, and reſolved to get money by any means, he took up his abode by this lake, and exacted of every corpſe that was ferried over to be interred a certain ſum: though he did this without any authority from the prince, yet he carried on the impoſition for ſeveral years, till, refuſing paſſage to the dead body of the king's ſon, unleſs the uſual ſum were paid him, the cheat was diſcovered: however, he made the king ſo ſenſible of the great advantage it would be to him to continue this duty by his royal authority, that he ordered it to be conſtantly paid for the future, appointing *Charon* his firſt miniſter, and confirming him in his old employment, which he made the firſt poſt in the kingdom. And *Charon* got ſuch vaſt riches in it, that he became powerful enough to aſſaſſinate the king, and mount the throne in his ſtead [b]. There is ſo much correſpondence between this

[z] HEROD. & DIOD. ubi ſupr. [a] LUCAS, ubi ſupr.
[b] Idem ibid.

fable and what the antients ſay of *Charon*, that we could not omit it.

THE time would fail us, if we ſhould go through an exact deſcription of the other buildings, and admirable works of the antient *Egyptians*, though, perhaps, they deſerve it equally with what we have already mentioned; the very ſpoils of them making at this day the principal ornament of *Rome*; where is ſcarce a column, or an obeliſk worthy of note, but what has been formerly brought thither out of *Egypt*. We may, however, find occaſion in the progreſs of this work to ſpeak of what we here omit; and ſhall only take notice, as briefly as we can, of two or three things more, which we judge extraordinary; and for which, we apprehend, we may not hereafter find a more proper place.

*A palace near the Cataracts.*

ONE is a moſt magnificent palace in the upper *Egypt*, not far from *Aſwân*, the antient *Syene*; the ruins whereof are enough to ſtrike a ſpectator with aſtoniſhment. It is as large as a little city, having four avenues of columns, leading to as many *porticos*. At each gate, between two pillars of porphyry, there ſtand two gigantic figures of fine black marble, armed with maces. The avenues conſiſt of columns, ſet three and three together, in a triangle, on one pedeſtal; on the chapiter of each triangle is placed a *ſphinx*, and a tomb alternately. Every column is 70 feet high, all of one ſtone. There are in the whole, in all the four avenues, about five or ſix thouſand of theſe columns, a great many of which are fallen down.

THE firſt hall of this palace is painted with fine pieces of hiſtory, which ſeem as freſh as if the painting had not been long finiſhed. In ſome places they have repreſented the hunting of antelopes, in others feaſts, and a great many young children playing with all kinds of animals. From hence you go into other apartments, incruſted with marble, the roofs being ſupported by pillars of porphyry and black marble. Notwithſtanding the vaſt quantity of rubbiſh, our author made ſhift to get up to the top of this building, from whence he had a proſpect of the ruins of the greateſt city that had ever been, as he thought, in the world. He ſuppoſes it might be the antient *Thebes* [c]; but that city ſtood much lower.

*Grots near Oſyût.*

THE grots near *Oſyût* ought not be neglected. One of them is large enough to contain above 600 horſe in battle array: it is cut out of the rock by the chiſſel, and ſupported

[c] Idem, tom. i. p. 98, &c.

by

by vaſt ſquare pillars of the ſame rock. In this grotto ſeveral little ſeats are made to reſt on; and it ſeems, by ſome footſteps which ſtill remain of them, that formerly the figures of ſeveral deities were painted there; but they are now almoſt intirely defaced. There are a great many other grots in the ſame mountain, more beautiful than this. They are ranged in order, with doors anſwering one another, on which there are ſeveral images of the antient gods of *Egypt* in *baſſo-relievo*; ſome having a ſtaff in their hand, as if they guarded the entrance. In theſe grottos various apartments have been made, and ſome wells ſunk; but, what is moſt wonderful of all, at the farther end there are *catacombs* hollowed in the rock, where are a great number of *mummies*, and tombs adorned with ſculptures in *baſſo-relievo*, which have been almoſt all disfigured by the *Arabs*. Our author went into above two hundred of theſe grots, each of them more ſingular than the other; and he aſſures us there are above a thouſand of them. It is ſurpriſing to conſider the time and number of men that muſt have been employed in a work of ſuch difficulty; there being ſcarce a monument in any other part of the world, which carries ſuch evidence of the power of thoſe who executed it; for which reaſon the people of the country believe theſe grots the work of demons, who have hid immenſe treaſures in them. As to the time when they were cut, and for what purpoſe, it is in vain to expect any light from hiſtory [d].

AMONG the antiquities of *Dandera*, the antient *Tentyra*, there is ſtanding part of a temple, or palace, of ſurpriſing height and dimenſions. The back-part of this ſtructure is a vaſt wall, without any windows, built of large ſtones of greyiſh granite, covered with *baſſo-relievos* bigger than the life, repreſenting the antient *Egyptian* deities, with all their attributes in different attitudes. Two lions of white marble, as big as horſes, ſtand above half the length of their bodies out of the wall. The ſide is above 300 paces long, filled alſo with ſculptures of the ſame kind, and has three lions jutting out, of the ſame ſize with the former. The front of this glorious edifice expoſes to view, in the midſt, a porch, ſuſtained by ſquare pilaſters of a prodigious ſize; a large piazza ſupported by three rows of columns, one of which eight men can hardly fathom, extends itſelf on each ſide the porch, and bears up a flat roof, made of ſtones of ſix or ſeven feet broad, and of an extraordinary length.

*A magnificent ſtructure at Dandera.*

[d] LUCAS, ubi ſupr. tom. ii. p. 76, &c.

This roof appears to have been formerly painted, and ſome colours, which time has ſpared, are ſtill to be perceived. The columns, made of great ſtones of granite, and full of hieroglyphics in relief, have each, on their cornice, a capital compoſed of four womens heads, with their head-dreſs, ſet back to back, and appearing like the faces of a double *Janus*: theſe heads are of a proportion ſuitable to the columns: there is above them an *abacus*, or a ſquare table of ſtone, about ſix feet high, ſomewhat longer than it is broad, which ſupports the roof. A kind of cornice, of a ſingular conſtruction, runs all round this piazza; and in the middle, over the porch, there are two great ſerpents interwoven, whoſe heads reſt on two large wings extended on each ſide. Though theſe columns are above half buried in the ruins, yet one may judge of their height by their circumference; and, according to the proportions of architecture, they ought to be, at leaſt, 44 or 45 feet high, and 120, including the baſis with the capital. From this porch you enter directly into a large ſquare hall, where there are three doors, opening into different apartments, which lead ſtill into others, ſupported alſo by a great many fine columns, but dark, and full of rubbiſh.

As this edifice is almoſt intirely buried on one ſide under the ruins and heaps of ſtones, which have formed a kind of mountain, one may eaſily get up to the top; and, to give ſome idea of its dimenſions, it is ſufficient to ſay, that the *Arabs* had formerly built a very large town upon it, the ruins of which are ſtill to be ſeen. At ſome diſtance from the front, there is a large arch of a beautiful order of architecture, and about 40 feet high, which ſeems to have been the firſt gate.

The tradition of the country is, that this was a temple of *Serapis*; which ſeems to be confirmed by a *Greek* inſcription on the frize, wherein the name of that deity appears; but the whole is ſo imperfectly taken, that there is no forming any certain judgment of it. They alſo pretend, that this temple had as many windows as there are days in the year; and that thoſe windows were ſo diſpoſed, that each anſwering to one of the degrees of the ecliptic, the ſun every day ſaluted the deity who preſided there, through them, in order one after another [e].

We ſhall conclude this ſection, which, is, perhaps, already too long, with a reflection made on occaſion of this

[e] Sic. mem. des miſſions, tom. ii. p. 158. Lucas, tom. *ii.* p. 133, &c.

ſtructure: That if in ſuch cities as *Tentyra*, and ſome others of inferior note, there are found monuments of ſuch exquiſite beauty and grandeur, what ought we to think of thoſe erected in the principal cities, which were the ordinary reſidence of the kings; as *Thebes*, *Memphis*, &c.! And how great an idea ought we to entertain of the power and magnificence of the antient inhabitants of *Egypt*[f]!

## SECT. II.

### *Of the antiquity, government, laws, religion, cuſtoms, arts, learning, and trade of the antient* Egyptians.

THERE are few nations in the world which can pretend to an equal antiquity with the *Egyptians*. Their country is the only one in the world which has borne the name of a ſon of *Noah*; though it be uncertain, whether *Ham* himſelf made any ſettlement there. However, his ſon *Mizraïm* certainly peopled *Egypt* with his own iſſue, which inhabited ſeveral parts of it, under the names of *Mizraïm*, *Pathruſim*, *Caſluhim*, and *Caphtorim*[a]. *The antiquity of the* Egyptians.

AND yet the *Egyptians* themſelves, ignorant of their true deſcent, pretended even to a greater antiquity, aſſerting themſelves to have been the firſt men in the world, who (as well as animals) they imagined muſt have been originally produced in their country, rather than in any other part of the world, becauſe of the benign temperature of the air, the natural fecundity of the *Nile*, and its ſpontaneous bringing forth ſeveral kinds of vegetables, as proper food for the newly-produced men and animals. And, to ſupport this opinion, they inſtanced the great numbers of mice, which were every year bred out of the mud left by the *Nile* on its retreat, ſome of them, as they ſaid, appearing alive, and formed ſo far as the fore-part of the body only, the other part being inanimate, and without motion, as having not yet quite put off the nature of earth[b]. That the concurrence of proper cauſes, in certain ſeaſons, will occaſion a prodigious increaſe of ſuch vermin, is obſerved in other countries; but, as to the other part of the relation, it is not improbable, that the mice which are generated at that ſeaſon in *Egypt*, are of the ſame kind with thoſe mentioned by antient authors to breed in that country, and ſome other parts, which have but two legs[c], and which an incurious

[f] LUCAS, ibid. p. 139.
[a] See before, p. 372—374.
[b] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 9.
[c] THEOPHRAST. in fragm. de animalibus. PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. x. c. 65. HEROD. l. iv.

ſpectator might therefore eaſily take to be imperfect animals, and but half formed. On this miſtaken notion of their original, the *Egyptians* built their hiſtory, reckoning an extravagant number of years, during which they pretended they had the moſt flouriſhing kingdom in the world, under the adminiſtration of their own native kings. However, we are told, that in the time of *Pſammetichus* they acknowleged the *Phrygians* to be more antient, yielding that nation the priority, and challenging only the ſecond rank to themſelves [d].

*Their government and laws.*

THE *Egyptians* are ſaid to have been the firſt who found out the rules of government, and the art of making life eaſy, and a people happy; the true end of politics. Their laws and inſtitutions were not only highly reverenced by thoſe who lived under their immediate influence, but by other nations, and particularly the *Grecians*, whoſe firſt ſages and lawgivers travelled into this country, to acquaint themſelves therewith, and borrowed thence the beſt part of thoſe which they afterwards eſtabliſhed at home.

*Their kings manner of life.*

THE crown of *Egypt* was hereditary: their firſt kings did not live after the manner of other monarchs, or govern by their own arbitrary will and pleaſure, ſubject to the controul of none; but they were obliged to conform themſelves to the eſtabliſhed laws of the land, not only in the management of publick affairs, but even in their private way of life. No ſlave bought with money, or ſervant born in their own houſe, was admitted into their ſervice; but they were attended by the ſons of the prieſts of moſt diſtinguiſhed birth; who, after having had a ſuitable education, were, at the age of twenty, placed about the king's perſon; that, being waited on both day and night by men of ſuch extraordinary merit, he might learn nothing unworthy of the royal majeſty, and be in the leſs danger of falling into any vicious exceſs; which princes ſeldom do, unleſs they find, among thoſe who approach their perſons, encouragers of their debauchery, and miniſters of their paſſions.

THERE were ſtated hours of night as well as day, when the king could not do what he had a fancy to, but was indiſpenſably obliged to give attention to buſineſs, and ſerious employment. When he aroſe early in the morning, the firſt thing he did was, to peruſe the public diſpatches and letters which came from ſeveral parts of his dominions, that ſo he might be well acquainted with the ſtate and af-

[d] HEROD. l. ii. ſub init. See before, p. 345, 346. not. (U').

fairs

fairs of his kingdom. Then, bathing himſelf, putting on ſplendid attire, and aſſuming the enſigns of his regal office, he went to the temple to ſacrifice: the victims being brought to the altar, the chief-prieſt, in the preſence of the king and the aſſiſtants, prayed with a loud voice for the health and proſperity of the king, who governed according to juſtice, and the laws of the kingdom. And on this occaſion he enlarged on his royal virtues, obſerving that he was pious towards the gods, tender towards his people, moderate, juſt, magnanimous, of ſtrict veracity, liberal, maſter of himſelf, puniſhing below, and rewarding above deſert. He then ſpake with execration of the faults which the king might have committed through ſurprize or ignorance; but withal abſolving him, and laying the guilt on his miniſters and council. And this method they took to win their kings to the practice of virtue, not by ſharp admonitions, but by the pleaſing praiſes due to good actions. The ſacrifices being duly performed, the ſcribe read, out of the ſacred records, ſuch of the counſels and actions of the moſt famous men as might be of uſe in life, and fit for imitation; that the king might thereby be inſtructed to govern his ſtate by their maxims, and regulate his adminiſtration, in every reſpect, according to the eſtabliſhed laws.

NOR was the king obliged to this exactneſs in public affairs only; but he was ſo little maſter of himſelf in private, that he could not take the air, converſe with his queen, bathe, or do the moſt indifferent thing, but at certain times, which were particularly appointed and ſet apart for this or that purpoſe. He was not permitted to chooſe what he would eat; but his table was furniſhed with the moſt ſimple food, generally veal or gooſe; and he was allowed but a certain quantity of wine to drink [d]. And this regulation was ſo moderate, that it ſeemed not to have been the inſtitution of a legiſlature, but the preſcription of an experienced phyſician, for the preſervation of health; to which it was ſo conducive, that one of the kings of *Egypt*, named *Tachos*, who had the beſt of conſtitutions while he lived after the frugal manner of his own country, retiring into *Perſia*, ſoon ruined it by the luxurious diet of that nation [e]. It is ſaid, that there was, in a certain temple in *Thebes*, a pillar, with an inſcription on it, containing imprecations againſt a king, who had firſt introduced luxury among the *Egyptians* [f].

[d] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 63, &c. [e] ÆLIAN, var. hiſt. l. v. c. 1.
[f] PLUTARCH de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354.

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So great a reſtraint laid on the prince in matters ſeemingly of little conſequence, is, indeed, extraordinary; but what deſerves greater admiration is, that it was not in his power to ſatisfy more dangerous appetites, by wronging or oppreſſing the ſubject; for he could not puniſh any perſon out of paſſion or caprice, nor give judgment in any caſe otherwiſe than as the laws ordained. And all this was ſo far from being thought hard or diſhonourable by the kings, that on the contrary they eſteemed it a ſingular bleſſing, that, while other men were ſubject to the ill conſequences of indulging their natural paſſions, they were exempt from ſuch dangers, by living up to a rule of life approved of by the moſt prudent perſons. While the princes behaved themſelves with this juſtice and moderation, they were infinitely dear to their people; not only the colleges of prieſts, but the whole *Egyptian* nation, being more ſolicitous for the king's ſafety, than that of their wives, children, or poſſeſſions. Wherefore, ſo long as theſe laws were obſerved, their ſtate was flouriſhing, and the people happy; they extended their dominions by the conqueſt of ſeveral nations, became exceeding rich and populous, and able to adorn the ſeveral provinces of the kingdom with works of inimitable magnificence g.

*The honours paid them when dead.*

The affection of the *Egyptians* to their kings appeared in nothing more than in the lamentations they made for them, and the honours they paid them, when dead; for, upon the death of any of their kings, the whole kingdom went into mourning, rending their garments, ſhutting up their temples, and putting a ſtop to all ſacrifices, feaſts, and ſolemnities, for the ſpace of ſeventy-two days. Companies of 200 or 300, both men and women, having thrown dirt on their heads, and being girt with linen girdles, marched ſolemnly in proceſſion twice aday, ſinging his praiſe in mournful dirges, and commemorating the virtues of the deceaſed. All this while they abſtained from fleſh and wheat, as alſo from wine, and all delicacies; they neither bathed nor anointed themſelves, nor ſlept in their beds, nor uſed the company of their wives; but every one mourned both night and day, as for the loſs of a beloved ſon. In the mean time, the funeral pomp being prepared with great magnificence, on the laſt day, the body was expoſed in a coffin at the entrance of the ſepulchre, where, in purſuance of a law, the actions of his life were recited, and every one was at full liberty to accuſe him. The prieſts pro-

g Diod. Sic. ibid.

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nounced his elogy; and, if the deceaſed had reigned worthily, the numerous multitude aſſembled on the occaſion ſeconded the applauſe of the prieſts; but, if he had governed unworthily, they boldly expreſſed their diſapprobation. It even depended on the inclinations of the people, whether the deceaſed prince ſhould be honoured with a ſolemn burial, which, through their diſlike, was denied to ſeveral. Upon which account (among others), and leſt their dead bodies ſhould be abuſed, and their memory blaſted with eternal infamy, they did their utmoſt to deſerve the good opinion of their ſubjects by an unblameable conduct.

*The politi-cal diviſion of the kingdom.*

As to the adminiſtration of public affairs, each *nome*, or province, had its peculiar governor, who ordered and took care of every thing within his juriſdiction. The lands were divided into three parts; of which one was allotted to the prieſts, and the revenues thereof were employed not only for the maintenance of them and their families, but for providing ſacrifices, and defraying all other expences of public worſhip. The ſecond belonged to the king, and was allotted for the charges of his wars, and for ſupporting the regal dignity with ſplendor. By ſuch an abundant proviſion, he was enabled liberally to reward men of diſtinguiſhed merit; and had no occaſion to lay any burdenſome taxes on his people. The third part was for the ſoldiers, who, having ſo handſome a maintenance, were thereby encouraged to venture their lives in defence of their country: for they thought it abſurd to truſt the ſafety of the whole nation in the hands of thoſe who had nothing dear or valuable at home to fight for[h].

HERODOTUS ſays the *Egyptians* were diſtinguiſhed into ſeven orders of men; prieſts, ſoldiers, herdſmen, hogherds, traders, interpreters, and ſeamen; who took their names from the profeſſions they exerciſed[i]. But *Diodorus* mentions no more than five; prieſts, ſoldiers, ſhepherds, huſbandmen, and artificers; including, probably, the two other orders under ſome of theſe.

*Of the prieſts.*

THE king, prieſts, and ſoldiery, made as it were the three eſtates of the kingdom. The prieſts were held in great reverence and eſteem, not only for their attendance on the worſhip of their gods, but becauſe by their learning and prudence they were of great ſervice to the ſtate; being for that reaſon always near the king's perſon, as the chief of his council, to aſſiſt him with their advice, to give their judgments as to the event of any enterprize, by their ſkill

[h] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 67, 68. [i] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

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in aſtrology, and in divination by inſpection of the ſacrifices; and to read uſeful points of hiſtory out of the ſacred commentaries. Theſe were exempt from all taxes, and the next in power and dignity to the king [k].

THE prieſts wore linen garments and ſhoes, being not permitted to dreſs in any other manner; they took particular care to waſh them often, and have them always clean: and, for greater neatneſs, they ſhaved all parts of their bodies once in three days, and bathed conſtantly twice by day, and twice by night, in cold water, with a great deal of ſuperſtition. The ſervice of every god was performed, not by one, but by many prieſts; and they had a chief-prieſt over them, in whoſe room, when he died, his ſon was ſubſtituted. The prieſthood enjoyed very great advantages, being never diſturbed with domeſtic cares; for they eat the conſecrated bread, and were daily furniſhed with beef and geeſe in abundance, and had alſo an allowance of wine; but were not allowed to taſte fiſh. The *Egyptians*, in general, abſtained from beans; but the prieſts even abhorred the ſight of them, accounting them impure and abominable: whence *Pythagoras* took the averſion he had to that kind of puls.

*Of the ſoldiery.*

THE military men were called *Calaſirians*, or *Hermotybians*, according to the different nomes they inhabited. The *Hermotybians* inhabited the nomes of *Buſiris*, *Saïs*, *Chemmis*, *Papremis*, and one half of the iſland *Proſopis*, from which 160,000 men might be drawn, when they were moſt populous. The nomes of the *Calaſirians* were thoſe of *Thebes*, *Bubaſtis*, *Aphthis*, *Tanis*, *Mendes*, *Sebennytus*, *Athribis*, *Pharbæthus*, *Thmuïs*, *Onuphis*, *Anytis*, and *Myecphoris*; which laſt was ſituate in an iſland over-againſt the city of *Bubaſtis*. And theſe nomes might furniſh 250,000 men at the moſt. The ſoldiers of both denominations were not permitted to learn or exerciſe any mechanical art; but were obliged, from father to ſon, to apply themſelves to the art of war only [m]; wherein, it may be ſuppoſed, they therefore made a more than ordinary proficiency; but their great excellency ſeems to have been in horſemanſhip, and the ſkill of guiding chariots; for which they were particularly and early famous, as appears from Scripture [n]. For neglect of duty, flying in battle, or cowardice, they were puniſhed only by marks of infamy;

[k] DIOD. ubi ſupr. [l] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [m] Idem ibid. [n] Exod. xiv. 7, &c. Cant. i. 9. Iſa. xxxvi. 9.

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it being thought more adviſable to keep them in order by the motive of honour, than the fear of chaſtiſement [o].

THE lands conferred on the militia were exempted from public taxes, as well as thoſe of the prieſts. The portion aſſigned to each man was 12 *aruræ*, every one containing a ſquare of 100 *Egyptian* cubits (A). The king's guard conſiſted of 1000 *Hermotybians*, and as many *Calaſirians*, who were changed every year, that they might all have that honour and advantage in their turn. For, beſides the revenues of their lands, thoſe that were on duty at court had a daily allowance of five pounds of bread, two pounds of beef, and two pints of wine. This liberal proviſion for the militia was alſo an encouragement for them to marry, to people the country, and by that means leave behind them a ſucceſſion of troops ſufficient for the defence of the kingdom [p].

BUT, after all, the *Egyptians* cannot be ſaid to have been a warlike nation: they rather extended their dominions by the colonies they ſend out, than by their arms; however, we ſhall find ſome conquerors of great fame among their kings.

If the *Egyptians* at any time created a new king by election (which ſometimes happened), he was always choſen, eitner out of the prieſts, or the ſoldiers; and if out of the latter, he was immediately received into the order of prieſts, and initiated in their learning and myſteries [q].

THE husbandmen, taking the lands from the king, *Of the* prieſts, and ſoldiers, at an eaſy rent, employed them- *inferior* ſelves wholly in tillage, and the ſon continually ſucceeded *claſſes.* the father in the ſame occupation: thus they became the moſt expert in agriculture of any people in the world. The ſhepherds, in like manner, were always ſhepherds from generation to generation; and, by the obſervations of their forefathers, and their own experience, arrived at great skill in their way; endeavouring to vie with one another in contrivances to increaſe the breed of the flocks they fed. One thing in particular deſerves to be mentioned, which was practiſed by thoſe who fed hens and geeſe. For, not contented with the ordinary way of na-

[o] DIOD. l. i. p. 70. [p] HEROD. & DIODOR. ubi ſupr.
[q] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 354.

(A) The *Egyptian arura* muſt therefore have been ſomewhat more than three quarters of an *Engliſh* acre.

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tural increaſe, they did not ſuffer them to brood, but hatched the eggs by an artificial warmth; and by that means raiſed prodigious flocks of thoſe fowls [r]. The method was moſt probably by ovens, which are ſtill uſed in *Egypt* for the ſame purpoſe, and much ſpoken of by travellers (B).

THE

[r] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupra.

(B) It may not be amiſs to give a ſhort account of this method; which perhaps might be practicable in other countries as well as *Egypt*.

The houſes built for this uſe have a long entry, on each ſide of which are fourteen ovens on the ground (ſome places have more, and ſome leſs), the bottoms and ſides of which are all of ſun-dried bricks; upon them they put mats, and on the mats eggs. The tops of theſe ovens are flat, and covered with ſticks, except two long chanels or hearths of ſun-dried bricks, three or four inches deep, wherein the fires are made, to heat the eggs lying under them in the lower ovens.

Above theſe lower ovens are ſo many other, alſo of ſun-dried bricks, and arched at the top; where are ſome holes, which are ſtopped, or left open, as they pleaſe, to govern the heat in the ovens below. Theſe upper ovens have not only mouths opening into the long entry, but mouths of communication with each other, and every one of them has two of the above-mentioned hearths. The depth of the lower oven is about two feet and an half *Engliſh*; that of the upper above four.

They begin to heat the ovens in the middle of *January*, burning every morning one hundred *kintars* (or hundred weight) of camels or buffaloes dung, and the like proportion at night, till the middle of *February*, about which time the ovens are ſo hot, that one cannot well endure to lay his hand upon the walls.

After this they put the eggs into the ovens to hatch the chickens; which they continue ſucceſſively to the end of *May*. The eggs are firſt put on mats in the lower ovens, ſeven or eight thouſand eggs in number, and laid only double, one upon another. In the upper ovens the fire is made in the long chanels or hearths, from whence the heat is conveyed into the lower ovens. The eggs which are directly under theſe hearths, lie treble one upon another; the reſt, as was ſaid, *only* double.

At night, when they make new fires in the hearths, they remove the eggs that were directly under them, and lay treble, into the place of thoſe which lay on the ſides, and double only; but now, lie treble under the hearth, becauſe the heat is greater there than on the ſides.

Theſe eggs continue in the lower ovens fourteen days and nights: afterwards they remove them into the upper ovens, which are juſt over the lower. In thoſe (there being now no more

THE law which obliged the ſon of the husbandman and ſhepherd to follow the vocation of his father, extended to all arts and trades: for, amongſt the *Egyptians*, a man was under an indiſpenſable neceſſity of taking up his father's employment, and of applying himſelf wholly to that, without meddling with any other. Thus, being cut off from all hopes of riſing to the magiſtracy, and having no room left for popular ambition, they ſtuck cloſely to what they profeſſed. They were never permitted to concern themſelves with civil affairs; and if they happened to attempt it, or undertook any buſineſs that did not belong to their hereditary profeſſion, they were ſeverely puniſhed.

*Of their courts of juſtice.*

THE *Egyptians* were very careful in the adminiſtration of juſtice; for they rightly judged the ſentences pronounced from the tribunals, to be of the greateſt conſequence to the public; and that as nothing could conduce more to the reformation of mens manners, than the puniſhing offenders, and relieving the oppreſſed, ſo nothing could be more deſtructive of ſociety, or a greater cauſe of confuſion, than the ſuffering of bribery or favour in ſuch caſes. For this reaſon they were very ſcrupulous in the choice of their judges; who were men of the beſt reputation, and taken from the three chief cities, *Heliopolis*, *Thebes*, and *Memphis*; ten from each; ſo that their whole

more fire uſed) they turn all the eggs four times every twenty-four hours. The twenty-firſt or twenty-ſecond day the chickens are hatched; which the firſt day eat not; the ſecond they are fetched away and fed.

The maſter of the oven has a third part of the eggs for his coſt and pains; out of which he is to make good unto the owners (who have two-thirds in chickens for their eggs), if any happen to be ſpoiled, or miſcarry.

The fire in the upper ovens, when the eggs are placed in the lower, is thus proportioned. The firſt day the greateſt fire; the ſecond leſs than the firſt; the fourth more than the third; the fifth leſs; the ſixth more than the fifth; the ſeventh leſs; the eighth more; the ninth without fire; the tenth a little fire in the morning; the eleventh they ſtop all the holes with flax or ſtraw, making no more fire; for, if they ſhould, the eggs would break. They take care, that the eggs be no hotter, than the eye of a man, when they are laid upon it, can well endure.

When the chickens are hatched, they put them into the lower ovens, which are covered with mats. Under theſe mats is bran to dry them; and upon the mats ſtraw for them to ſtand on (1).

(1) *Greaves, manner of hatching chickens at Cairo, phil. tranſ. no. 137. Vid. Lucas voy. vol. i. p. 279, &c.*

number was thirty. This tribunal was thought to be no ways inferior either to the *Areopagus* at *Athens*, or to the *Lacedæmonian* ſenate.

THIS venerable aſſembly choſe a preſident out of their own number, whoſe place, as an inferior judge, was, upon his election, ſupplied by the city that ſent him. Their ſalaries were paid by the king, who allowed the preſident a ſtipend proportioned to his ſuperior rank; and, that he might be more viſibly diſtinguiſhed from his brethren, he wore a chain of gold about his neck, from which hung an image of precious ſtones, called by them *truth*. Whenever the preſident aſſumed this enſign of his office, it ſignified that he was prepared to hear cauſes. The court being ſeated, and the eight books, which contained all the laws, laid before them, the plaintiff preferred his complaint, clearly and diſtinctly ſet forth in writing; a copy of which being granted to the defendant, he gave in his anſwer. To this the plaintiff replied, and then the defendant rejoined. Each party having given in two writings, the court took them into conſideration, and, after conſulting together, proceeded to ſentence, the preſident turning the effigies of truth towards the party in whoſe favour judgment was given. All this was done without the clamorous harangues of lawyers, who are too apt to diſguiſe truth, or falſhood, to ſerve their turn, and pervert judgment by their ſpecious rhetoric. The *Egyptians* therefore, ſenſible of the fallacies of oratory, and the evil arts of public pleaders, baniſhed them from the tribunal; nor would they even ſuffer a man to ſpeak in his own cauſe, well knowing the advantage one perſon might have over another by more artful ſpeaking, or greater confidence; but contented themſelves with a ſimple and intelligible ſtate of the caſe in writing, which, being readily underſtood, was as readily decided: by this means every man ſtood upon the level with his antagoniſt, and nothing but the merits had any weight in the determination of a cauſe.

*Their remarkable laws.*

HAVING ſpoken of their courts of judicature, it may not be amiſs briefly to mention ſuch of their laws as are moſt remarkable for their antiquity or uſe.

I. PERJURY was puniſhed with death; it being looked on as ſinful in the ſight of the gods, and deſtructive of human ſociety.

II. HE that ſaw a man killed, or violently aſſaulted, on the highway, and did not endeavour to reſcue him, if he could, was puniſhed with death. If it appeared, that he

was

was unable to give aſſiſtance, he was nevertheleſs obliged to diſcover and proſecute the offenders according to law; which if he neglected, he received a certain number of ſtripes, and was kept without food for three days.

III. FALSE accuſers underwent the ſame puniſhment as the accuſed ſhould have undergone in caſe of conviction.

IV. EVERY *Egyptian* was injoined to give in his name, and by what means he gained his livelihood, in writing, to the governor of the province where he lived. But if it could be proved, that he had given in a wrong information, or got his living in an unlawful way, he was puniſhed with death. This law was made by *Amaſis*; and *Solon*, who introduced it among the *Athenians*, is ſaid to have borrowed it of the *Egyptians* [f].

V. He that wilfully killed any perſon, whether freeman or ſlave, was condemned to die.

VI. PARENTS that killed their children were not adjudged to die; but were obliged to embrace their dead bodies for three days and three nights together; a guard being ſet over them, to ſee that they punctually obeyed this law.

VII. BUT parricides were put to a moſt cruel death; firſt their limbs were mangled, and their fleſh cut into ſmall pieces with ſharp reeds; afterwards they were laid upon thorns, and burnt alive.

VIII. WOMEN with child were not executed till they had been delivered; that the innocent might not be involved in the puniſhment of the guilty.

IX. MUTINY and deſertion were puniſhed only by degradation and diſgrace; which could never be wiped away but by brave actions.

X. THOSE who betrayed ſecret deſigns to the enemy, had their tongues cut out.

XI. COINING falſe money, uſing falſe weights, and forgery of all ſorts, were puniſhed by cutting off the offending parts, both the hands.

XII. He that committed a rape on a free-woman, had his privities cut off; for they held a raviſher guilty of three moſt enormous crimes, having, beſides the injuſtice of the action, brought infamy on the woman, and baſtardized her iſſue.

XIII. ADULTERY by conſent was puniſhed in the man, with a thouſand laſhes given with rods; and in the woman, with the loſs of her noſe.

[f] Vid. HEROD. ubi ſupr.

XIV. ACCORDING to the commercial laws, which are ſaid to have been made by *Bocchoris*; if a man borrowed money without giving a note in writing for it, he was diſcharged from the debt, provided he would make oath, that he was no ways indebted to his creditor. The oath in this caſe was very ſolemn, and preceded by ſacrifice.

XV. IN caſes where the debt was acknowleged by proper inſtruments, the intereſt was not to exceed the double of the capital or ſum lent. The debtor's goods, and not his body, were anſwerable for the debt; for his body was claimed by the city or place where he lived, which had the greateſt intereſt in him, and had a right to his ſervice both in peace and war. In ſhort, they did not apprehend wherein the policy lay of ſacrificing an uſeful member of the republic to the cruelty or avarice of a private perſon. This law, or one very like it, is ſaid to have been eſtabliſhed by *Solon* [s].

XVI. To help the circulation of money, *Aſychis* made a law, that a man might borrow on the pledge of his father's dead body, which was to be put into the hands of the creditor; and if he did not redeem it, he was to be deprived of the honour of a funeral himſelf, nor could he have the liberty of burying any perſon deſcended from him; which was accounted the greateſt ignominy [t].

XVII. THE *Egyptian* prieſts were allowed no more than one wife; but all others might marry as many as they pleaſed: nor was any child reckoned a baſtard, though begotten on a ſlave bought with money; for they held the father to be the ſole cauſe of generation, and that the mother only provided nouriſhment and lodging for the infant [u].

XVIII. BY the laws of *Egypt* brothers were permitted to marry their ſiſters; becauſe they had an inſtance of the happineſs of ſuch marriages in that of *Iſis* with her own brother *Oſiris*; for *Iſis* having vowed, on his death, never to ſuffer the embraces of any other, ſhe revenged his murder, governed the kingdom during her widowhood with great prudence, and became the author of infinite benefits to mankind in general. For which reaſon, in *Egypt*, the queen had more power, and more honour ſhewn her than the king; and in marriage-contracts the greater authority was given to the women, the huſbands promiſing to be obedient to their wives in all things [w].

[s] DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 69, &c. [t] HEROD. l. ii. c. 136.
[u] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 72. [w] Idem ibid. p. 23.

XIX.

XIX. THERE was a very remarkable law, or rather a cuſtom which had the ſanction of law, with regard to the *Egyptian* robbers and ſharpers. Whoever entered himſelf of their gang, gave in his name to their chief, promiſing to deliver him all the booty he ſhould from time to time purloin. Upon this account it was cuſtomary for ſuch as had any thing ſtolen from them to apply to the chief of the gang, and give him a very particular account and deſcription, in writing, of what they had loſt; as alſo of the day, hour, and place, when and where they loſt it. This information being given, the ſtolen goods were eaſily found, and reſtored to the right owner, upon his paying a fourth part of their value. The inſtitutor of this extraordinary law thought, that ſince it would be impoſſible to prevent thieving intirely, it would be more tolerable for the injured party to loſe a fourth, by way of redemption, than the whole [x].

*Of the religion of the* Egyptians.

AS much as the *Egyptians* ſeemed to excel other nations in the wiſdom of their laws and conſtitutions, they yet ſurpaſſed them more in bigotry and ſuperſtition.

IDOLATRY was ſo antient among them, that the *Grecians* confeſſed they borrowed not only their religious ceremonies, but the names of almoſt all their gods, from *Egypt*. For the *Egyptians* are ſaid (how truly we ſhall ſee hereafter) to have been the firſt people who erected altars, images, and temples, and the firſt inventors of feſtivals, ceremonies, and tranſactions with the gods by the mediation of others; and alſo to have firſt given names to the twelve gods [y].

THEY had a great many deities of different ranks and orders. Thoſe who were chiefly honoured in *Egypt*, were *Oſiris* and *Iſis*; by which it is moſt probable they originally meant the ſun and the moon (C), whoſe

[x] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 69.

[y] HEROD. l. ii. c. 60.

(C) Agreeably hereto, the name of *Oſiris*, we are told, in the *Egyptian* tongue ſignifies *many-eyed*; an epithet very proper for the ſun; and *Iſis*, *antient* (1).

There are ſeveral other mythological interpretations of theſe two deities. Sometimes *Iſis* is the earth in general; ſometimes only the land of *Egypt*; and *Oſiris* is the moon, or elſe the *Nile*, which is loſt or deſtroyed in the ſea, which they call *Typhon*. At other times *Oſiris* is *Pluto* and *Bacchus*, and *Iſis Ceres*, *Proſerpine*, *Cybele*, &c. One ſuppoſes *Oſiris* to ſignify the efficient cauſe of things, and *Iſis* matter; and another thinks *Iſis* denotes nature in general (2).

(1) *Diod. Sic. ubi ſupr. p.* 10, 11. *p.* 354, 355. *Apuleium, metam. l.* ii.

(2) *Vid. Plut. de Iſid. & Oſirid.*

influences governed and preſerved the world; thoſe two planets being reckoned by them the great cauſes of nutrition and generation, and, as it were, the ſources from whence the other parts of nature, which alſo they looked upon as gods, and to which they gave diſtinct names, were derived. Theſe were *Jupiter*, or ſpirit, the *vis vivifica* of living creatures; *Vulcan*, or fire; *Ceres*, or the earth; *Oceanus* (by which the *Egyptians* meant their *Nile*) or moiſture; and *Minerva* (called alſo by that nation *Neith*) or air.

BESIDES theſe celeſtial and eternal gods, they had alſo terreſtrial and mortal deities, which had merited the honours paid them by the benefits they conferred on mankind in their life-time; ſeveral of them having been kings of *Egypt*: ſome of theſe bore the ſame names with the celeſtial gods, and others had proper names of their own. Such were the *Sun*, *Cronus* or *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Jupiter* (called by them *Ammon*), *Juno*, *Vulcan*, *Veſta*, *Hermes* or *Mercury*, *Orus*, *Venus*, *Pan*, *Arueris*, *Nephthys*, *Harpocrates*, and others [z]. *Serapis* is ſaid to have been an upſtart deity, introduced by one of the *Ptolemies* at *Alexandria* [a]; but others ſuppoſe that to be only another name for *Oſiris* [b], who was alſo called *Bacchus*. As *Oſiris* was ſuppoſed to have been of a good and beneficent nature, ſo his brother *Typhon* was eſteemed the reverſe, and held in univerſal deteſtation for the evils brought by him on his family and nation, as will be mentioned hereafter. The other names of *Typhon* were *Seth*, *Bebon*, and *Smy* [c].

THOUGH the bodies of theſe mortal deities remained in their ſepulchres on earth, yet they believed their ſouls ſhone in the ſtars in heaven; the ſoul of *Iſis* in particular in the dog-ſtar, called by them *Sothis*; the ſoul of *Orus* in *Orion*; and that of *Typhon* in the bear [d].

NOTWITHSTANDING this polytheiſm of the *Egyptians*, they are yet ſaid in reality to have acknowleged one ſupreme GOD, the maker and ruler of the world, whom they ſometimes denoted by the name of *Oſiris*, or *Serapis*, ſometimes by that of *Iſis*, and at other times by that of *Neith*, on whoſe temple at *Sais* was the following remarkable inſcription; *I am all that hath been, is, and ſhall be; and my veil hath no mortal yet uncovered* [e]. There is alſo an in-

[z] Vid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. p. 11, &c. [a] ORIGEN. cont. Celſ. Vid. TACIT. hiſt. l. xx. [b] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 362. [c] Idem ibid. p. 367. [d] Idem ibid. p. 359. [e] Idem ibid. p. 354.

ſcription

ſcription to *Iſis* ſtill remaining at *Capua*, to this effect; *To thee, who, being one, art all things, the goddeſs* Iſis [f]. The inhabitants of *Thebais* are reported to have worſhiped only the immortal and unbegotten god *Cneph*, or *Emeph*; for which reaſon they were exempt from all contributions towards the maintenance of the ſacred animals which were worſhiped in the lower *Egypt* [g]. From this god *Cneph*, they ſuppoſed a ſecondary god proceeded, repreſenting the world, and was called *Phtha*, which word is at preſent uſed among the *Copts* to ſignify the divine being [h].

HOWEVER, the idolatrous humour which prevailed at firſt perhaps only in ſome parts of *Egypt*, appears at length to have intirely over-run it; and, what ſeems ſcarcely credible, they came at length to beſtow divine honours on ſeveral animals, nay, even on vegetables, as leeks and onions; and that with ſo great variety and diſagreement among themſelves, that, except ſome of the principal gods, who were honoured all over the kingdom, the worſhip of every deity was confined to one or two cities or provinces: whence it came to paſs, that a great number of the chief cities of *Egypt* were by the *Grecians* named after the gods or animals that were worſhiped there; as *Dioſpolis*, or the city of *Jupiter*, *Heliopolis*, or the city of the ſun; and in the ſame manner others bore the names of *Pan*, *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Hermes*, *Hercules*, and *Venus*; and alſo of the *dog*, the *lion*, the *wolf*, the *crocodile*, the fiſhes *latos*, *oxyrynchus*, *phagrus*, &c.

THIS diverſity of worſhip was ſometimes attended with very ill conſequences, eſpecially if their deities happened to be ſuch as were naturally enemies to one another; the inhabitants of one place often paying their adoration to that kind of animals which were held in the greateſt abhorrence by their neighbours. Hence proceeded inveterate quarrels, and dangerous wars; as happened in particular between thoſe of *Heracleopolis* who worſhiped the *ichneumon*, and thoſe of *Arſinoe* who worſhiped the crocodile; and, to mention no more, between the cities of *Oxyrynchus* and *Cynopolis*, the former of which ſacrificed and eat dogs, the deity of the latter, in revenge for their eating that ſort of fiſh which was the object of their own worſhip [i]. It was thought, however, that the kings themſelves, out of po-

[f] Vid. CUDWORTH intell. ſyſt. p. 412, &c. [g] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 359. Vid. IAMBLICH. de myſt. § 8. c. 3. [h] See before, p. 27. [i] PLUTARCH. ubi ſup. p. 380. Vid. JUVEN. ſat. XV. & ATHANASIUM orat. contr. Julian.

licy, firſt occaſioned, or at leaſt encouraged and fomented theſe diſſenſions, to divert the people from attempting any thing againſt the ſtate; for *Diodorus* tells us, that one of their firſt and moſt prudent kings, finding the *Egyptians* very prone to ſedition, injoined to each province the worſhip of ſome particular animal different from all the reſt, and likewiſe to uſe a different diet; ſo that the *Egyptians* being by this means divided into ſo many diſtinct ſocieties, prejudiced againſt each other in religious matters, and mutually deſpiſing one another on account of their different cuſtoms in the ordinary affairs of life, there was no likelihood of their ever uniting again [k].

It would be rather tedious than entertaining, to ſet down all the fables and uncertain traditions, which might be found in antient authors concerning the *Egyptian* gods: ſome of them may perhaps be occaſionally taken notice of hereafter: wherefore we ſhall proceed to give an account of the images by which they repreſented thoſe deities that were moſt peculiar to this nation, and likewiſe of their ſacrifices, feſtivals, and religious ceremonies.

Osiris was variouſly repreſented; ſometimes by a ſceptre and eye, to expreſs his power and providence; at other times by the image of an hawk, becauſe of its ſharp ſight, ſwiftneſs, and other qualities; and in later times in an human form, in a poſture not very decent, ſignifying his generative and nutritive faculty [l]. But the greateſt adoration was paid to his living image, the bull, as we ſhall obſerve by-and-by.

The image of *Iſis* was uſually in the form of a woman, with cow's horns on her head [m], repreſenting the appearance of the moon in her increaſe and decreaſe, and holding the *ſiſtrum* (a kind of cymbal) in her right-hand, and a pitcher in her left; the former ſignifying the perpetual motion there is in nature, and the other the fecundity of the *Nile*. But ſometimes ſhe was repreſented as *Cybele*, with her body full of breaſts, to expreſs her nouriſhing of all things [n].

The ſtatue of *Serapis* was of an human form, with a baſket or buſhel on his head, ſignifying plenty; his right-hand leaned on the head of a ſerpent, whoſe body was wound round a figure with three heads of a dog, a lion, and a wolf; in his left-hand he held a meaſure of a cubit

[k] Diod. ubi ſupr. p. 80.
[l] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 371.
[m] Herod. ubi ſupr. Apuleium metam. l. ii.
[n] Vid. Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 376.

length,

length, as it were to take the height of the waters of the *Nile* [o].

JUPITER, or *Ammon*, the *Egyptians* repreſented by an image with the head of a ram; the reaſon of which, they ſay, was this: *Hercules*, being very deſirous to ſee *Jupiter*, did not, without great difficulty, obtain his requeſt; for the god was unwilling to be ſeen: but at length *Jupiter* yielded to his importunity, and, having ſeparated the head from the body of a ram, and flayed the whole carcaſe, he put on the ſkin with the wool, and in that form ſhewed himſelf to *Hercules*. And, in this manner of repreſenting *Jupiter*, the *Egyptians* were imitated by the *Ammonians*, who were a colony of them and the *Ethiopians* [p].

THE other more famous deities of the *Egyptians* were *Anubis*, *Harpocrates*, *Orus*, and *Canopus*. The firſt was uſually painted with the head of a dog, becauſe he accompanied *Oſiris* in his expedition cloathed in a dog's ſkin [q], and was the guard of him and *Iſis* [r]. Sometimes this deity is confounded with *Hermes*, and then the dog's head may denote his great ſagacity. *Harpocrates* was the ſon of *Iſis*, begotten, as is ſaid, by *Oſiris* on her after his death; for which reaſon he was weak in his lower limbs [s]. This was the god of ſilence, being therefore uſually repreſented with his finger on his mouth; he was always placed near the ſtatues of *Oſiris* and *Iſis*, to intimate that their having been once mortals, was not to be ſpoken of [t]. *Orus* is often confounded with *Apollo*; he was the ſon of *Iſis* and *Oſiris*; and was generally repreſented as a child wrapped up in ſwaddling-cloaths; and ſometimes, by thoſe of *Coptos*, as holding in one hand the privities of *Typhon* [u]. *Canopus* was the pilot of *Oſiris*'s ſhip, whoſe ſoul, after his death, migrated into the fixed ſtar of that name [w], which is one of the firſt magnitude, but not viſible in *Europe* [x]. This god became famous for the victory obtained by him over the *Chaldean* god, *Fire*; the ſtory of which in brief is this: The *Chaldeans* carried about their god, to combat with thoſe of other provinces, all which it eaſily overcame and deſtroyed, none of their images being able to reſiſt the force of fire, till at length the prieſt of *Canopus* deviſed this

[o] Vid. MACROB. in Saturn. l. i. c. 20. SUIDAM in Σάραπις.
[p] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [q] DIOD. SIC. p. 15. [r] Ibid. p. 77.
PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 357. [s] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 358.
[t] VARRO apud Auguſt. de civit. Dei. [u] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 373.
Vid. KIRCHER Oedip. ver. i. p. 214. [w] PLUT. ibid. p. 359.
[x] Vid. PLIN. l. vi. c. 22.

artifice; he took an earthen water-pot full of holes, which he ſtopped up with wax, and, having filled it with water, painted it over; and, placing the head of an old image upon it, produced it as a god. In the conflict, the wax being ſoon melted, the water ruſhed out, and quickly extinguiſhed the fire. In memory of this victory, *Canopus* is uſually repreſented in the manner we have juſt deſcribed, without arms, and having ſcarce any feet to be ſeen [y]. Yet others ſuppoſe theſe were really no more than veſſels filled with the water of the *Nile*, which the antient *Egyptians* uſed alſo to worſhip.

Of the ſacred animals adored by the *Egyptians*, none was held in ſo great reverence as the bull, by which they repreſented *Oſiris*. There were two of this kind kept in *Egypt*, one at *Memphis*, called *Apis*, by the *Grecians Epaphus*, and the other at *Heliopolis*, called *Mnevis*: this laſt was black, and the honours paid to him were inferior to thoſe due to *Apis* [z]. The *Apis* was to be the calf of a cow incapable of bearing another, and no otherwiſe to be impregnated (as the *Egyptians* imagined) than by thunder. The marks which diſtinguiſhed him from all others were theſe: his body was black; except one ſquare of white on the forehead; he had the figure of an eagle on his back; a double liſt of hair on his tail, and a knot like a beetle under his tongue [a]. And others reckon no leſs than twenty-nine marks peculiar to this beaſt [b]. They ſacrificed bulls to *Apis*, but were ſo nice in the choice of them, that if they found but one black hair upon them, they judged them unclean. This ſearch was made by the prieſt with the utmoſt precaution; after which he drew out his tongue, to ſee if he were clean in that part; and in the laſt place he examined his tail, to ſee whether the hairs were natural, and as they ought to be. The beaſt being found without blemiſh, the prieſt tied a label about his horns, and, ſealing it with his ſignet, ordered him to be taken away and ſecured; for it was death to ſacrifice any beaſt of this kind that was not marked with ſuch a ſeal. The order and ceremony of the ſacrifice was thus: the victim being brought to the altar, they immediately kindled a fire; and, pouring wine upon him, they offered their prayers to the god. Then, killing the beaſt, they flayed him, and ſtruck off his head, which they carried, with many imprecations,

[y] Suidas in Canop. Ruffin. hiſt. eccleſ. l. xi. [z] Plut. ubi ſupr. p. 364. [a] Herod. l. iii. c. 27, &c. Vid. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. [b] Ælian, hiſt. anim. l. xi. c. 9.

to

to the market, or other public place, and ſold it to ſome *Grecian*, if they met with any; but if no ſuch perſon were to be found, they threw it into the river, with this form of execration; *May the evils impending over the perſons now ſacrificing, or the* Egyptians *in general, fall upon this head.* This ceremony of libation, and the manner of devoting the head of the victim, was an univerſal practice over all *Egypt*; for which reaſon no *Egyptian* would eat of the head of any animal. But in the choice of their victims, there were different cuſtoms in different places [c].

When the *Apis* died, and his funeral pomp was over, the prieſts, whoſe province it was, ſought out for another with the ſame marks; and, when they had found one, the lamentations immediately ceaſed; and the prieſts led the calf firſt into the city of *Nile*, where he was fed for forty days: from thence he was tranſported in a veſſel with a gilded cabin to *Memphis*, as their god, and turned into the grove of *Vulcan*. For the above-mentioned forty days women only were admitted into his preſence; after which time they were not permitted to ſee the new god. The reaſon they gave for this worſhip was, becauſe the ſoul of *Oſiris*, as they pretended, migrated into a bull of this ſort, and by a ſucceſſive tranſmigration paſſed from one to another, as often as one died, and another was found. But others ſay, that it was becauſe, when *Oſiris* was killed by *Typhon*, *Iſis* threw his limbs into a wooden cow, covered with fine linen, from whence the city of *Buſiris* received its name [d].

The feſtival of *Iſis* was celebrated with the utmoſt ſolemnity; for on the vigil they faſted, and, having prayed, ſacrificed a bullock, taking out the bowels, and leaving the fat, and more noble parts, in the carcaſe; then cutting off the legs, rump, neck, and ſhoulders, and filling the body with fine bread, honey, dried raiſins, figs, incenſe, myrrh, and other perfumes, they proceeded to the conſecration, pouring in great quantities of oil. They ſacrificed faſting, beating themſelves all the while the fleſh lay on the fire; but afterwards they feaſted on the remainder. The offerings of this kind of cattle, whether young or old, were to be unblemiſhed males; for the females, being ſacred to *Iſis*, could not be offered. Whence it was that the *Egyptians* paid the firſt degree of veneration to that creature, and abominated the *Greeks* for diſagreeing in that point with them. When a cow died, they threw her into the river; but

[c] Herod. l. ii. c. 65. [d] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 76.

a bull

a bull was buried without the cities, one horn, and ſometimes both being left above-ground as a mark of the grave. The fleſh being perfectly conſumed, and nothing but the bare bones left, they were tranſported to an iſland of the *Delta*, called *Proſopitis*, from whence veſſels were diſpatched to ſeveral parts of the kingdom, to collect the bones, and carry them away, and bury them together: the ſame was obſerved in relation to other cattle, the *Egyptians* being forbidden to kill any [d].

JUPITER was principally worſhiped at *Thebes*, thence named *Dioſpolis*: they eſteemed the ram ſacred on that deity's account, and, abſtaining from ſheep, ſacrificed goats only: however once a year, at the feſtival of *Jupiter*, they killed a ram, and, flaying the carcaſe, put the ſkin on the ſtatue of the god, bringing at the ſame time an image of *Hercules* into his preſence, in memory of what we have related above [e] concerning theſe two gods: after which, every one preſent gave the ram a blow, and he was buried in a conſecrated coffin.

THE inhabitants of *Mendes*, on the other hand, ſacrificed ſheep, and no goats; becauſe they worſhiped *Pan*, whom they took to be one of the eight moſt antient gods, and always repreſented him with the face and legs of a goat, juſt as the *Grecians* did: not that they imagined him to have been really of that ſhape (for they believed him to be like other gods), but for ſome myſtical reaſon. Though the *Mendeſians* had a religious veneration both for the male and female goat, yet they had a greater eſteem for the former, and paid great reverence to goatherds; particularly to one, who at his death was univerſally lamented. In the *Egyptian* tongue, *Mendes* ſignified both *Pan* and a goat [f].

TO the moon it was their cuſtom to ſacrifice when ſhe was at the full. The victims offered to her were ſwine, which the *Egyptians* held to be impure animals, and were forbidden to offer them to any other deities, than to that planet and *Bacchus*. When they made their ſacrifice to the moon, and had killed the victim, they put the end of the tail, with the ſpleen and fat, into the caul, and burning them on the ſacred fire, eat the reſt of the fleſh on the day of the new moon, though they would not have taſted it at any other time. Thoſe whoſe poverty would not admit of the expence of this ſacrifice, moulded a piece of paſte into the ſhape of an hog, and offered it in ſacrifice.

[d] HEROD. ubi ſupr. [e] See p. 471. [f] HEROD. ubi ſupr.

AT

At the feſtival of *Bacchus*, though every one was obliged to kill an hog before the door of his houſe in the evening, yet they inſtantly returned the carcaſe to the ſwineherd of whom it was bought. The reſt of this feſtival was celebrated in the ſame manner in *Egypt* as in *Greece*; excepting that, inſtead of the *phallus*, the *Egyptian* women carried about little images of a cubit in height, each of which had a *priapus* almoſt as big as the reſt of its body, and ſo contrived with ſtrings as to move. With theſe the women marched in proceſſion, all the while ſinging the praiſes of *Bacchus*, and preceded by a flute g.

They did not think it ſufficient in *Egypt* to ſolemnize the feſtivals of their gods at annual periods only; but they had ſeveral times in the year appointed for that purpoſe, when they viſited, with great devotion, the ſeveral cities where the particular deities were worſhiped.

Thoſe of *Iſis* at *Buſiris*, and of *Jupiter* at *Thebes*, we have already mentioned; only, in reſpect to the former, we muſt add, that, after the ſacrifices were duly performed, the men and women who met together on that occaſion, to the number of many thouſands, diſciplined themſelves with an inſtrument our author dared not diſcover. In which devotion the *Carians* who lived in *Egypt* ſurpaſſed all others, cutting their foreheads with ſwords. The other moſt remarkable feſtivals were thoſe of *Diana*, at *Bubaſtis*, which was the *Egyptian* name of that goddeſs; of *Minerva*, at *Sais*; of the ſun, at *Heliopolis*; of *Latona*, at *Butus*; and of *Mars*, at *Papremis*. Thoſe who aſſembled on ſuch ſolemn occaſions at *Heliopolis* and *Butus*, offered ſacrifices only, without any further ceremony: but the other feſtivals deſerve a more particular deſcription.

That of *Diana*, in the city of *Bubaſtis*, was obſerved after this manner: great numbers of men and women embarked promiſcuouſly together, and during the voyage ſome of the women beat on the tabor, whilſt ſome of the men played on the pipe; the reſt of both ſexes ſinging and ſtriking their hands together at the ſame time. They ſtopped at every city they came to; where, during their ſtay, the women were partly employed in their muſic, and partly in railing at the women of the place where they had ſtopped, or in dancing and ſhewing themſelves naked. At length being arrived at *Bubaſtis*, they celebrated the feſtival with numerous ſacrifices, and conſumed more wine than in all the reſt of the year; for the

g Herod. ubi ſupr. & c. 68.

concourſe

concourſe of people upon this occaſion was reported to have uſually amounted to 700,000 men and women, beſides children.

When they met to ſacrifice to *Minerva* at *Sais*, they hung up by night a great number of lamps filled with oil mixed with ſalt, round every houſe, the tow ſwimming on the ſurface. Theſe burned during the whole night, and the feſtival was thence named, *the lighting of lamps*. The *Egyptians* who were not preſent at this ſolemnity, obſerved the ſame ceremonies, where-ever they happened to be; and lamps were lighted that night, not only at *Sais*, but throughout all *Egypt*. The reaſons for uſing theſe illuminations, and paying ſo great reſpect to this night, were kept ſecret.

At *Papremis* a very extraordinary cuſtom was obſerved; for, after having gone through the uſual form of worſhip, a few of the prieſts, towards the ſetting of the ſun, attended about the image of *Mars*, whilſt the far greater part of them poſted themſelves before the gates of the temple with ſtaves or clubs in their hands; on the other hand, a company of men, who had devoted themſelves to this ſervice, and frequently amounted to above a thouſand, armed in like manner, drew up oppoſite to the prieſts, who guarded the avenues of the temple. The image of the god, which was kept in a gilded wooden ſhrine, and had been removed out of the temple on the eve of the feſtival, and placed in another chapel, was drawn by thoſe few who were appointed to attend it, together with the ſhrine in which it ſtood, on a four-wheeled chariot, back again to the temple. But the prieſts who guarded the entrance refuſing to give them admittance, the before-mentioned votaries, in duty to the god, fell on their adverſaries with their clubs; whereon a violent conflict enſued, the blows being chiefly dealt on the head: inſomuch that in all probability many muſt have died of their bruiſes, though the *Egyptians* would never allow it. The inhabitants of the place accounted for this barbarous inſtitution, by relating, that *Mars* having been educated abroad till he attained to man's eſtate, and coming home to ſee his mother, who was an inhabitant of this ſacred place, her ſervants, having never ſeen him, refuſed to admit him, and forcibly drove him away. Whereupon, retiring to another city, he got together a good number of men, and, returning, fell upon his mother's ſervants, and entered by force; in commemoration of which action this combat was inſtituted.

But

BUT there was nothing ſo remarkable in the *Egyptian* religion, as the prepoſterous worſhip that nation paid to animals; ſuch as the cat, the *ichneumon*, the dog, the *ibis*, the wolf, the crocodile, and ſeveral others; which they had in high veneration as well dead as living. Whilſt they were living, they had lands ſet apart for the maintenance of each kind; and both men and women were employed in feeding and attending them, the children ſucceeding their parents in the office, which was ſo far from being declined, or thought deſpicable, by the *Egyptians*, that they gloried in it as an high honour, wearing certain badges and enſigns, by which being diſtinguiſhed at a diſtance, they were ſaluted by bending of the knee, and other demonſtrations of reſpect. To theſe, and to the deities to which they were ſacred, the inhabitants of the ſeveral cities where they were worſhiped, offered up their prayers; and in particular for the recovery of their children, whoſe heads they ſhaved ſometimes all over, ſometimes only one half, or a third part, and, putting the hair into one balance, and ſilver into the other, when the ſilver overbalanced, they gave it to the keepers of the animals; who therewith provided food for them, which was uſually fiſh cut in pieces; but the *ichneumons* and cats were ſometimes fed with bread and milk.

IF a perſon killed any of theſe ſacred animals deſignedly, he was puniſhed with death; if involuntarily, his puniſhment was referred to the diſcretion of the prieſts; but if a man killed either a cat, an hawk, or an *ibis*, whether with deſign or not, he was to die without mercy; the enraged multitude hurrying away the unfortunate perſon to certain death, ſometimes without any formal proceſs or tryal [h]: an inſtance of which is given in a *Roman*, who happening accidentally to kill a cat, the mob immediately gathered about the houſe where he was, and neither the intreaties of ſome principal men ſent by the king, nor the fear of the *Romans*, with whom they were then negotiating a peace, could ſave the man's life [i]. For this reaſon, if any one by chance found one of theſe creatures dead, he ſtood at a convenient diſtance from it, and with great lamentation proteſted, that he found it dead. And, what may ſeem ſtill more incredible, it is reported, that in time of a famine, which drove the inhabitants to the cruel neceſſity of devouring one another, there was no one perſon accuſed of having taſted of any of theſe ſacred animals.

[h] HEROD. & DIOD. SIC. ubi ſupr. [i] DIOD. ibid. p. 75.

THE

THE extravagant worſhip which the *Egyptians* paid to theſe deities, as to the bulls at *Memphis* and *Heliopolis*, the goat at *Mendes*, the lion at *Leontopolis*, and the crocodile at the lake *Mœris* (D), and to many others in different places, exceeds all belief: for they were kept in conſecrated incloſures, and well attended by men of high rank, who, at a great expence, provided victuals for them, which conſiſted of the greateſt dainties; ſuch as the fineſt flour boiled in milk, cakes, of ſeveral ſorts, made with honey, and the fleſh of geeſe, boiled and roaſted. Thoſe who fed on raw meat were ſupplied with ſeveral ſorts of birds; and moreover waſhed in hot baths, anointed with moſt precious ointments, and perfumed with the moſt odoriferous ſcents: they lay on the richeſt carpets, and other coſtly furniture; and, that they might want nothing to make their life as happy as poſſible, they had the moſt beautiful females of their ſeveral kinds provided for them, to which the *Egyptians* gave the title of their concubines, beſtowing extravagant attendance and expence upon them.

WHEN any of theſe animals died, they lamented them as if they had been their deareſt children, and frequently laid out more than they were worth, in their funeral: as an inſtance of which, it is ſaid, that, in the beginning of the reign of *Ptolemy*, the ſon of *Lagus*, the *Apis* dying of old age (E) at *Memphis*, his keeper beſtowed no leſs than fifty talents of ſilver, or almoſt 13,000*l.* over and above all his ſubſtance, in burying him. And, leſt this ſhould ſeem improbable, we are told, that ſome keepers of theſe creatures had ſquandered away 100,000 talents, a moſt

(D) The crocodile ſeems to be the laſt animal to which mankind could be tempted to pay divine adoration. That it might be done with ſafety, one of theſe creatures was trained up to be tame and familiar, for the purpoſe; and had his ears adorned with ſtrings of jewels, and gold, and his fore feet with chains. He was fed with conſecrated proviſions at the public charge; and, when ſtrangers went to ſee him, which often happened, out of curioſity, they alſo carried him a preſent of a cake, dreſſed meat, and wine, or a drink made with honey, which was offered to him by the prieſts; one opening his mouth, and the other feeding him. When he died, his body was embalmed, and buried in a ſacred coffin at *Arſinoe* (1).

(E) This contradicts that aſſertion of ſome, that the *Apis* was not ſuffered to live beyond a certain time; after which, the prieſts drowned him in a ſacred fountain (2).

(1) *Herod. ubi ſup. Strabo, l.* xvii. *p.* 165. (2) *Ammian. Marcel. l.* xxii. *p.* 227.

immenſe

immenſe ſum, in the maintenance of them [k]. In whatever houſe a cat died, all the family ſhaved their eye-brows; and if a dog, their whole body: nor would they make uſe of any proviſion which happened to be in the houſe at ſuch times. In caſe of a fire, there was generally great lamentation among the *Egyptians*, on account of their cats: for though, when ſuch accidents happened, they took greater care to preſerve the cats, than their houſes; yet many of them periſhed in the flames. The dead bodies of the ſacred animals were wrapped up in fine linen, anointed with oil of cedar, and other aromatic preparations, to preſerve them from putrefaction, and buried in ſacred coffins. Dead cats were carried, to be interred, to the city of *Buba*ſ*tis*; hawks, and the mole, to *Butus*; dogs, bears (of which there are but few in *Egypt*), and a ſmall kind of wolves, no bigger than foxes, were buried where they were found dead: and, in performing this laſt honour to them, the *Egyptians* were ſo exact, that, when they had been abroad in foreign wars, they frequently brought home dead cats and hawks along with them, to interr them; which they did with great demonſtrations of ſorrow, and no ſmall expence, though, at the ſame time, they often wanted neceſſaries [l].

How abſurd and ridiculous ſoever theſe ſuperſtitions may ſeem, yet various reaſons were alleged to juſtify and defend them; though the prieſts generally affected ſilence on theſe occaſions, referring all to certain myſteries, which they might not reveal.

1. THE firſt reaſon alleged was from the fabulous tradition, that the gods, in the early ages, were obliged to transform themſelves into ſeveral kinds of animals, to avoid the aſſaults and cruelties of men, who had conſpired againſt them: but afterwards, out of gratitude for the many benefits beſtowed by them on mankind, thoſe in power ordained, that the creatures, whoſe ſhapes the gods had aſſumed, ſhould be well maintained while they lived, and honourably buried when they died.

2. SOME pretended this worſhip had the following original: they ſay, that the antient *Egyptians* being often routed by their neighbours, for want of a regular diſpoſition of their troops, they, at length, invented the uſe of ſtandards, to diſtinguiſh the different companies; and, for that end, fixed the images of the animals they afterwards adored,

[k] Idem ibid. [l] Idem, & HERODOT. ubi ſup.

on ſo many ſpears, and cauſed the leaders to carry them at the head of each troop; by which means, every man knew his poſt. Their obſerving this order, often gained them the victory, the honour of which they aſcribed to the animals whoſe figures they had uſed for enſigns. Others will have theſe images to have been made uſe of in the moſt early times, to diſtinguiſh the firſt civil ſocieties, who united for mutual defence againſt the violence of their fellow-creatures.

3. A THIRD reaſon is taken from the great uſe and ſervice the ſeveral animals are of to mankind: as the ox for tilling the land; the ſheep for ſupplying milk and wool; the dog for guarding the houſe, and hunting; the *ibis* and hawk for deſtroying the ſerpents, and noxious inſects; the crocodile for defending the country againſt the incurſions of the *Arabian* robbers; the ichneumon for preventing the too great multiplication of the crocodiles; and the cat againſt the aſp, and other venomous reptiles [m].

4. BUT men of better judgment, not ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, which ſeemed to them too weak to excuſe practices ſo diſhonourable to paganiſm, and at which they bluſhed in private [n], urged ſomething more ſpecious in favour of it, by pretending, that the worſhip paid by the *Egyptians* to animals did not terminate in the animals themſelves, but in the gods, whoſe ſymbols they were, and to whom they had ſome peculiar relation. The philoſophers, ſay they, honoured the image of GOD, where-ever they met with it, even in inanimate beings, and, conſequently, much more in thoſe which partake of life. They, therefore, are to be commended, who worſhip not the creatures, but the Supreme Deity through them; which ought to be eſteemed as ſo many mirrors offered us by nature, reflecting the divine image; or as ſo many inſtruments of GOD in the ſupport and preſervation of the world. Wherefore, if ſtatues ſhould be adorned with all the gold and precious ſtones in the world, it is not to them that men ſhould direct their worſhip; for the Divine Nature cannot dwell in the artful diſpoſition of colours, nor in matter which is ſubject to decay, and deſtitute both of ſenſe and motion. And they add, that as the ſun, moon, heaven, earth, and ſea, are common to all men, but have different names in different nations; ſo there is but one mind, and one provi-

[m] Vid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſirid. p. 380—382. [n] Vid. PLUT. ibid. p. 377 — 379.

dence,

dence, which governs the univerſe, and has ſeveral ſubordinate miniſters, though called by different names, and worſhiped in divers manners, and with different ceremonies, according to the laws and cuſtoms of every country [o].

AGREEABLY to this notion, they pretended that the hawk was an emblem of the Supreme Deity, becauſe of its piercing ſight; and ſwiftneſs; the aſp, the cat, and the beetle, were alſo honoured as images of the Divine Powet; the firſt, as not ſubject to old age; and moving without the aſſiſtance of limbs; the cat, becauſe they imagined ſhe conceived by her ear, and brought forth her young by her mouth, repreſenting the generation of ſpeech; and the beetle, becauſe they ſuppoſed there was no female in the whole ſpecies. The crocodile, alſo, they took to be another image of the Deity, becauſe, of all animals, it has no tongue, which organ GOD has no occaſion for [p].

THE relation the ſacred animals bore to ſome particular gods, or the ſervices they had rendered on ſome particular occaſions, or their being typical reſemblances of ſome parts of nature, are alſo mentioned as further reaſons for the great reſpect ſhewn them. Thus it is ſaid, that dogs were worſhiped becauſe they guided *Iſis*, when ſhe ſought for the body of *Oſiris*, which they had guarded from wild beaſts [q]; though this creature afterwards loſt much of its reputation, by eating part of the *Apis*, which had been killed by *Cambyſes*, when no other animal approached the dead body [r]: that the hawk was deified, becauſe one of thoſe birds, in antient times, brought a book to the prieſts of *Thebes*, tyed round with a ſcarlet thread, containing the rites and ceremonies which were to be obſerved in the worſhip of the gods; for which reaſon the ſacred ſcribes wore a ſcarlet fillet, with a hawk's feather on their heads: that the wolf was adored, becauſe *Oſiris* aroſe in that ſhape from the infernal regions, and aſſiſted *Iſis*, and her ſon *Orus*, in the battle againſt *Typhon*, wherein that uſurper was ſlain; or elſe becauſe, when the *Ethiopians* once broke into *Egypt*, a great company of wolves fell upon the invaders, and drove them beyond *Elephantis*; whence that nome was called *Lycopolites*; though others give no other reaſon for the reſpect paid them, than the near relation they bore to dogs: that the crocodile attained this honour, becauſe one of thoſe creatures ſaved *Menas*, an antient king of *Egypt*,

[o] Idem ibid. p. 377, 382, &c. [p] Idem ibid. p. 363, 380, &c. [q] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 77. [r] PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 368.

from being worried by his own dogs, which purſued him to the lake *Mœris*, where a crocodile took him on his back, and carried him to the other ſide of the lake[s]: that the cat was revered as an emblem of the moon, for its various ſpots, fruitfulneſs, and activity in the night[t]: and the goat, the moſt luſtful of all creatures, was the hieroglyphic of that violent impulſe by which men are urged to propagate their ſpecies; and, in honouring this animal, they teſtified their gratitude to the gods for the populouſneſs of their country[u].

NOT to take up the reader's time, in enumerating the other animals worſhiped in the ſeveral parts of *Egypt*, we ſhall conclude what we intend to ſay of them, with *Herodotus*'s account of the phœnix, which fable has given riſe to whatever has been ſince related of that imaginary bird. He tells us, that the phœnix was one of the ſacred birds, which himſelf had never ſeen but in effigy; for he appeared in *Egypt* but once in five hundred years, immediately after the death of his father, as thoſe of *Heliopolis* affirmed. The painters repreſented him with a plumage of crimſon and gold, and of the ſhape and ſize of an eagle. They pretended he came from *Arabia*, and brought the body of his father embalmed, which he buried in the temple of the ſun. And this he performed in the following manner: firſt, he moulded as much myrrh as he could carry, into the ſhape of an egg; and, having tried its weight, hollowed the egg, and put his father into it; he then ſtopped up the aperture again with myrrh, in ſuch proportion, that the weight of the whole might equal that of the egg before the body was put in, and carried it to *Heliopolis*[x].

*Some other inſtitutions of the* Egyptians.

THE *Egyptians* were the firſt who aſſigned each month and day to a particular deity, and obſerved the times of each perſon's nativity; by which they judged of their future fortunes. They carefully regiſtred all prodigies (in which their country is ſaid to have abounded more than any other), with an account of their conſequences; ſuppoſing that, if the like happened at another time, the event would be the ſame. However, they did not pretend to foretel any thing themſelves, but all predictions were delivered by the gods. For if they were not the firſt nation which erected oracles, and introduced the cuſtom of conſulting them, it is however allowed, that the moſt antient and famous oracles among the heathens, particularly thoſe

[s] DIOD. ubi ſup. p. 78, &c. [t] PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 376.
[u] DIOD. ubi ſup. [x] HERODOT. ubi ſup.

of

of *Jupiter* in *Libya*, and at *Dodona*, owed their original to *Egypt* [x]; as will be mentioned in a more proper place.

THERE were ſeveral oracles in *Egypt*; *viz.* of *Hercules*, *Apollo*, *Minerva*, *Diana*, *Mars*, and *Jupiter*; but thoſe which they reverenced above all others, were, the oracle of *Latona*, in the city of *Butus* [y]; and in after-times that of *Serapis*, at *Alexandria* [z]. The ſacred animals, alſo, had their ſeveral oracles; as the apis, the goat, the lion, and the crocodile [a]. The manner of conſulting the apis was, by obſerving into which chamber, of the two that were prepared for him, he entered; his going into one being conſtrued as a good omen, and his entering the other as a bad one: or elſe they offered him food, and, from his accepting or refuſing of it, concluded the anſwer favourable, or the contrary. It is ſaid, that *Germanicus Cæſar* conſulting this oracle, not long before his death, the apis would not eat out of his hand [b].

WE muſt not forget the human ſacrifices which are ſaid to have been offered by the antient *Egyptians*. As red oxen were allowed to be ſacrificed, becauſe of their reſemblance to *Typhon*, who, it is ſaid, was red-haired; ſo men of that complexion were reported to have been ſlain, in former times, by their kings, at the tomb of *Oſiris*: but few of the *Egyptians* having red hair, ſtrangers were the uſual victims; whence it is ſuppoſed the fable ſo current among the *Greeks*, of the cruelty of *Buſiris* to ſtrangers, took its riſe; not from any king of that name, but becauſe *Oſiris*'s tomb was ſo called in the *Egyptian* tongue [c]. Men were alſo, in old times, ſacrificed at *Heliopolis*, and to *Juno*, or *Lucina*, at a city in the *Upper Thebaïs*, called by the name of that goddeſs, who was worſhiped there under the form of a vultur. Theſe human victims were to be approved of in the ſame manner as the calves that were ſearched and ſealed as clean; and three were ſacrificed every day, in the dog-days, being burnt alive, and their aſhes ſcattered abroad: to theſe unhappy men they gave the epithet of *Typhonian* [d]. This barbarous cuſtom was aboliſhed by *Amoſis*, who ordered that ſo many images of wax ſhould be offered in their ſtead [e]: and there was ſo little

[x] Idem ib. [y] Idem ib. [z] PAUSAN. l. vii. RUFFIN. hiſt. eccl. l. ii. c. 23. [a] Vid. VAN DALE de orac. p. 274.
[b] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. viii. c. 46. AMM. MARCELL. l. xxii. c. 15.
[c] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 79. [d] MANETHO apud Porphyr. de abſtin. l. ii. c. 55. EUSEB. præp. ev. l. iv. c. 16, & PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 380. [e] Idem, apud eoſd.

remembrance of it left in the days of *Herodotus*, that, mentioning a fable of the *Grecians*, *viz.* that when *Hercules* arrived in *Egypt*, the *Egyptians*, designing to sacrifice him to *Jupiter*, conducted him to the altar with great ceremony; but that he delivered himself, by killing all who were present; that historian judges those who invented that story utterly ignorant of the *Egyptian* laws and customs. For how, says he, can we imagine, that a people forbidden to kill any kind of animal, except geese, swine, and such bulls and calves as they find without blemish (F), would sacrifice men[f]? However, that there was really such a custom, seems undeniable from good authority, and is confirmed by the impress of the priest's seal, which was set on the oxen that were to be sacrificed, and on which a man was engraved kneeling, with his hands bound behind him, and a sword at his throat[g]. We have formerly mentioned the human sacrifices which were offered to the *Nile*, according to a tradition of the *Egyptians*[h]; but we do not find any notice taken of them in antient authors.

We have mentioned the worship of leeks and onions as one part of the *Egyptian* superstition; but as the historians are silent on this head, we imagine the satirist, to heighten the ridicule, might go a little beyond strict truth[i]; though there might possibly be some foundation for such an opinion, from the scrupulous abstinence of some of that nation from particular vegetables, as lentils, beans, and onions; the latter of which the priests abominated, as some pretend, because *Dictys*, who had been brought up by *Isis*, was drowned in seeking after them; or, rather, because onions alone, of all plants, thrive when the moon is in the wane[k].

Before we quit this subject, the structure of the *Egyptian* temples deserves some notice. The first thing which offered itself to the view was, an avenue, or stone pavement, of a plethron, that is, of about 100 feet, in breadth, or something less, and about three or four times

[f] Herod. ubi sup. c. 45. [g] Plut. ubi sup. p. 363. [h] See before, p. 413. [i] Juven. sat. xv. ver. 10. [k] Plut. ubi sup. p. 353. Vid. Diod. p. 80.

(F) From this passage, and what has been said above, we cannot but think those mistaken who have asserted, that it was never lawful for the *Egyptians* to appease the gods with cattle or blood, but only with prayers and incense (1).

(1) *Vid. Macrob. Saturnal. l.* i. *c.* 7.

as long, having on each ſide a row of ſphinxes, twenty cubits diſtant from each other. This avenue led to a portico, behind which was a ſecond, and ſometimes a third (the number of theſe porticos being not always the ſame). The temple itſelf conſiſted of a ſpacious and magnificent court, and a well-proportioned chapel, in which was generally no image (for the *Egyptians*, in the more early times, uſed none [l]); or, if there was any, it was not of human form, but in the ſhape of ſome irrational animal [m].

FEW nations in the world obſerved their original laws and cuſtoms ſo long as the *Egyptians*; and their exactneſs in obſerving ordinances of an higher nature was not to be admired, conſidering their ſtrict attachment to their own uſages and manners in trivial things; for a new cuſtom was a prodigy, in *Egypt* [n]. *The miſcellaneous cuſtoms of the Egyptians.*

IN the education of their children they were very careful, but they brought them up with great frugality, feeding them with cheap broths, made of common things, and with the ſtems of the papyrus roaſted under the aſhes, and the ſtalks and roots of other plants which grew in the marſhes, ſometimes raw, and ſometimes dreſſed. They went, for the moſt part, naked, and barefoot, during their childhood, becauſe of the warmth of the climate; ſo that the whole expence of a child, from his birth till he arrived at the ſtate of manhood, did not exceed twenty *drachmæ*, or about thirteen ſhillings. As to the inſtruction they gave their children, the prieſts taught them two ſorts of letters, thoſe called ſacred, and thoſe in which their common learning was written; but exerciſed them chiefly in geometry and arithmetic: however, there were few of the inferior claſſes who learned to write and read, except the tradeſmen. But, that they might be uſeful members of the commonwealth, and be enabled to maintain themſelves, they began very early to learn their paternal art, or profeſſion, either from their fathers, or near relations. Muſic and wreſtling they never taught their children, as diſapproving them both: the firſt they eſteemed not only uſeleſs, but even hurtful, ſerving only to emaſculate the mind; and the other they believed did not tend to the preſervation of health, the ſtrength gained by it being of ſhort duration, and the exerciſe itſelf dangerous [o]. One particular of the education of the *Egyptian* youth was very commendable; for they were taught to behave with great reſpect towards

[l] LUCIAN. de dea Syria.
PLAT O in Tim. p. 656.
[m] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 1158.
[o] DIODOR. ubi ſup. p. 72.

their elders, being obliged to riſe up from their ſeats, and to retire, at the approach of thoſe that were more aged; which cuſtom was alſo practiſed at *Sparta* [p].

As to the diet of the *Egyptians*, we have already made ſome occaſional obſervations on that ſubject; to which we may add, that, among them, it was a reproach to eat bread made of barley or wheat; inſtead of which, they uſed a fine flour, called by ſome *olyra*, and by others *zea*, what we call *ſpelt*; and this bread they named *colleſtis*, probably from its glutinous quality [q]. Their uſual drink was (as it is at preſent) the water of the *Nile*, which is very agreeable to the taſte, and ſo fattening, that they never gave it to the apis, leſt he ſhould grow too corpulent [r]. It is true, the water of this river is ſomewhat muddy; but the *Egyptians* have a way of clarifying it, by rubbing the veſſel with pounded almonds [s]. Their better ſort of drink, or wine, as *Herodotus* calls it, was made of barley, becauſe they had antiently no vines in that country [t], or, rather, did not cultivate them; nor do they yet, in any other part than the province of *Al Feyyûm* [u]. So that we are, probably, indebted to this nation for the invention of beer.

The *Egyptians* abſtained from ſeveral ſorts of animals, in different parts of the kingdom, according to the different deities they worſhiped; but they all agreed in the averſion they had to ſwines fleſh, which was accounted, by them, ſo impure, that if a man but touched one of thoſe animals by accident, he went immediately, and plunged himſelf in the river, with his cloaths on: and, for this reaſon, hogherds alone, of all the *Egyptians*, were not ſuffered to enter any of their temples; neither would any man give his daughter in marriage to one of that profeſſion, or take a wife born of ſuch parents: ſo that they were forced to marry among themſelves. They eat fiſh, either pickled, or dried in the ſun; and alſo quails, ducks, and ſmaller birds, preſerved in ſalt, without any other preparation: all other birds or fiſhes, except ſuch as they accounted ſacred, they eat, without ſcruple, either boiled or roaſted. Thoſe who dwelt in the marſhes fed on ſeveral plants which annually grow there, particularly, on the lotus, of which they made a ſort of bread; and on the lower ſtems of the papyrus, the head of which was reſerved for other uſes [x].

[p] Herod. ubi ſup. c. 20. [q] Idem ibid. [r] Plutarch. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 353. [s] Sicard, mem. des miſſ. vol. ii. p. 13. [t] Herod. ubi ſup. [u] Lucas, vol. ii. p. 226.
[x] See before, p. 423, 424.

At

AT their principal feaſts it was their cuſtom, when they began to taſte the wine after ſupper, to bring in a coffin with the image of a dead man carved in wood, and painted, of one or two cubits in length, or, as others ſay, a real corpſe [x]; which was carried about to all the company, by a perſon appointed for that purpoſe, who repeated theſe words diſtinctly; *Look upon this, and be merry; for ſuch as this is, ſhalt thou be, when thou art dead* [y]. This image ſome will have to be that of *Maneros*, in memory of whom they ſung a mournful ſong at their entertainments, which they called by his name. Of this perſon there are various traditions: the *Egyptians* made him the ſon of their firſt king, who died in the flower of his age; others ſay he was the ſon of a king of *Byblus*, in *Phœnicia*, and was ſo frighted by the angry look of *Iſis*, for prying too narrowly into her behaviour towards the dead body of *Oſiris*, that he died ſoon after. This *Maneros* is reported to have been the firſt inventor of muſic; for which reaſon, and the conformity of the ſong to that ſung by other nations in honour of the *Grecian Linus*, *Herodotus* ſuppoſes him to be the ſame with that poet: but, after all, ſome pretend *Maneros* was not the name of a perſon, but of the ſong itſelf; and that the dead image repreſented the fate of *Oſiris* [z].

THE *Egyptians* were very cleanly, both at their meals, and in other reſpects; carefully ſcouring the drinking-veſſels, which were of braſs, every day; and uſing frequent ablutions and purifications. They ſcrupulouſly avoided eating with ſtrangers, as unclean [a]; and for neatneſs, chiefly, it was, that they circumciſed themſelves, which was a cuſtom among them from time immemorial [b], and eſteemed by them ſo neceſſary, that *Pythagoras*, to have the liberty of converſing with the *Egyptian* prieſts, and entering into their temples, was obliged to ſubmit to this operation [c]. One of the fathers tells us, they were circumciſed at the age of fourteen [d]; but whence he had his information, we do not know.

THE habit of this nation was, a linen veſt, fringed at the bottom, which they called *calaſiris*; and over that they wore a white mantle of woolen cloth: but to enter any of their temples in that upper garment, or to bury their dead

[x] LUCIAN. de luctu. SILIUS de bello Pun. l. iii. [y] HERODOT. ubi ſup. c. 45. [z] PLUTARCH. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 357. HEROD. ubi ſup. [a] Gen. xliii. 32. HEROD. ibid. [b] HERODOT. ibid. DIOD. SIC. ubi ſup. p. 24. [c] CLEM. ALEX. ſtromat. i. p. 30. [d] AMBROS. de Abrahamo, l. ii. c. 11.

in woolen, was accounted profane. Their manner of saluting one another abroad was, by bowing very respectfully, letting their hands fall down to their knees[d].

THE *Egyptians*, in several of their manners and customs, seemed industriously to act in contradiction to the rest of mankind: for amongst them it was the custom for the women to be employed in trade and business abroad, while the men stayed at home to spin, and minded domestic affairs; and this, perhaps, gave occasion to that extraordinary law, by which the sons were not obliged to provide for their parents, but the daughters were. In carrying of burdens, the men bore them on their head, and the women on their shoulders. They used to ease nature at home, and eat publicly in the streets; saying, very justly, that such things as were filthy, though necessary, should be done in private; and such as were decent, in public. They kneaded dough with their feet, and tempered morter with their hands. And whereas, in other countries, the places destined for cattle were separated from those of the men; in *Egypt* men and beasts dwelt together[e]. And we might mention several other instances of the like singularity.

THE great virtue of the *Egyptians*, and wherein they pretended to excel all mankind, was gratitude; which they esteemed to be of the greatest service in life, as the only encouragement to beneficent actions. And for this reason it was, that they honoured their princes as gods, supposing that those whom providence had exalted to the throne, and endued with both the power and will to do good to mankind, participated, in some measure, of the divine nature. Hence, also, proceeded the great respect they shewed to the remains of their dead ancestors, and their constant endeavour to testify their gratitude to every person and thing from which they received benefit[f].

*Of their funeral ceremonies.*

THE *Egyptians* are said to have been the first who asserted the immortality of the soul, which, according to their doctrine, when the body was corrupted, entered into some other animal, and passing, by a continual metempsychosis, through the different kinds of animals belonging to the air, earth, and, water, returned again into an human body, after the revolution of 3000 years[g]. For this reason they endeavoured, by art, to preserve the body as long as possible, that the soul might be obliged to continue with it, and not soon pass into another[h]: and as the dead bo-

[d] HEROD. ubi sup. [e] Idem ibid. [f] DIOD. ubi sup. p. 81.
[g] HEROD. ubi sup. [h] SERVIUS in Virgil. Æn. iii. v. 67. Vid. AUGUST. serm. de diversis, & PLATON. in Phædon.

dies,

dies, by the means they uſed, were of long duration, they ſpared no labour nor coſt in building their ſepulchres, which they termed their *eternal manſions*; at the ſame time being little curious in the ſtructure of their houſes, calling them *inns*, where they ſtayed but for a ſhort time; whereas they remained in the other for a long courſe of years [i].

THE mourning for the dead, and funeral rites, in *Egypt*, were antiently theſe: when a man of any conſideration died, all the women of that family, having their heads and faces covered with dirt, their breaſts bare, and their waiſts girt, left the body at home; and, marching in this garb, attended by all their relations of the ſame ſex, through the ſtreets of the city, lamented the deceaſed, and beat themſelves in a moſt cruel manner. The men, at the ſame time, forming another company, mourned after the ſame method. And this they continued till the corpſe was interred; abſtaining in the mean time from bathing, from wine, and from more delicate meats, and laying aſide their beſt attire. The firſt lamentation being over, the body was carried to thoſe who profeſſed the art of embalming, which, like other trades, they learned from their anceſtors. Theſe ſhewed the kindred of the deceaſed ſeveral models or patterns in wood and painted, together with a bill of the charges of each manner of preparation, asking them, which they choſe: for there were three different ways of preparing dead bodies for burial. One was very exquiſite and expenſive, and came to a talent of ſilver, or about 258 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* the ſecond was inferior, and of a moderate price, the charge being 20 *minæ*, or a fourth part of the former ſum; and the third way was very mean, and coſt but a trifle. This preliminary being ſettled, the embalmers took the body, and firſt drew out the brains through the noſtrils with a crooked inſtrument of iron, and filled the vacancy with different ſpices. Then one, whom they called the ſcribe, marked out, on the left ſide of the belly, how far the inciſion was to be made; and the *paraſchiſtes*, whoſe office it was to make the inciſion, taking a ſharp *Ethiopic* ſtone, cut open the body, as far as the law ordained, and immediately retired with all poſſible haſte, purſued, by thoſe who were preſent, with ſtones and curſes, to turn the execration upon him: for they thought it a very heinous crime to wound, or offer violence to, a dead body; but the *taricheutæ*, or embalmers, were highly eſteemed and reſpected, converſing with the

[i] DIOD. ubi ſupr. p. 47.

priests,

prieſts, and being with them admitted, as perſons of ſanctity, into the more ſacred parts of their temples. When theſe came to dreſs the diſſected body, one of them thruſt his hand into it by the wound, and drew out all the inteſtines, except the heart and kidneys; another cleanſed all the entrails, waſhing them with wine of palms, and perfuming them with aromatic odours (G). Then the belly was filled with pounded myrrh, caſſia, and other odoriferous drugs (frankincenſe only excepted); and, the inciſion being ſewed up, the body was carefully anointed with the oil of cedar, and other ointments, for above 30 days, or elſe laid in nitre for 70 days, which was the longeſt time allowed. At the expiration of which term, they waſhed the whole body, and bound fillets of fine linen round every part, covering it with gum, which the *Egyptians* uſed inſtead of glue. And all this was done without diſfiguring the body; ſo that the very hairs remained on the brows and eye-lids, and the reſemblance of the countenance was preſerved, ſo as to be eaſily known[i] (H). The embalmers having performed their parts, the relations received the corpſe, and put it into a wooden coffin, ſhaped like a man, which they ſet upright againſt the wall of the edifice deſigned for that purpoſe (I). For

[i] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. & p. 81. Herod. l. ii. c. 85, &c.

(G) *Plutarch* writes, that, when the belly was opened, they firſt expoſed it to the ſun, and caſt the bowels into the *Nile*, as what defiled the body (1).

(H) This ſeems a little extraordinary, conſidering how the fleſh of the face muſt have been dried by the ſalt; but an eye-witneſs aſſures us, that he ſaw ſome embalmed bodies, in *Egypt*, with the hair, beard, and nails, the fillets, which covered the head and feet, being rotted off (2).

(I) To the deſcription of *Herodotus* and *Diodorus*, given above, we beg leave to add ſome obſervations as to thoſe embalmed bodies, or mummies, as they are now called, which are frequently taken up, and brought from *Egypt*.

The coffins, in which they lie, are very thick, and generally of ſycomore, which, in *Egypt*, they call *Pharaoh*'s fig-tree, and does not rot ſo ſoon as other wood; tho' ſome are of ſtone, and others of cloths paſted together, and very ſtrong. The top of the coffin is uſually cut into the ſhape of a head, with a face painted on it, reſembling a woman; the reſt is one continued trunk, and, at the end of it is a broad pedeſtal, that it may ſtand upright in the reconditory. Some of theſe coffins are handſomely painted with ſeveral hieroglyphics.

(1) *Plut. apud Greaves, ubi inf.*

(2) *Voyages de M. de Breves.*

The

For ſeveral of the *Egyptians* kept their dead at home with them above-ground [k], in magnificent apartments, having, by this means, the pleaſure of ſeeing the lineaments of their anceſtors, who died many ages before they were born; and they often brought the dried corpſe of a friend as a gueſt to their feaſts [l]. The way of embalming which we have deſcribed, was the moſt coſtly manner of preſerving the dead: thoſe who were unable or unwilling to be at ſo great an expence, were contented with a more ordinary

[k] CICER. Tuſc. quæſt. l. i. c. 9. [l] LUCIAN. de luctu.

The bodies appear in this manner: they are wrapped up in a ſhroud of linen, upon which are faſtened divers ſcrolls of linen alſo, painted with ſacred characters: theſe ſcrolls generally run down the belly and ſides, or elſe are placed on the knees and legs. The face is covered with a kind of head-piece of linen cloth fitted with plaſter, on which the countenance of the perſon is repreſented in gold; and the feet have alſo a cover of the ſame, painted with hieroglyphics, and faſhioned like an high ſlipper. The whole body is ſwathed with fillets, or narrow bands of linen, beginning with the head, and ending with the feet, ſo artificially, and in ſo inimitable a manner wound round with ſo many caſts, and turnings, and ſo often one upon another, that there cannot be leſs than a thouſand ells of filleting upon one body; thoſe which cover the head and face being ſo neatly done, that they hinder not, but one may ſee the ſhape of the eyes, noſe, and mouth. On the breaſt is a ſort of breaſt-plate, made with folds of linen cut ſcallop-wiſe, richly painted and gilt: on which is uſually the face of a woman, with her arms expanded.

The inſide of the body is filled with medicaments of the conſiſtence, colour, and ſcent of pitch or bitumen, which waxes ſoft by the heat of the ſun. In a skull of one of theſe bodies, there was found the quantity of two pounds of this preparation, which could not be infuſed any other way than by the noſtrils, as *Herodotus* intimates. And the tongue of one, being weighed, was leſs than ſeven grains *Engliſh* (3). Some curious perſons in vain ſearched one of theſe mummies for the piece of money, which the antient *Grecians* are ſaid to have put into the mouths of the dead, to pay *Charon* his fare (4). We are told, however, that the greater part of theſe embalmed bodies have under the tongue a ſmall plate of gold, worth about two piſtoles (5).

(3) *Thevenot voy. part* i. *c.* 6. *Greaves pyramidogr. p.* 49, 50. (4) *Vid. Gaſſend. de vita Peireſc. l.* iv. (5) *Burretini apud Thevenot, relat. part.* i. *p.* 25.

preparation;

preparation; which was performed by syringing oil of cedar the common way, without opening the belly, or taking out the bowels, and by laying the body in nitre the number of days above-mentioned; at the end of which they let out the oil of cedar by the fundament, which, by a peculiar efficacy, brought away the intrails shrunk and putrefied; the nitre having consumed the flesh, and left nothing but the skin and bones. They then *delivered* the body to the relations without any further operation. The third and last manner of preserving the dead, used only for the poorer sort, was performed by cleansing the belly by injected lotions, and salting the body for 70 days; after which it was taken away [m]. The wives of considerable persons, and all women who had been beautiful, and dear to their relations, were not delivered to the embalmers presently after death; but were kept at home three or four days before they were carried out, to prevent those artists from abusing the bodies of such persons; for one of them was caught in such an action, upon the information of his companion. If any *Egyptian*, or even a stranger, was found killed by a crocodile, or drowned in the river, where-ever the body came ashore, the inhabitants were by law obliged, at their own charge, to embalm and place it among the consecrated monuments, in the most costly manner; for none of his friends, or relations, or any other, might touch his body, except the priests of the *Nile*, who buried him with their own hands, as something more than human [n].

When the corpse of the deceased was prepared for the sepulchre, his neareſt relations gave public notice of the day when such an one, by name, was to pass the lake, in order for his interrment; to which the judges and all his friends were invited. At the time prefixed, above forty judges assembled, and sat in a semicircle, in a certain place beyond the lake (which we suppose to be that of *Mœris*). The vessel, whose pilot was, in the *Egpptian* tongue, called *Charon*, being hauled up to the shore, before the coffin which contained the body was suffered to imbark (K); every one was at liberty to accuse the deceased. If an accuser appeared, and made good his charge, that

[m] Herod. & Diod. ubi supr. [n] Herod. ibid.

(K) This is the sense of the original; though it should rather seem, by the judges sitting on the farther side of the lake, that the corpse was actually ferried over; but was not suffered to be disembarked, till sentence had passed.

the

the deceaſed had led an ill life, the judges gave ſentence accordingly, and the body was denied the uſual burial: but if the accuſer was convicted of having accuſed him unjuſtly, he incurred a ſevere puniſhment. If no accuſer appeared, or if the accuſation proved falſe, then the relations, laying aſide their lamentation, proceeded to recite the praiſes of the deceaſed; but took no notice of his deſcent; for all the *Egyptians* were held equally noble: having mentioned in what manner he had been brought up and educated, they declared how he had lived and behaved after he attained to manhood, enlarging on his piety, juſtice, temperance, and other virtues. The aſſiſtants joined their acclamations to this funeral oration, and celebrated the praiſes of the departed. After this, the body was depoſited in the ſepulchre of the family, if they had one; and if they had not, they kept it at home in the manner above-mentioned. Thoſe that were forbidden to be interred, either for crimes by them committed, or for debt, were depoſited privately in their own houſes. But it often happened, that the poſterity of ſuch perſons, growing rich, paid their debts, or obtained their pardon, and buried them in an honourable manner.

It muſt be acknowleged, that this inſtitution of the *Egyptians*, in relation to their treatment of dead bodies, was excellently contrived for the encouragement of virtue, and the diſcouragement of vice. It is very plain, that the *Greeks* took all their fables concerning the infernal judges, and the happineſs and puniſhments of men after death, from this practice of the *Egytians*: but *Diodorus* obſerves, that, inſtead of bringing men to amendment of life by thoſe fables, they incurred the ridicule and contempt of profligate perſons: whereas, in *Egypt*, the reward of the good, and puniſhment of the wicked, after death, was not fabulous or imaginary, but really and daily diſtributed in public, in the ſight of all men[o].

The ſepulchres wherein the *Egyptians* depoſited the bodies of their dead, were built in various manners, according to the perſon's condition. The magnificence of the royal tombs hath been already hinted; thoſe of the antient kings at *Thebes*, as we have obſerved, could not be exceeded by their poſterity. Of the pyramids, which were built for the ſame purpoſe, we have ſpoken ſufficiently; and the ſepulchre of *Oſymandyas* we ſhall mention hereafter. The *Egyptians* of lower quality, at a great expence,

[o] Diod. ibi ſupr. p. 82, &c.

cut ſubterraneous grots, or dormitories, in the rocks; ſuch as thoſe in the *Libyan* deſerts, of which travellers ſpeak ſo much, calling them *catacombes*, or *mummy-pits*. The entrance into them is by a ſquare well, where holes are cut on each ſide for the convenience of thoſe who deſcend. Theſe wells are not of equal depth, but the ſhalloweſt are above ſix mens height. At the bottom of the well there is a ſquare opening, and a paſſage of ten or fifteen feet long, leading into ſeveral ſquare vaulted chambers, each ſide of which are uſually fifteen or twenty feet; and in the midſt of every one of the four ſides of the chamber is a bench cut out of the rock, upon which the embalmed bodies lie. At the head of them there is commonly an idol, at the feet the image of a bird; and on the walls are ſeveral hieroglyphics, which, perhaps, ſerve for epitaphs. Beſides the principal bodies, there are other ſmaller ones, and particularly of children, which lie on the ground. Sometimes there are no leſs than twenty-five or thirty of theſe chambers, or grots, having communication one with another; and the deſcent to them all is by one well [p]. The ſtones, of which *Strabo* obſerved a great number in a plain between *Syene* and *Phylæ*, are alſo by ſome thought to have been tombs. That author calls them *Hermæa*, from the reſemblance they bore to the heaps of ſtones frequently erected by the highways in honour of *Mercury*; and he deſcribes them to be a great ſmooth ſtone, almoſt ſpherical, of that hard and black marble, of which mortars were made, placed upon a greater ſtone, and ſurmounted by another; ſome of them lying by themſelves: the greateſt of them was no leſs than 12 feet diameter, and all above half as big [q].

*Of their arts and ſciences.*

THE antient *Egyptians* were the inventors of many uſeful arts and ſciences: and though they did not, perhaps, carry them afterwards to that perfection which might have been expected from them, ſince among them every man was obliged to apply himſelf to his paternal profeſſion, and was confined to one particular art, or branch of learning, only; yet, whoever conſiders how difficult it is to lay the firſt foundations of any ſcience, be it ever ſo ſmall, will allow them great commendation.

AS they acknowlege themſelves indebted to their firſt kings for inſtructing them how to provide the common neceſſaries and conveniences of life, ſo they attributed the honour of the firſt invention of the ſciences to their

[p] BURRETINI, ubi ſupr. [q] STRABO, l. xvii. p. 1173.

*Hermes*, or *Mercuries* [r]. How many there were of this name, when they lived, and what they invented or wrote, we ſhall inquire in another place, contenting ourſelves here with a ſhort account of the arts and learning which the *Egyptians* are ſuppoſed to have communicated to the reſt of mankind, and the progreſs they made therein.

THAT the *Egyptians* were early famous for wiſdom and learning, appears from many antient writers, and even from the Scriptures themſelves: where it is ſaid, among other things, to the honour of *Moſes*, that *he was learned in all the wiſdom of the* Egyptians [s]; and, to magnify the wiſdom of *Solomon*, that *it excelled all the wiſdom of* Egypt [t]. Profane authors, alſo, unanimouſly teſtify this nation to have been the parent of all philoſophical knowlege, and the *Egyptians* the only men that perfectly underſtood divine things [u].

GEOMETRY is on all hands agreed to have been firſt found out in *Egypt* [w]; and is ſaid to have owed its riſe to the ſetting out and meaſuring of their lands, the bounds of which were annually diſturbed by the overflowing of the *Nile* [x]. How far the *Egyptians* improved this ſcience, is not very certain; but their ſkill therein ſeems not to have been very profound, nor to have extended to all geometrical quantities and ſubtile theories, like that of the moderns: the utmoſt they knew was, probably, no more than plain meaſuring, and ſuch rules as were of common uſe in life. For *Pythagoras*, who travelled into *Egypt* for the ſake of their learning, after his return home offered an hecatomb, on his finding out the proportion of the longeſt ſide of a right-angled triangle to the other two [y]; and *Thales*, who alſo learned geometry in *Egypt*, ſacrificed an ox to the gods, for joy that he had hit on a method of inſcribing a rectangled triangle within a circle [z]: both which inventions they could not have had from the *Egyptians*; unleſs we ſhould ſay, that the *Egyptians* did not teach them all they knew, or that thoſe two philoſophers unjuſtly arrogated to themſelves what they had learned of their maſters. Now, if theſe more ſimple, though noble, propoſitions were not then to be found in the *Egyptian* geometry,

*Of their geometry.*

[r] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 41. [s] Acts vii. 22. [t] 1 Kings iv. 30. [u] Macrob. in ſomn. Scip. l. i. c. 19. & Saturn. l. i. c. 14. & l. vii. c. 13. [w] DIOG. LAERT. in proœm. STRABO, l. xvi. xvii. PLATO, in Phædro. ACHILL. TATIUS ad Arati phæn. IAMBLICH. de vita Pythag. p. 144. [x] HEROD. ubi ſupr. DIOD. p. 73. [y] DIOG. LAERT. in Pythag. [z] Idem in Thalete.

much

much leſs can it be ſuppoſed to have contained thoſe more abſtruſe theorems, and analytical methods, which were afterwards known, and for which we are indebted to the *Greeks*, who built ſo fine a ſuperſtructure on the old *Egyptian* foundation [a].

*Arithmetic.* As arithmetic is not only of great uſe in itſelf, but abſolutely neceſſary both in the theory and practice of geometry, that ſcience was diligently cultivated in *Egypt*. That there was in later ages a kind of algebra known in that country, appears from the writings of *Diophantus*; but, that it was not an improvement made by the *Grecians*, after their ſettling there, we will not take upon us to affirm; however, it was greatly inferior to the modern algebra in many reſpects [b].

*Aſtronomy.* It is generally ſuppoſed, that aſtronomy was alſo an invention of the *Egyptians* [c], who, by reaſon of the conſtant ſerenity of the air, and the flatneſs of their country, might obſerve the heavenly motions earlier, and with more eaſe, than other people. *Herodotus* indeed gives the honour of this invention to the *Babylonians* [d]; but *Diodorus* derives the *Babylonians* themſelves, as well as their ſciences, originally from *Egypt*. He attributes the firſt invention of aſtronomy to thoſe of *Thebes*; and ſays, the *Egyptians* were accurate obſervers of the places and motions of the ſtars, and kept regiſters of their obſervations for an incredible number of years, having addicted themſelves to this ſtudy in the moſt early ages; that they were well acquainted with the motions, periods, and ſtations of the planets, and likewiſe with their influences and effects; and that, by long experience, they were often able to make ſurpriſing predictions of events in life, and to foretel famines, plenty, peſtilential diſeaſes, earthquakes, the appearance of comets, and other things, which ſeemed to exceed human capacity. The phenomena they ſeem to have obſerved, were indeed the moſt obvious and eaſy; but thereby they were directed to adjuſt the length of the year to the annual revolution of the ſun; which this nation firſt did, by adding to their twelve months, of thirty days apiece, five additional days, and ſix hours, while the *Greeks* and *Romans* uſed the more inconvenient form of lunar years, intercalating a month

[a] Vid. Burnet archæol. l. i. p. 72. Wotton's reflections on antient and modern learning, c. 9. p. 115. [b] Ibid. c. 14. p. 180. [c] Plato, in epinom. Aristot. metaph. l. i. Diog. Laert. & Achill. Tatius, ubi ſupr. Manil. aſtron. l. i. [d] Herod. ubi ſupr.

every

every third year [e]. But the great uſe they ſeem to have made of their aſtronomy, was either for the improvement of huſbandry, or elſe for aſtrological calculations, which the *Egyptians* were very fond of. It is probable they might have a true notion of the ſyſtem of the world, and of the matter of the planets and fixed ſtats; for they called the moon *an ethereal earth*, and affirmed the ſtars to be fire [f]; however, they were far from having an exact knowlege of the theory of the planetary motions, ſo as to make any artificial calculations; ſince *Thales* was the firſt man who ventured to foretel an eclipſe [g], and *Eudoxus* and *Ptolemy* firſt reduced the heavenly motions into hypotheſes and tables [h].

*Phyſic.*

THE ſcience of phyſic ſeems alſo to have owed its original to the *Egyptians* [i]. The invention of it is generally aſcribed to *Æſculapius*, which name was given to *Toſorthrus*, or *Seſorthrus*, a king of *Memphis*, and the ſecond of the third dynaſty of *Manetho*, for his great ſkill in that art [k]. This prince was much more antient than the *Grecian Æſculapius*; and though *Africanus* places him ſome ages after *Athothis*, the ſucceſſor of *Menes*, and ſuppoſed to be the ſame with *Thoth*, or the firſt *Hermes*; yet others make them contemporaries [l]; as they muſt have been, if this *Æſculapius* was the ſame with the ſon of *Sydyc*, and the brother of the *Cabiri* [m]. *Athothes* is alſo ſaid to have been a phyſician, and to have written ſome books of anatomy [n]; unleſs we rather aſcribe thoſe writings to the ſecond *Hermes*, who might publiſh ſeveral inventions of the firſt *Hermes*, and of *Æſculapius*; for we are told, that, among the *Hermaic* books, there were ſix which treated of phyſic, and that the the firſt of them was anatomical [o]. *Iſis* herſelf is alſo ſaid to have invented ſeveral medicines, and to have taught the art to her ſon *Orus*, or *Apollo*; whence ſhe was held by the *Egyptians* to be the goddeſs of health [p].

THE *Egyptian* phyſicians, mentioned by *Moſes* [q], ſeem rather to have been embalmers than phyſicians, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word; unleſs we ſuppoſe both arts were originally profeſſed by the ſame perſon; which poſſibly might be the caſe, though in after-times it was otherwiſe; for

[e] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 46. HEROD. ubi ſupr.
[f] PROCL. in Tim. Platonis, l. i. p. 45.
[g] DIOG. LAERT. in Thalet.
[h] Vid. BURCICER. de divinat. l. i. PLIN. l. ii. c. 12.
NET. ubi ſupr. p. 73, &c.
[i] PLIN. nat. hiſt. l. vii. c. 56.
[k] Vid. SYNCELL. chronogr. p. 56, 57.
[l] MARSHAM. canon. chron. p. 40.
[m] See before, p. 311.
[n] SYNCELL. ubi ſupr.
[o] CLEM. ALEX. ſtr. l. i. p. 634.
[p] DIODOR. Sic. l. i. p. 22.
[q] Geneſ. l. 2.

every phyſician was not permitted to practiſe every branch of the art, but it was diſtributed into diſtinct parts, and each man applied himſelf to the cure of one diſeaſe only, pretending to no more. This occaſioned a great number of phyſicians in *Egypt*; ſome profeſſing to cure the diſeaſes of the eyes; others, thoſe of the head, teeth, or parts about the belly; ſome applied themſelves to chirurgical operations, whilſt others undertook the care of internal diſtempers [r]: by which regulation, great improvements might have been expected from them in their ſeveral provinces, had not the laws, as it were, ſhut the door to any future diſcoveries, by obliging the phyſicians to preſcribe according to fixed rules and receipts, ſet down in their ſacred regiſters, which had been collected from long obſervation and experience, and approved by the moſt famous men of the profeſſion. So long as the phyſician followed theſe legal preſcriptions he was ſafe, let the ſucceſs of the medicines be what it would; but if once he ventured to depart from them, and to follow his own private judgment, he was anſwerable for the event, and ran the hazard of his life in caſe the patient died [s]. It muſt be confeſſed, however, that this was a moſt effectual method to prevent the miſchievous practice of empirics. Another thing obſervable, with reſpect to the *Egyptian* phyſicians, is, that they had a public proviſion made for them by law; for which reaſon, they were not to take any fee from thoſe who happened to be ſick in the army, or on a journey, within the kingdom [t].

THE *Egyptian* medicines ſeem rather to have been calculated for prevention than cure; they chiefly preſcribed evacuations, which they effected either by clyſters, potions, or emetics, or elſe by faſting; and this they repeated every day; or let the patient reſt three or four days, according to the caſe: for they were of opinion, that, in the digeſtion of all food, the greater part was ſuperfluous; and, loading nature, cauſed diſeaſes: for which reaſon, thoſe who lived in the corn-country, uſed to vomit and purge themſelves every month, three days ſucceſſively, to preſerve health; though otherwiſe, they were, by nature, one of the moſt healthful people in the world [w]. The better to promote the operation of their medicines, the phyſicians, together with their proper art, alſo ſtudied aſtrology, and their ritual myſteries [x]; for the *Egyptian* practice of phyſic depended

[r] HERODOT. l. ii. c. 84. [s] DIODOR. ubi ſupr. p. 74.
[t] Idem ibid. [u] Idem ibid. p. 73. [w] HEROD. l. ii. c. 77
[x] Scholiaſt. in Ptolem. tetrabibl. l. i.

much

much on aſtrological and magical grounds; either the influence of ſome particular planet, or ſome tutelar demon, were ſtill conſidered[y]; which precarious foundations muſt needs depreciate their ſkill, and ſtop any increaſe of knowlege which might be made on other principles. However, we cannot wholly aſſent to the opinion of a modern writer, who thence imagines the antient *Egyptian* preſcriptions were not medicinal, but religious purifications only; and that their pharmaceutic books were filled, not with *recipes* for ſickneſſes and diſtempers, but with meats and drinks, unguents, lotions, and purgations, proper to be uſed in the ſeveral ſervices of each deity[z]. What we have already obſerved, from good authority, cannot agree with this notion.

*Chymiſtry.*

THERE ſeems much leſs foundation for the aſſertion of ſome moderns, who tell us, there was a particular medicine, uſed only among the *Egyptian* prieſts, and kept ſecret from the *Greeks*, and the generality of the natives themſelves; which medicine was of ſuch efficacy, that it could do any thing but reſtore life to the dead. This, they ſay, was the *grand elixir*, a chymical preparation, made with the philoſophers ſtone, the invention of *Hermes*; by the help of which, the *Egyptian* kings were enabled to build the pyramids, with the treaſures their furnaces afforded them[a]. But ſuch fancies are ſufficiently confuted, by the profound ſilence of antient authors in the matter, and the weak arguments of thoſe who contend for this antiquity of chymiſtry, built on ſuſpicious authorities, uncertain conjectures, and allegorical interpretations of the fabulous ſtories of the *Greeks*, which they will have to be chymical ſecrets diſguiſed; fanſying the golden fleece, which *Jaſon* fetched from *Colchis*, was only a receipt to make the philoſophers ſtone; and that *Medea* reſtored *Æſon*, his father, to his youth again, by the *grand elixir*[b].

*Anatomy.*

AS they began to cultivate anatomy in *Egypt* very early, if credit may be given to what is ſaid above, and their kings ordered dead bodies to be diſſected for the perfection of this part of phyſic[c], it might be preſumed they made greater progreſs therein than we can allow, if two inſtances that are given of the accuracy of the *Egyptian* anatomiſts be

[y] Vid. CONRINGIUM de hermetica Ægyptior. vetere & Paracelſica nova medicina; and WOTTON's reflect. on antient and modern learning, p. 119, &c.

[z] SHUCKFORD's connection, vol. ii. p. 408, &c.

[a] Vid. BORRICHIUM de ortu & progreſſu chemiæ.

[b] Vid. WOTTON, ubi ſupr. p. 120, &c.

[c] PLIN. l. xix. c. 5.

genuine. One of their obſervations was, that there is a particular nerve, which goes from the heart to the little finger of the left-hand; for which reaſon, the *Egyptians* always wore rings upon that finger, and the prieſts dipped that finger in their perfumed ointments [d]. And the following reaſon is given, why a man cannot live above 100 years; becauſe the *Alexandrian* embalmers obſerved a conſtant increaſe and diminution of the hearts of thoſe found perſons whom they opened, whereby they judged of their age; finding that the hearts of infants of a year old weighed two drachms, and this weight increaſed annually, by two drachms every year, till men came to the age of fifty; from which they as gradually decreaſed, till they came to an hundred; when, for want of an heart, they muſt neceſſarily die [e].

*Natural philoſophy.*

OF the phyſiology of the old *Egyptians* (to conſider it here diſtinctly from their theology, which two ſciences the antients conſtantly joined together), we have not much to ſay. Their opinion, as to the origin of things, and the mundane revolutions, we have conſidered elſewhere [f]. Their philoſophical doctrines, as it ſeems, may beſt be known by looking into that of the antient *Greeks*, who were their ſcholars, and travelled into *Egypt* for inſtruction in the more ſublime parts of learning; and it was from that country, in all probability, that *Pythagoras* brought home the knowlege of that antient ſyſtem of the world which bears his name, and is now ſo generally received; tho' it ſeems to have been part of the ſecret doctrine of the *Egyptians*, and not revealed to the vulgar. It may not be amiſs to obſerve, that the antient *Barbarian* philoſophers did not employ their ſtudies in the explication of this or that particular phenomenon, or direct their inquiries to the examination of things taken ſingly; it being in vain to expect from them, for example, the cauſe of the attractive power of the loadſtone, or of the colours of the rainbow; what is the ſubſtance of fire, and what the particles of water; or how great is the force of compreſſed air: but their ſpeculations were about the mundane phenomena, or thoſe which affected univerſal nature; ſuch as the firſt beginning of things, their revolutions, periods, and final cataſtrophe [g].

BUT the ſcience for which the *Egyptians* were particularly famous, and the attainment whereof was eſteemed the

[d] A. GELLIUS noct. Attic. l. x. c. 10. MACROB. Sat. l. vii. c. 13. [e] PLIN. l. ix. c. 37. CENSORIN. de die natali, c. 17. [f] Introd. p. 25, &c. [g] BURNET archæol. l. i. p. 78. Vid. STRABON. l. xvii.

higheſt

higheſt pitch of knowlege [h], was magic. Some, imagining the invention of this art to exceed human capacity, pretend, the angels who fell in love with the antediluvian women, firſt taught it; that *Ham* preſerved the principal rules of it at the deluge; and that *Mizraim* learned thoſe ſecrets of his father [i]. But others aſcribe the invention to *Hermes* [k]; though it is ſaid to have been much improved by *Nechepſos*, a king of *Egypt* [l]. However that be, the art was certainly very antient in *Egypt*; they had magicians, who pretended to the interpretation of dreams, and a way of divining by a cup, in the time of *Joſeph* [m]; and very extraordinary inſtances were given of the power of inchantments in the days of *Moſes* [n]. The profeſſors of magic among the *Egyptians* were the prieſts and ſacred ſcribes; two of which order, named *Jannes* and *Jambres*, were pitched upon to withſtand that prophet [o]. Nor was this ſcience confined to that nation in thoſe early times: from the caution given by *Moſes* to the *Iſraelites* againſt them [p], it is evident, there were pretenders to it under various denominations, among moſt of the idolatrous people; and *Balaam*, in particular, ſeems to have been a conſiderable proficient therein [q]. The claim of *Zoroaſtres* and the *Babylonians* to the honour of being the firſt who practiſed and taught magic, ſhall be conſidered in another place. *Magic.*

WHAT were the real grounds of this ſcience we cannot ſay: there is an innocent kind of magic, which conſiſts only in an excelling knowlege of nature, and its various powers and qualities in its ſeveral productions, and the application of certain agents to certain patients, which, by force of ſome peculiar qualities, produce effects very different from what fall under vulgar obſervation and comprehenſion [r]; but the magical wiſdom of the *Egyptians* muſt have been ſomething very different from this, or have gone much beyond what we are now maſters of, notwithſtanding thoſe vaſt and various diſcoveries which have been lately made in the properties of natural bodies; there being no one, as we preſume, who will now pretend to do thoſe wonderful things which *Pharaoh*'s magicians did when they contended with

[h] PLIN. l. xxx. c. 1.
[i] See before, p. 173, and 271, in the notes.
[k] Vid. PHILASTRIUM Brixienſ. hæreſ. n. 3.
[l] AUSON. ep. 19.
[m] Gen. xli. 8. xlv. 5, 15.
[n] Exod. vii. 11, &c.
[o] 2 Tim. iii. 8. NUMENIUS apud Euſeb. præp. ev. l. viii. c. 8. ARTAPANUS apud eund. ibid. l. ix. c. 27.
[p] Deut. xviii. 10, &c.
[q] Ibid. c. xxiii. 4. Num. xxii. 5, 6.
[r] Vid. Sir W. TEMPLE's eſſay on the wiſdom of the antients.

*Moſes*, not to inſiſt on the improbability that the lawgiver would have forbidden the practice of an art which he muſt have known to be not only innocent, but valuable.

IT is therefore ſuppoſed, that theſe antient magicians formed the rules of their art either from their ſuperſtitious belief of the great influence the heavenly bodies had on this lower world; or, from that other, though more late opinion, that the world was governed by inferior intelligences or demons, and the ſpirits of heroes and extraordinary men deceaſed. As to the firſt foundation of this ſcience, we have already obſerved, that the *Egyptians* aſſigned each month and day to a particular god: they imagined that the ſeven planets governed the ſeven days of the week[s]; and pretended, that by the obſervation of the motion of the celeſtial bodies, through a long ſeries of years, they had attained the art of foreſeeing future events[t]. They alſo thought the influence of thoſe heavenly bodies on the elements cauſed ſuch effluxes as might affect the mind of thoſe who were duly prepared to receive them, ſo as to enable them to deliver oracles; and even that they might, by a proper diſcipline, make them capable of working wonders, and procuring prodigies[u]. For they believed the ſun, moon, ſtars, and elements were indued with intelligence, and appointed by the ſupreme Deity to govern the world[w]; and though they acknowleged that GOD might[x], upon extraordinary occaſions. work miracles, reveal his will by audible voices, divine appearances, dreams, or prophecies; yet, they imagined alſo, that generally ſpeaking, prodigies were cauſed, oracles given, and viſions occaſioned, in a natural way, by the obſervation or influence of the courſes of heavenly bodies, and by the operations of the powers of nature: and they conceived, that their learned profeſſors could work miracles, obtain oracles and omens, and interpret dreams, by a deep ſtudy of, and profound inquiry into natural knowlege, and aſſiſted by a proper temper and diſpoſition of mind, attainable by the uſe of ſuch means as they thought had a natural power to raiſe warm conceptions, produce enthuſiaſtical fury, and fetter their reaſon; which they fanſied averted the divine inſtinct, ſuch as inebriating liquors, muſic, and the like[y]; and in all theſe things, they

[s] DION CASSIUS, l. xxxvi. p. 37. [t] CICERO de divin. l. i. c. 1. [u] PLUTARCH. de defect. orac. [w] Vid. CICER. de nat. deor. l. ii. c. 15. & acad. quæſt. l. iv. c. 34, 37. [x] Vid. eund. de divinat. l. i. c 55. [y] Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. p. 432.

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ſuppoſed the Deity not immediately concerned, but that they were the natural effects of the influence of the planets and elements, ſeeming ſtrange and unaccountable to the vulgar and unlearned, but fully underſtood by perſons of ſcience and philoſophy [z]. The other foundation of magic was built on an opinion which was ſomething later than the former, *viz.* that ſpirits, or demons, of a nature ſuperior to men, were employed in the government of the world, and had their ſeveral provinces appointed them by GOD [a]; and to this honour they imagined the ſouls of departed heroes and extraordinary men were alſo admitted: for which reaſon, they ſuppoſed, they had not only powers far exceeding thoſe of mortal men, but aſcribed oracles, viſions, and omens, to the miniſtry of ſuch ſpirits. And theſe notions are not greatly different from the almoſt unanimous opinion of *Jews* and Chriſtians, who acknowlege the ſuperintendence of angels over human affairs, the malicious intermeddling of evil ſpirits therein, and the great knowlege and abilities of both [b]. Whether, by the law of nature, all kind of commerce with theſe inviſible agents was prohibited, or not, has been thought not ſo clear; though it be plainly forbidden to Chriſtians, either becauſe the government of the intellectual world was changed at the coming of CHRIST [c]; or rather, on account of the miſchiefs that ill-deſigning men might thereby be enabled to do, and the door it might open to idolatry and ſuperſtition. That ſuch a commerce is, or at leaſt formerly was, poſſible, we cannot but confeſs; and we conceive it very difficult to account for ſeveral paſſages in Scripture, without allowing it to have been practiſed; as we may obſerve hereafter: however, much the greater part of what has been attributed to this ſort of magic, was undoubtedly the effect of impoſture and deluſion, which have been ſo apparent in ſeveral inſtances, as to tempt one almoſt to believe the ſame of all the reſt.

SOME of the other arts of the *Egyptians*, which were leſs conſiderable, we have already occaſionally taken notice of [d]. The *Greek* writers tell us, that, in *Egypt*, no trade, no profeſſion, however mean, was reckoned ignoble; huſbandmen, and thoſe who fed cattle, in particular, were much conſidered [e]; though the latter, in ſome parts *And other arts.*

[z] Vid. SHUCKFORD, ubi ſupr. p. 391, &c. [a] PLUT. ubi ſupr. p. 418. [b] See before, p. 101—107. [c] See BURNET. archæol. l. i. p. 103. [d] See before, p. 461—463, 485. [e] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 67, &c.

of the country, were not ſuffered, but counted an abomination[f]; the reaſon of which was chiefly the difference in religion. For the ſkill of the *Egyptians* in architecture, mechanics, painting, and ſculpture, we need only refer to what we have ſaid in the preceding ſection: yet, as to the laſt, we may add, that their ſtatuaries worked by the moſt methodical rules of proportion, and not by the eye, as the *Grecians* did; and they judged of the exactneſs of the ſymmetry by the ſame. For they divided the whole body into twenty-one parts and one fourth; and after the artiſts who were employed had come to a reſolution as to the ſize of the ſtatue, they went home, each taking his taſk, which they performed with ſingular ſkill, and made the ſeveral parts proportionable to one another, with a ſurpriſing exactneſs. It is ſaid, the moſt famous ſtatuaries among the antients lived ſome time in *Egypt*; particularly *Telecles* and *Theodorus*, the ſons of *Rhœcus*, who made the famous ſtatue of *Apollo Pythius* in *Samos*, after the *Egyptian* manner; for it was divided into two parts, from the head to the groin; *Telecles* cutting one half in *Samos*, and his brother the other at *Epheſus*; which, being joined together, fitted ſo exactly, that they ſeemed to have been made by one hand: and this ſeemed the more admirable, conſidering the attitude of the ſtatue, which had its hands ſtretched out, and its legs at a diſtance from each other, in a moving poſture[g].

*Of their navigation on the* Nile.

We had almoſt forgot to ſpeak of the extraordinary conſtruction of the veſſels, which the old *Egyptians* made uſe of on the *Nile*. Their ſhips of burden were made of the *acantha*, or *Egyptian* thorn[h]; from which they cut ſmall planks, about two cubits ſquare: theſe pieces of timber they ſet together like tiles, and faſtened with a great number of long pins; and when the whole was thus well compacted, they erected benches for the rowers; for they uſed no kind of ribs, or bent timber, in their work, but ſecured the joints of the inſide with bands of *papyrus*. They had but one rudder, which paſſed quite through the keel, a maſt of *acantha*, and a ſail made of the *papyrus*. Theſe veſſels were very unfit to mount the river againſt the ſtream, and therefore were always towed up, unleſs the wind proved very freſh and favourable. But when they came down with the current, they faſtened an hurdle of tamariſk with a rope to the prow of the veſſel; which hurdle they ſtrengthened

[f] Geneſ. xlvi. 34. [g] Diod. Sic. ubi ſup. p. 88. [h] See before, p. 403.

ened with bands of reeds, and let it down into the water: they alſo hung a ſtone, pierced through the middle, and of a conſiderable weight, by another rope, to the poop. By this means, the ſtream bearing on the hurdle, carried down the boat with great expedition; the ſtone, at the ſame time, balancing, and keeping it ſteady. Of theſe veſſels they had great numbers on the river, and ſome very large [i]. The *Egyptian* navigation by ſea we ſhall mention by-and-by, when we come to ſpeak of their trade.

*How the Egyptians preſerved their knowlege.*

THE manner wherein the old *Egyptians* preſerved their knowlege, and tranſmitted it to poſterity, deſerves to be particularly conſidered. Their prieſts, as we have already intimated, were the depoſitaries of all their learning; they had the care of their philoſophy, and other ſciences, as well as of their religion and ſacred rites [k]; and were the perſons to whom thoſe who deſired to be inſtructed therein were obliged to apply [l]; for which purpoſes, they had divers colleges or academies in ſeveral parts of the kingdom: one of which, at *Heliopolis*, is mentioned by *Strabo*, who viſited the apartments where *Eudoxus* and *Plato* had ſtudied for ſeveral years [m]. The *Egyptian* learning was partly inſcribed on columns, and partly committed to writing in the ſacred books. Not only the *Egyptians*, but ſeveral other antient nations uſed to preſerve the memory of things by inſcriptions on pillars: to ſay nothing of thoſe which *Seth*, as it is pretended, erected before the flood for the ſame purpoſe [n]; we are told, the *Babylonians* kept their aſtronomical obſervations engraven on bricks [o]; and *Democritus* is ſaid to have tranſcribed his moral diſcourſes from a *Babyloniſh* pillar [p]. But the moſt famous of all others, were the columns of *Hermes* in *Egypt*, mentioned by ſeveral credible authors: upon them he is reported to have inſcribed his learning, which was afterwards explained more at large by the ſecond *Hermes* in ſeveral books. It is certain, at leaſt, that from theſe pillars the *Greek* philoſophers and *Egyptian* hiſtorians took many things. *Pythagoras* and *Plato* both read them, and borrowed their philoſophy from thence [q]: *Sanchoniatho* and *Manetho* likewiſe made uſe of

[i] HEROD. l. i. c. 194. & l. ii. c. 96. [k] Vid. PORPHYR. de abſtin. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 1159. [l] CLEM. Alex. ſtr. i. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 86. [m] STRABO, ubi ſup. [n] See before, p. 169. [o] PLIN. l. vii. c. 56. [p] CLEM. ALEX. ubi ſupr. [q] IAMBLICH. de myſt. §. 1. c. 2. PROCLUS apud Burnet, ubi infra.

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the ſame monuments[r], which were ſtill remaining in the the time of *Proclus*, or not long before[s]. They ſtood in certain ſubterraneous apartments near *Thebes*[t]. To theſe inſcriptions ſucceeded the ſacred books, ſomewhat more recent, but not leſs famous; to which *Sanchoniatho*[u] and *Manetho*[w] are alſo ſaid to have been beholden for the perfecting of their hiſtories: for theſe books did not only contain what related to the worſhip of the gods, and the laws of the kingdom, but hiſtorical collections, nay, even all kind of miſcellaneous and philoſophical matters of conſiderable moment: for it was part of the buſineſs of the prieſts, or ſacred ſcribes, to inſert in thoſe public regiſters whatever deſerved to be recorded and tranſmitted to poſterity, as well as carefully to preſerve what had been delivered down to them from their anceſtors[x].

THESE were the literary monuments of the *Egyptians*. Of each kind there were ſome that were obvious and plain to be underſtood by the common people and ſtrangers; and others, more dark and myſterious, which were laid up in the inner receſſes of the temples, and communicated to very few. For there were two ſorts of learning among the antients, and particularly the *Egyptians*, the *vulgar* and the *ſecret*; the difference between which conſiſted not ſo much in the matter, as in the manner of delivering it[y]. The firſt was open to all, who might be inſtructed therein by the public monuments, and the ordinary maſters; but the other, leſt it ſhould grow cheap, or be corrupted by paſſing through vulgar hands, was veiled and diſguiſed by ſeveral methods. For the monuments of this ſuperior ſort of learning, beſides being hidden in the private apartments of the temples, were written in a character not commonly underſtood, and guarded by the prieſts, who were extremely difficult of acceſs, and could not be prevailed on to explain them, but after abundance of preparation and initiatory ceremonies[z]; a memorable inſtance of which was their uſage of *Pythagoras*. That philoſopher, deſigning to travel into *Egypt*, deſired *Polycrates*, the tyrant of *Samos*, to recommend him, by letter, to *Amaſis* king of *Egypt*, who was his particular friend, that he might have the freer admiſſion to

[r] EUSEB. præp. ev. l. i. c. 9, & 10. &. chronic. Gr. p. 6.
[s] PROCLUS, ubi ſupr.
[t] PAUSAN. l. i. p. 78. AMMIAN. MARCELL. l. xxii. p. 232.
[u] EUSEB. præp. ev. l. i. c. 9.
[w] JOSEPH. cont. Apion. l. i.
[x] Vid. eund. ibid. PLAT. in Tim. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 139.
[y] See before, p. 123.
[z] PLUTARCH de Iſid. &. Oſir. p. 354. STRAB. l. xvii. p. 1159.

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the ſecret learning of the prieſts; and when he came to *Amaſis*, he obtained alſo of him letters to the prieſts, ordering them to communicate their knowlege to him. Thence he went, firſt to thoſe of *Heliopolis*, who referred him to the college at *Memphis*, as their ſeniors; and from *Memphis* he was ſent, under the ſame pretext, to *Thebes*: after much tergiverſation, not daring to diſobey the king's command, by any farther dilatory excuſes, they endeavoured to deter *Pythagoras* from his purpoſe, by the infinite labour and trouble he was to expect, injoining him, in his noviciate, things that were very hard, and contrary to the religion of the *Greeks* [a]. And when he had undergone all this, with invincible courage, he obliged them at length, againſt their wills, to admit him to a participation of their ſacred myſteries, and profoundeſt learning [b].

The laſt method which the *Egyptians* took to conceal their doctrine from popular conception, was by wrapping it up in hieroglyphics, ſymbols, enigmas, and fables. Of the hieroglyphic figures we ſhall take notice immediately. As to the reſt, it is well known, that the antients in general uſed to deliver their inſtructions under thoſe dark veils of allegory and fiction; inſtances of which are too frequent, both in ſacred and profane writers, to need quotation: there being few or none in the moſt early times, either among the *Greeks* or *Barbarians*, who taught any part of philoſophy intelligibly [c]; as if they thought, that, to expreſs things in a familiar and eaſy manner, argued want of acuteneſs; or elſe imagined, that modeſty forbad them to ſhew truth naked to the vulgar. The *Egyptians* ſeem to have excelled other nations in the obſcurity of their fictions; wherein the footſteps of truth were often ſo faint, that they required a ſagacious tracer, and one able to diſcern things of moment from trifles [d].

In their inſcriptions and writings, the *Egyptians* made uſe of three ſeveral ſorts of characters: the firſt, and moſt antient, was that of hieroglyphical figures of various animals, the parts of human bodies, and mechanical inſtruments; of which three things, the hieroglyphics, both of the *Ethiopians* and *Egyptians*, conſiſted [e]: though there is reaſon to think the *Egyptians* had alſo another ſort of characters, called *hieroglyphical*, and made uſe of by the prieſts,

[a] See before, p. 487. [b] Porphyr. de vita Pythag. [c] Vid. Diog. Laert. in proœm. Phornut. cap. de fab. antiq. trad. Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l. v. p. 556, &c. [d] Plut. erotic. p. 762. [e] Diod. Sic. l. iii. p. 145.

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ſomething reſembling the preſent *Chineſe* characters [f]. They are ſaid to have been the invention of *Hermes*; and a ſpecimen of his performance therein, is given us by *Sanchoniatho* [g]. The conjecture of Sir *John Marſham* is by no means improbable, that the uſe of theſe hieroglyphical figures of animals introduced the ſtrange worſhip which was paid them by that nation [h]; for, as thoſe figures were made choice of according to the reſpective qualities of each animal, to expreſs the qualities and dignities of the perſons they repreſented, which were generally their gods, princes, and great men; the people became gradually accuſtomed to theſe figures, which they uſed to place in their temples as the images of their deities; whence it is not abſurd to imagine, that they came at length to pay a ſuperſtitious veneration to the living animals themſelves: and this opinion we rather approve, than the oppoſite of a late learned writer, who ſuppoſes the ſacred animals were firſt appointed and conſecrated to each god, and the hieroglyphics afterwards formed from them [i].

THERE are large collections among the antiquaries, of hieroglyphical inſcriptions, images, and pictures, which they have taken a great deal of pains to explain, but with very little ſucceſs [k]; for, if we except a few of theſe characters, the meaning of which has been preſerved by old writers (L), there is great reaſon to ſuſpect their conjectures are very ill founded, and particularly as to thoſe figures which they ſuppoſe to repreſent the old *Egyptian* gods; the greater part of them being in human form, with the head of ſome animal, or elſe diſtinguiſhed by ſome animal repreſentation ſet upon their heads, or near them; whereas, as we have obſerved, images of human form were not introduced among the *Egyptians* till later times; and why ſuch figures might

[f] Vid PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. p. 12. [g] See before, p. 314. [h] MARSH. can. chron. p. 38. [i] SHUCKFORD, connect. vol. ii. p. 331, &c. [k] Vid. KIRCHER. Oedip. MONTFAUCON, antiq. expliq. PIGNORII menſ. Iſiac. &c.

(L) Thus, we are told, they repreſented the ſupreme Deity, by a ſerpent with the head of an hawk (1). The hawk itſelf was the hieroglyphic of *Oſiris*, the river-horſe of *Typhon*, the dog of *Mercury*, the cat of the moon, or *Diana*, the beetle of a courageous warrior, a new-born child of the riſing ſun; and the like (2).

(1) *Euſeb. de præp. ev. l.* iii. *c.* 10. *p.* 41. (2) *Vid. Plut. de Iſir. & Oſir. Diod. l.* iii. *p.* 145. *Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l.* v. *p.* 566.

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not be made in memory of ſome of their moſt famous men, we cannot ſee; ſince it was the old *Egyptian* cuſtom to repreſent, not the man's perſon, but his manners, character, ſtation, and honour[l]; and this they did by hieroglyphics.

BESIDES theſe, the *Egyptians* alſo uſed literal characters, of which they had two ſorts: one they called the *ſacred letters*, in which their public regiſters, and all matters of an higher nature, were written; and the other, the *vulgar*, or *epiſtolographic*, made uſe of by every one in common buſineſs[m]. The *Fgyptians* were not the only people who obſerved ſuch a diſtinction in their writing; ſeveral of the eaſtern nations, particularly the *Ethiopians* and *Babylonians*, had two different kinds of letters[n]; and the modern bramins among the *Indians* have not only a ſacred character, but a ſacred language alſo; in which they are very ſhy of inſtructing ſtrangers[o].

WHEN, and by whom, letters were invented, we ſhall not now inquire; it will be ſufficient to obſerve here, that, though moſt other nations are ſuppoſed to have received them from the *Egyptians*, yet they themſelves perhaps learned them of their neighbours the *Ethiopians*; among whom letters were in uſe very early, and whoſe vulgar character became the ſacred one of the *Egyptians*[p]. Both theſe ſorts of old *Fgyptian* letters are now loſt; or, if the forms of them remain in any old inſcriptions, they are unintelligible, and cannot be decyphered. All that we know of them is, that the alphabet conſiſted of twenty-five letters[q], and that they wrote from the right-hand to the left[r], as moſt of the oriental nations ſtill do. We can by no means come into the opinion of thoſe who imagine the preſent *Coptic* letters to have been thoſe of the antient *Egyptians* (M); for

[l] Vid. PLUT. ubi ſup. See SHUCKFORD connect. vol. ii. p. 348, &c. [m] HEROD. l. ii. c. 36. DIODOR. l. i. p. 72. Vid. CLEM. ALEX. ſtrom. l. v. p. 555. PORPHYR. de vita Pythag. p. 185. [n] Vid. DIODOR. l. iii. p. 144. DIOG. LAERT. in Democrito. LUCIAN. de Macrob. [o] Vid. BURNET. archæol. l. i. cap. 8. [p] DIODOR. ubi ſup. [q] PLUT. de Iſid. & Oſir. p. 374. [r] HEROD. ubi ſup.

(M) *Della Valle* thinks the modern *Coptic* letters were the vulgar letters of the antient *Egyptians*, and not taken by them from the *Greeks*; becauſe, 1. the *Greeks*, when they expreſs numbers by letters, according to the order of the alphabet, for the number 6, uſe ϛ, which is ſuppoſed to be not a ſingle

for the *Coptic* alphabet is manifeſtly nothing elſe but the *Greek*, with the addition of ſome few letters, to expreſs ſounds

a ſingle letter, but the compound character *ſigma-tau*; for which they are not able to give any reaſon; whereas, by the *Coptic* alphabet, it appears to have been originally the ſixth letter, though it be wanting in the *Greek*. 2. The *Copts* pronounce the vowels and diphthongs, not according to the corrupt pronunciation of the modern *Greeks*, but after the antient manner. 3. He found ſome *Coptic* letters on a mummy, among hieroglyphics; which ſhews they were in uſe before that way of writing was loſt (3). But it may be anſwered, that the *Greek* numeral ϛ, and the *Coptic ſo*, are really no other than the *Samaritan waw* ſet backwards, or the *Æolic digamma*, which the *Greeks* afterwards threw out of their common alphabet, as they did the *koppa* and *ſanpi* (the *Samaritan koph* and *ſade*), they being alſo uſed as numerals only; but the *Copts* have retained the figure of the *waw*, calling it *ſo*, or *ſou* (which ſignifies *ſix*, the number it ſtands for); though they never uſe it, we believe, otherwiſe than as a numeral; nay, in ſome *Coptic* alphabets, the *koppa* and *ſanpi* are ſtill inſerted (4): which, joined with the other two arguments of *Della Valle*, may prove the *Greek* letters to have been uſed very early in *Egypt*, but not that they were originally *Egyptian*.

*Kircher* (5) goes ſomething farther: he endeavours to prove the *Coptic* letters were invented by *Hermes*, and moſt of them formed from ſome of the ſacred animals; as the ibis, the ſerpent, the bull, the ram, and the hawk. And to ſuch as have not pertinent names, he gives others, which have an apt ſignification in *Coptic*: *zida*, for example, he calls *zeuta*, i. e. *life*; of which the ſerpent, whoſe form this letter bears, is the ſymbol; and *xi* he calls *xanuti*, i. e. *a chain*, the links of which it ſeems to reſemble. *Plutarch* indeed tells us, that the firſt *Egyptian* letter was the *ibis* (6); that bird, with its legs divaricated, and bill inſerted between them, making the figure of an equilateral triangle (7), which comes ſomething nearer the *Coptic alpha*; but we know not how this can be carried farther with any certainty. *Clemens Alexandrinus* mentions four golden images of gods, *viz.* two dogs, an hawk, and an ibis, which uſed to be carried in proceſſion at a certain ſolemnity; and that they called them *four letters* (8). Now though *Kircher* has derived ſeven letters from the ibis, and one from the hawk, yet he could find none that ſeemed to have any affinity with

(3) *Della Valle viag. let.* ii. (4) *Vid. Ed. Bernardi tab. alphabetor. n.* xxvi. (5) *In Oedip. Ægypt. tom.* iii. *p.* 42, *&c. & in turr. Babel, p.* 177, *&c.* (6) *Plut. ſympoſ. l.* iv. *quæſt.* 5. (7) *Ibid. l.* ix. *quæſt.* 3. (8) *Clem. Alex. ſtrom. l.* v. *p.* 567.

founds which the *Grecians* had not, and which probably came to be uſed in *Egypt* after the time of *Alexander*, though we know the *Greek* language, and perhaps their letters alſo, were taught there long before, in the reign of *Pſammitichus* [s]. That the reader may judge of this affinity, we have here inſerted the *Coptic* alphabet.

[s] Idem ibid. DIODOR. l. i. p. 61.

the dog; which ſhews how precarious theſe conjectures are, though we confeſs them to be ingenious. It is not improbable, that the *Egyptians*, in later times, when they had loſt their antient letters and learning, and had, for ſome centuries, made uſe of the *Greek* alphabet only, the introduction of which they had forgotten, might imagine their preſent letters to be thoſe antient ones uſed by their anceſtors, and thereupon endeavour to find myſteries in them; which it is eaſy for men of warm conceptions, and a peculiar way of thinking, to do, in the moſt trivial things.

Another learned author ſeems alſo to have been once of opinion, that the *Greek* alphabet was derived from the *Coptic*; for he ſays, the letters uſed by *Moſes*, and throughout all *Aſia*, have not the leaſt affinity with the *Greek* (contrary to the ſentiments of almoſt all learned men beſides); but that the *Coptic*, or *Egyptian* letters, have the utmoſt reſemblance to them; and, which he thinks more obſervable, the manner of writing in all *Aſia* is from the right-hand to the left; but the manner of writing in *Egypt* and *Greece* is from the left-hand to the right; and this he wonders Sir *Iſaac Newton* could not diſtinguiſh (1). We agree, that the manner of writing in *Egypt* is now as this gentleman ſays (we mean when they write *Coptic*), but that it was ſo antiently, he would have been in the wrong to affirm, *Herodotus* expreſly teſtifying the contrary (2); and the derivation of the *Greek* alphabet from the *Samaritan* is ſo apparent, that this writer himſelf, in a later work of his, ſeems to make no doubt of it; and goes a little too far, as we apprehend, on the other ſide, in aſſerting the *Samaritan* characters to have been the old *Egyptian* (3); which may poſſibly be true, but is more, we believe, than he is able to prove.

We will not deny, however, but that the ſeven letters added by the *Egyptians* to the *Greek* alphabet, may be the remains of their antient character; though we are rather of a contrary opinion.

(1) *Bedford's animadv. on Sir Iſaac Newton's chronol. p.* 27, 68. (2) *See before, p.* 509. (3) *Bedford's Scripture chronol. p.* 494.

The

## The Coptic Alphabet.

| Figure. | Name. | Power. | Figure. | Name. | Power. |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ⲁ ⲁ | *Alpha* | *A.* | Ⲡ ⲡ | *Pi* | *P.* |
| Ⲃ ⲃ | *Bita* | *B. V.* | Ⲣ ⲣ | *Ro* | *R.* |
| Ⲅ ⲅ | *Gamma* | *G.* | Ⲥ ⲥ | *Sima* | *S.* |
| Ⲇ ⲇ | *Dalda* | *D.* | Ⲧ ⲧ | *Tau* | *T.* |
| Ⲉ ⲉ | *Ei* | *E.* | Ⲩ ⲩ | *Ypſilon* | *Y. U.* |
| Ⲋ ⲋ | *So* | *S.* | Ⲫ ⲫ | *Phi* | *Ph.* |
| Ⲍ ⲍ | *Zita* | *Z.* | Ⲭ ⲭ | *Chi* | *Ch. Græc.* |
| Ⲏ ⲏ | *Hita* | *I. Æ.* | Ⲱ ⲱ | *O* | *O long.* |
| Ⲑ ⲑ | *Thita* | *Th.* | Ⲯ ⲯ | *Shei* | *Sh.* |
| Ⲓ ⲓ | *Iauda* | *I.* | Ⲫ ϥ | *Fei* | *F.* |
| Ⲕ ⲕ | *Kappa* | *K.* | Ⲭ ϧ | *Khei* | *Kh.* |
| Ⲗ ⲗ | *Lauda* | *L.* | Ⲋ ϩ | *Hori* | *H.* |
| Ⲙ ⲙ ⲓⲓ | *Mi* | *M.* | Ⲍ ϫ | *Janja* | *J.* |
| Ⲛ ⲛ | *Ni* | *N.* | Ϭ ϭ | *Shima* | *Sh.* |
| Ⲝ ⲝ | *Xi* | *X.* | Ⲧ ϯ | *Dhei* | *Dh.* |
| Ⲟ ⲟ | *O* | *O ſhort.* | Ⲯ ⲯ | *Epſi* | *Pſ.* |

*Of their language.* The *Egyptian* language is certainly one of the moſt antient in the world, and in all probability an original or mother tongue, formed at the confuſion of *Babel*[t]. It was certainly a diſtinct tongue, at leaſt ſo early as the time of *Joſeph*, who, when he was made governor of *Egypt*, had a new name given him of *Egyptian* derivation[u], and, ſpeaking to his brethren in that language, was obliged to make uſe of an interpreter[x]: and yet this very language is in great meaſure preſerved to our own times in the preſent *Coptic*, though, by reaſon of the almoſt continual ſubjection of that nation to foreigners, ever ſince their conqueſt by *Cambyſes*, a conſiderable part of it has been loſt; in return for which it has received a great number of *Greek*, and ſome *Perſian*, *Latin*, and *Arabic* words, during the long time they were under the ſucceſſive government of thoſe people. The *Arabic*, at preſent, prevails ſo univerſally in *Egypt*, that the *Copts*, or native *Egyptians* themſelves, generally ſpeak no other, the common people having utterly loſt the knowlege of their antient tongue,

[t] See before, p. 356. [u] Gen. xli. 45. [x] Gen. xlii. 23.

which

which few, even of their prieſts, underſtand to any degree of perfection [y].

THE *Coptic* tongue at preſent conſiſts chiefly of the old *Egyptian* and *Greek*; ſtill bearing evident marks of primitive antiquity in its ſtructure and conſtitution, wherein it differs ſo widely from all the oriental and *European* languages, that it is impoſſible to conceive it derived from any of them. For the *Copts* neither decline their nouns, nor conjugate their verbs (not even thoſe of foreign extract), otherwiſe than by prefixing particles ſometimes of one or more ſyllables, and ſometimes of a ſingle letter, which denote the caſe, gender, number, and perſon; ſeveral of them being often joined together in one word, and the primitive word uſually placed laſt. So that the difficulty of this tongue conſiſts in the incredible combination of the words and particles, in the change of the vowels, and in tranſpoſing the middle part of the word, and adding of ſuperfluous letters; to diſtinguiſh which requires great labour and ſkill [z].

AS *Egypt* is excellently ſituated for commerce, the trade of the weſtern parts of *Aſia*, all *Europe*, and the north lying open to it, by the *Mediterranean Sea*, and that of *Arabia*, *Perſia*, *India*, and the ſouthern and weſtern coaſts of *Africa* by the *Red Sea*; the eaſtern merchandizes being commodiouſly brought into *Egypt*, on camels, by the *Iſthmus* of *Sues*; it is to be preſumed ſo induſtrious and ſenſible a people were not long without making uſe of thoſe advantages; which they might be induced to, not only by the proſpect of gain, but alſo to ſupply themſelves with thoſe things which their country wanted, ſuch as metals, wood, pitch, reſin, and the like; which they might do by diſpoſing of their own many and rich productions and manufactures, ſuch as corn, linen, paper, glaſs, and ſeveral other valuable commodities. Sir *John Marſham* [a] ſuppoſes, that the *Egyptians* did not apply themſelves to merchandize till the time of the *Ptolemies*: but in this he ſeems to be miſtaken; for though thoſe princes did very much encourage trade, recovering that of the eaſt to their ſubjects, by building of *Berenice*, *Myos hormos*, and other ports on the *Arabian* gulph, ſo that *Alexandria* became the greateſt mart in the world; yet the *Egyptians* certainly traded very conſiderably with foreigners long before. For, not to inſiſt

*Of their trade and navigation.*

[y] Vid. SICARD. dans les memoires des miſſions, tom. ii. p. 61.
[z] Vid. WILKINS differt. de ling. Copt. p. 120, &c. [a] Can. chron. §. 14. p. 367.

on their claim to the firſt invention of commerce, which they ſay was found out by *Oſiris*, and their *Mercury* [b], *Diodorus* does not only tell us, that *Pſammitichus* gained great riches by trade, before he was king of all *Egypt* [c], but we learn from Scripture, that the *Midianites* and *Iſmaelites* traded thither ſo early as the time of *Jacob* [d]; and it is preſumed, that they had antiently the ſovereignty of the *Red Sea*, by which means they ingroſſed all the trade of *India*, and other parts, which were then carried on that way [e]. They ſeem, indeed, to have been diſpoſſeſſed of it, if what *Philoſtratus* [f] relates be true, by a certain prince named *Erythras* (whom ſome imagine to be the ſame with *Eſau*, or *Edom*); for he, being maſter of the *Red Sea*, made a by-law, or regulation, that the *Egyptians* ſhould not enter that ſea with any ſhips of war, nor with more than one merchant-ſhip at a time. To evade which, the *Egyptians* built a veſſel ſo large and capacious, as to ſupply the place of many. However, afterwards, *David*, becoming maſter of *Elath* and *Eſiongeber*, two ports on the *Red Sea* belonging to *Edom*, which he had conquered, built ſhips there, as ſome ſay, and fetched gold from *Ophir* [g]; but, whether that be true or no, *Solomon*, his ſon, certainly eſtabliſhed a very great trade there [h], which it is not improbable he might do by permiſſion or connivance of the *Egyptians*, to whoſe king he was ſon-in-law. And this trade the *Jews* continued to ſhare with them, not without ſome little interruption, till the time of *Ahaz*, when they intirely loſt it, and it fell into the hands of the *Syrians* [i], and after of the *Tyrians* [k], till the *Ptolemies* recovered the whole again to their own ſubjects, as has been ſaid.

SOME writers [l] have indeed expreſly aſſerted, that *Pſammitichus* was the firſt king of *Egypt* who opened the ports to ſtrangers, and granted foreign traders ſecurity in his dominions; and that the antient princes, being content with the abundant riches of their own country, permitted ſtrangers to have no acceſs to it, fortifying the frontiers againſt them, and particularly againſt the *Greeks*. But this cannot be underſtood of any other commerce than that which

[b] Vid. HUET. hiſt. du commerce & de la navig. des anciens, c. 7. [c] DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 60. [d] Gen. xxxvii. 25, 36. [e] Vid. HUET, ubi ſupr. c. 48. [f] De vita Apollonii, l. iii. c. 35. [g] EUPOLEM. ap. Euſeb. de præp. evang. l. ix. c. 30. [h] 2 Chron. viii. 17, 18. 1 Kings ix. 26, &c. [i] 2 Kings xvi. 6. [k] Vid. STRAB. l. xvi. p. 757. [l] Ibid. l. xvii. p. 798. DIOD. SIC. l. i. p. 61.

was driven by the *Mediterranean Sea*, where the *Greeks* exercised their piracies along the coasts of *Egypt* [m]; and, being themselves excluded thence on that account, complained of such treatment as a great injustice, and an attempt against the law of nations, representing the *Egyptians* as a barbarous nation, which had renounced all humanity and hospitality; whence arose the fable of the cruelty of *Busiris*: for that the *Egyptians* traded before with other nations, is evident from the above-mentioned instance of the *Midianites* and *Ismaelites*, the easy access which *Abraham* and the sons of *Jacob* had to *Egypt* [n], and from *Solomon*'s having horses from thence [o].

TOWARD the *Greeks*, indeed, they behaved with some caution and reserve, even after they were admitted; for, after the time of *Psammitichus*, though *Amasis*, who was their great friend, suffered them to build the city of *Naucratis* for the settlement and residence of their merchants; yet that was the only place in the whole kingdom, where he allowed them to have a factory. They sailed up to it by the *Canopic* mouth of the *Nile* (N); and if, by any accident, a vessel entered any other mouth of that river, the owners, after making oath that they were forced in there against their will, were obliged to go back to that chanel; or, if the winds were contrary, to unlade, and send up their goods to *Naucratis* by the river-vessels [p].

THOUGH the *Egyptians*, on a religious account, bore a great aversion to the sea, which they called *Typhon*, because it swallows up their *Nile*, and hated sailors so much, that they would not speak to them [q]; and though they were not fond of going out of their own country, for fear of introducing foreign luxury and customs [r]; yet were they not ignorant of sea affairs, having an order of men among them who followed nothing else; nay, the *Greeks* confess they learned navigation from them [s]. *Sesostris* built a formidable navy of four hundred ships of war for his expedition

[m] Vid. STRAB. ubi supr. [n] Gen. xii. 10. xlii. 1, &c. [o] 2 Chron. i. 16. & xi. 28. 1 Kings x. 28. [p] HEROD. l. ii. c. 178, 179. [q] PLUT. de Isid. & Osirid. p. 363. Sympos. l. viii. p. 729. [r] CLEM. ALEX. strom. i. p. 302. [s] EURIPID. in Troad.

(N) Yet others make this city of *Naucratis* to be a colony of the *Milesians*, and to stand on the *Bolbitic*, or *Heracleotic* mouth of the *Nile* (4). But this we shall examine hereafter.

(4) *See Bayle dict. hist. art. Naucratis, rem. A, B.*

to the ſouthern ſeas; and alſo a very large veſſel of cedar, two hundred and eighty cubits long (O), gilt without, and beautified with ſilver within, which he dedicated to *Oſiris* [t]. And it is to be preſumed they improved in this art in ſucceeding times.

We ſhall here conclude this account of the antient *Egyptians*; and hope we may be excuſed, if we have been ſomewhat prolix in ſpeaking of ſo extraordinary a people.

[t] Diod. Sic. l. i. p. 50, 52.

(O) This ſhip muſt vaſtly exceed any modern veſſels in bulk, being near twice as big as one of our largeſt firſt rates; the length of the *Royal Sovereign* being no more than 175 feet on the middle gun-deck; and the breadth about 70 feet by the beam.

*E N D of* Vol. I.

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